Supplementary Material

1. Dictionaries

Table A1. Dictionaries for immigration policy, illiberalism, and liberalism.

Liberalism Dictionary		Illiberalism Dictionary		Immigration Policy Dictionary
accept	inclusion	abuse	police	immigra
acceptance	inclusive	close	protect	asylum
allow		fence	reject	border
diversity		illegal	secure	migrat
human		invasion	terror	migrant
human_right		invade	threat	
humanity		intrusion		

2. Validation Test Immigration Scale

In order to ensure th(Hloušek and Kopeček 2022; Havlík and Hloušek 2021)at our combination of word embeddings and dictionaries does measure the extent to which parties frame immigration issues in illiberal terms, we are using the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) as means of validation. CHES includes one item that captures parties' position on immigration policy from 0 (Strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration) to 10 (Strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration). The expert survey also includes all countries we are interested in. We are using the 2019 expert survey (Jolly et al., 2022) with an inversed immigration scale. Since the 2019 CHES has been administered in winter 2020, and parties' positions can be very dynamic, we are using the average value of immigration in the years 2018-2020 to contrast our measurement with CHES. As Figure A1 shows, the two measurements are statistically significant, and our approach aligns closely with the CHES scores in terms of parties' positions on immigration.
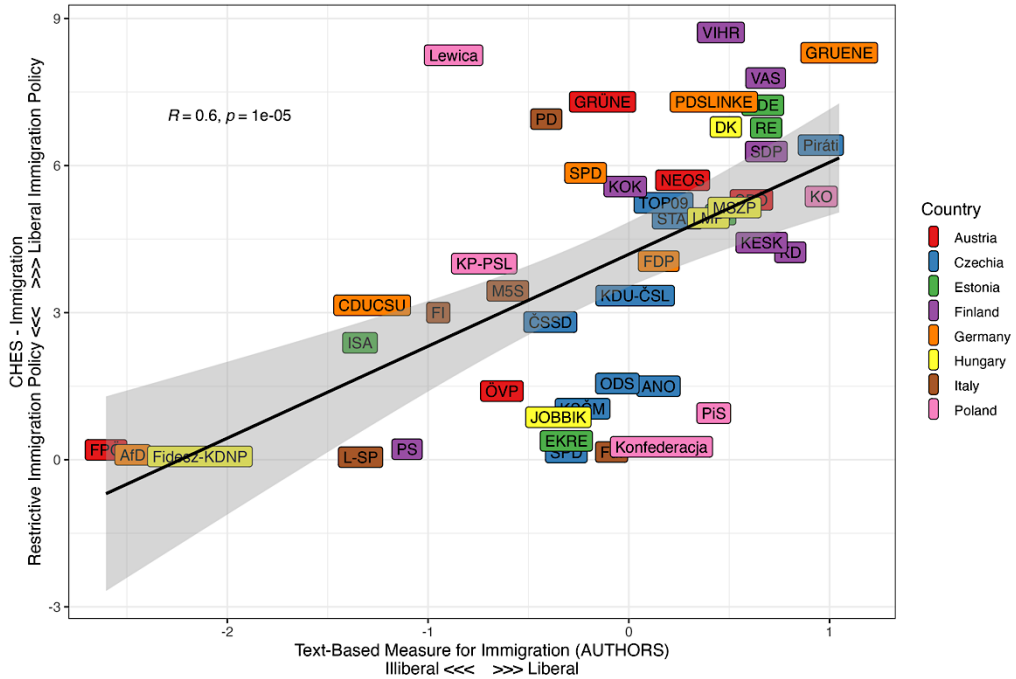
Figure A1. Comparing CHES and Text-Based Measures for Positions on Immigration.

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21   **3.   Parties Included**
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23   Table A2. Overview of parties included and their abbreviations.

Country	Party
Austria	• BZÖ: Bündnis Zukunft Österreich • FPÖ: Die Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs • GRÜNE: Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative • JETZT: Liste Pilz (JETZT) • LIF: Liberales Forum • NEOS: NEOS – Das neue Europa • SPÖ: Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs • Stronach: Team Stronach • ÖVP: Österreichische Volkspartei
Czechia	• ANO: ANO 2011 • ČSSD: Česká strana sociálně demokratická • KDU-ČSL: Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová • KSČM: Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy • ODS: Občanská demokratická strana • Piráti: Česká pirátská strana • SPD: Svoboda a přímá demokracie • STAN: Starostové a nezávislí • TOP 09: Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita • Úsvit: Úsvit – Národní koalice

Estonia	• EKRE: Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond • ER: Eesti Reformierakond • Isamaa: Isamaa Erakond • KE: Eesti Keskerakond • SDE: Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond • VABA: Eesti Vabaerakond
Finland:	• K: Kansalaispuolue • KD: Kristillisdemokraatit • KESK: Suomen Keskusta • KOK: Kansallinen Kokoomus • LIIK: Liike Nyt • PS: Perussuomalaiset • RKP: Suomen ruotsalainen kansanpuolue • SDP: Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue • SIN: Sininen tulevaisuus • VAS: Vasemmistoliitto • VIHR: Vihreä liitto
Germany:	• AfD: Alternative für Deutschland • CDU/CSU: Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern • Grünen: Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen • FDP: Freie Demokratische Partei • LINKE: Die Linke • SPD: Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Hungary:	• DK: Demokratikus Koalíció • Fidesz-KNDP: Magyar Polgári Szövetség - Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt • Jobbik: Jobbik – Konzervatívok • LMP: Zöldek - Magyarország Zöld Pártja • Mi Hazánk: Mi Hazánk Mozgalom • Momentum: Momentum Mozgalom • MSZP: Magyar Szocialista Párt • Párbeszéd: A Zöldek Pártja
Italy:	• AP (NDC-UDC): Alternativa Popolare • FdI: Fratelli d'Italia • FI: Forza Italia • IV-PSI: Nuovo Partito Socialista Italiano • NCD: Nuovo Centrodestra • PD: Partito Democratico
Poland:	• KO: Koalicja Obywatelska • Konfederacja: Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość • KP-PSL: Koalicja Polska - Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe • Kukiz15: Kukiz'15 • Lewica: Lewica • PiS: Prawo i Sprawiedliwość • PP: Przywrócić Prawo • UPR: Unia Polityki Realnej

25   4. **Robust Models**

26   These further regressions test the arguments put forward in H1a, H1b, and H2 using alternative dependent variables and
27   model specifications.

28   Figure A2 shows the marginal effects of the relationship between the rhetoric of the far-right and mainstream parties
29   (H1a). The dependent variable (position of parties) and the independent variable (position of the far-right) are
30   operationalized using the *change* in these parties' positions from t-1 to t. We can see similar results to those in the main
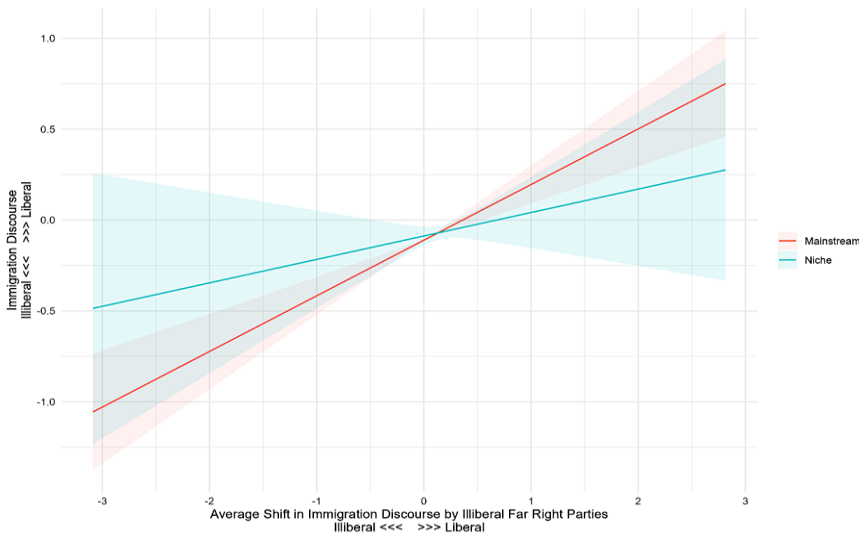31   text.

Figure A2. Association between Average Shifts in Far-Right Parties Discourse with Shifts in
Mainstream Parties' and Niche Parties' Discourse

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33   Figure A3 is a pooled OLS model. It includes country fixed effects. The dependent variable is the position of mainstream
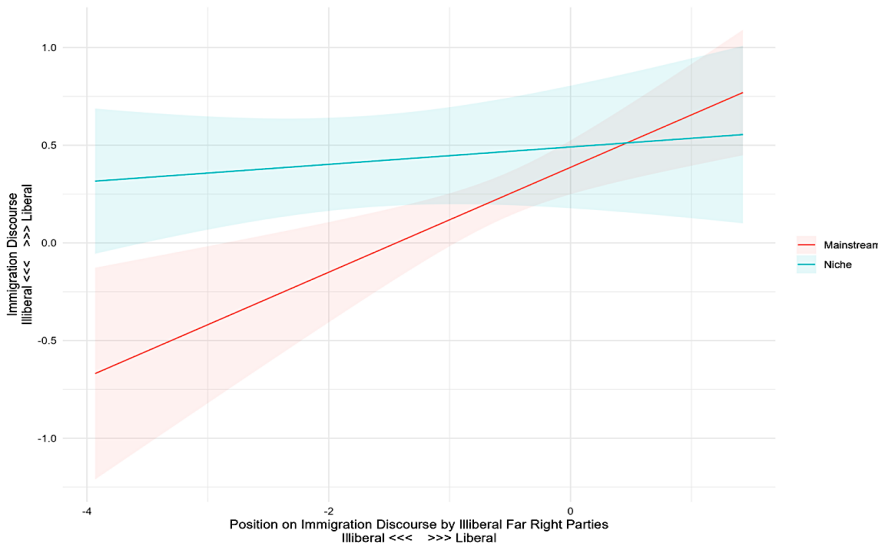34   and niche parties in any given year. The independent variable is the position of the far right.

Figure A3. Association between Immigration Discourse of Far-Right Parties and Mainstream
Parties, Using a Static Approach

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36 The below figures show the same regressions as in the main text (for H1b) but with an alternative independent variable.
37 Instead of testing the effect of *changes* in the position of far right this regression pools all individual observations of the
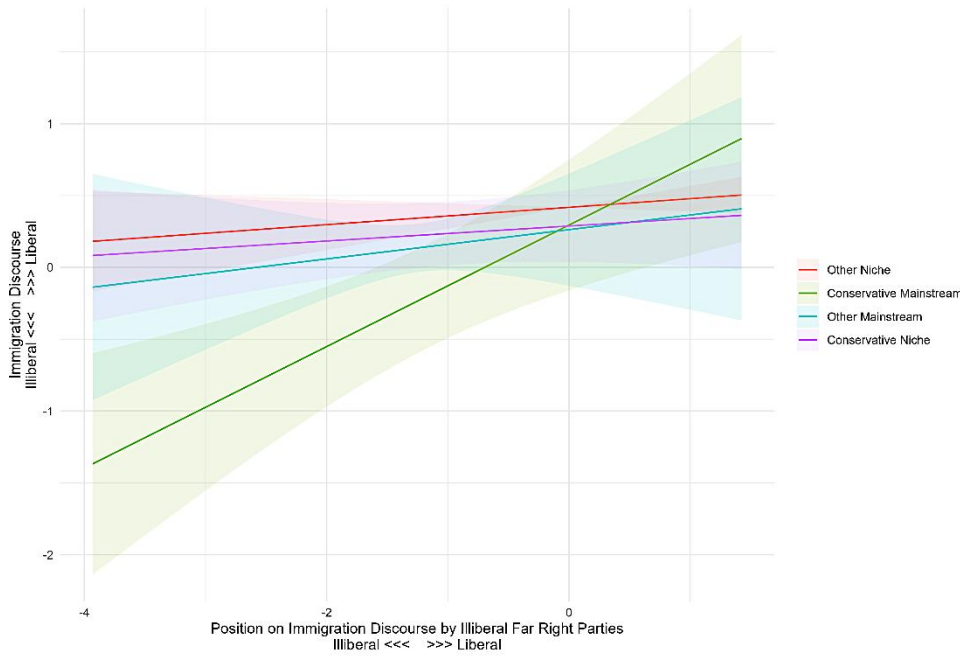38 position of the far right and other parties.

Figure A4. The Association between Immigration Discourse of Far-Right Parties and Four Types of Parties, Using a Static Approach
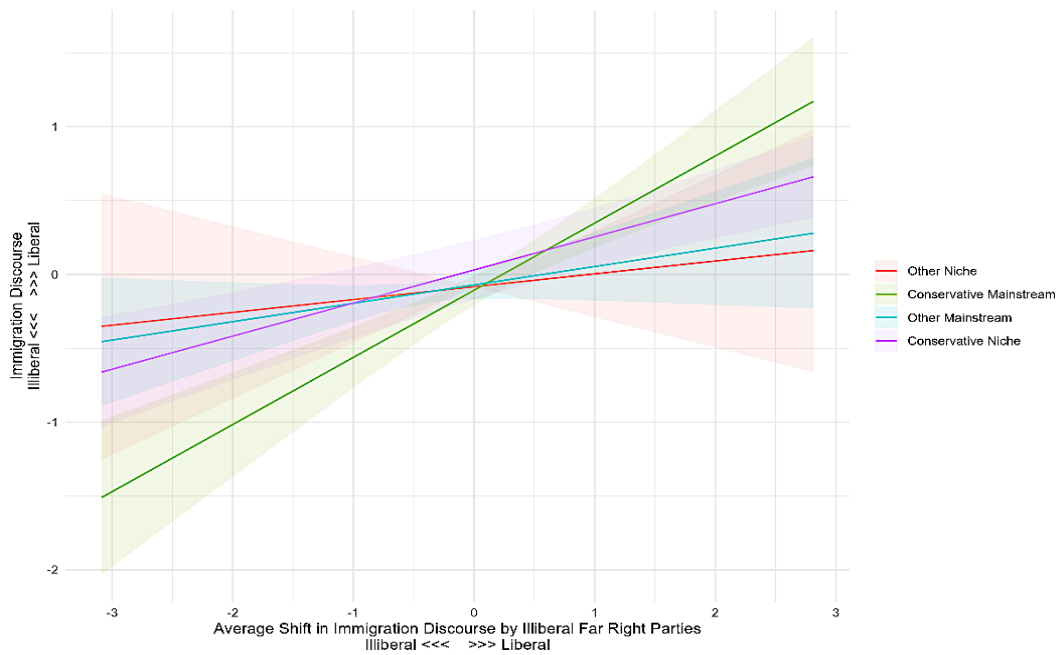
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Figure A5. The Association of Shifts in Far-Right Parties' Immigration Discourse with Immigration Discourse of Four Types of Parties

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5. Regression Tables

Table A3. Regression tables of the models presented in Figures 2, 3 and 4.

Models Dependent Variables	Model H1a Immigration Discourse	Model H1b Immigration Discourse	Model H2 Change in Immigration Discourse
Independent Variables			
Average Far-right Discourse	0.2536**	0.0966	
	(0.0789)	(0.0587)	
Niche Parties	0.1188		
	(0.1399)		
Immigration Discourse (lagged)	0.1573	0.1434	
	(0.0910)	(0.0852)	
Average Far-right Discourse × Niche Parties	-0.1608		
	(0.1371)		
Conservative Mainstream		-0.1212	
		(0.1412)	
Other Mainstream		-0.1766	
		(0.1559)	
Conservative Niche		-0.0809	
		(0.1376)	
Average Far-right Discourse × Conservative Mainstream		0.2964*	
		(0.1549)	
Average Far-right Discourse × Other Mainstream		-0.0408	
		(0.1492)	
Average Far-right Discourse × Conservative Niche		-0.0318	
		(0.0356)	
Exit Government			0.4335
			(0.3932)
Far-right			0.0801
			(0.2356)
After 2015			-0.0352
			(0.5308)
Exit Government × Far right			-0.8128*
			(0.3407)
Fixed-effects			
Country	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time	Yes	Yes	No
Fit statistics			
Observations	348	348	92
R2	0.19178	0.21759	0.08494
Within R^2	0.09645	0.12531	0.04547

*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

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References

Jolly, S., Bakker, R., Hooghe, L., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M., & Vachudova, M. A. (2022). Chapel Hill Expert Survey trend file, 1999–2019. *Electoral Studies*, *75*, 102420. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102420

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