Appendix for: *"Instrumentally* inclusive: the political psychology of homonationalism"

Turnbull-Dugarte & López Ortega

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A Ethical considerations

The research undertaken in the project was completed in compliance with the American Political Science Association's *Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research*. This study was given approval by the Faculty of Social Science Ethical Review Board at the University of Southampton, with application number: ERGO/80620.

Below we summarise the core ethical considerations

- Our survey experiment gathered informed and voluntary consent via the following item that was presented to respondents in advance of recording any other information:
  I agree to participate in a research study conducted by the University of Southampton. In order to analyze responses to the questionnaire, my answers will be recorded. No identifying information about me will be made public, and any views I express will be kept completely confidential.
  Please select one of the following options. If you choose not to participate, the survey will end immediately.
  - I agree to take part and am aged 18 or over
  - I disagree and do not wish to take part
- The data is fully anonymous and no identifiable information is recorded. Given the large N (in surplus of 1000 in both country cases) the probability of identification via observable data is minute, if not impossible.

- We do not anticipate any undue risks to participation in the online survey. Individuals are informed, however, of their ability to exit the survey at any time should they no longer wish to continue.
- The data gathered via the survey is securely stored on the institutional server of the University of Southampton.
- As detailed in the front matter, the content of our experimental treatments replicated real-world events that had been occurring naturally and were reported in the news media. As such, whilst the individually named characters were fictitious, they represented a fictional replication of real individuals engaged in the activity described. The treatment messages were, therefore, not deceptive nor did they inadvertently exposure respondents to additional anti-LGBT messaging or demonisation of ethnic out-groups. No debrief was presented to respondents post-treatment.
- Participation and recruitment in the survey in Spain was undertaken via Prolific Academic. In line with Prolific's *Ethical rewards* policy, respondents were compensated at a rate of £9 per hour.

B Summary statistics

Study 1 (UK) data description

Table A.1: Summary statistics (UK) continuous variables

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Opposition to LGBT+ education	1151	3.46	3.56	0.00	10.00
Immigration views	1151	6.10	3.08	0.00	10.00
Income	1148	1.65	1.52	0.00	11.00

Table A.2: Summary statistics (UK) categorical variables

		N	Percent
Treatment condition	Control	576	50.04
	Treatment	575	49.96
Immigration views (+/- mean)	Above	595	51.69
	Below	556	48.31
Immigration views (low/medium/high)	Low	259	22.50
	Medium	297	25.80
	High	595	51.69
Gender	Man	549	47.70
	Woman	599	52.04
Sexuality/Gender ID	Cis-Hetero	1036	90.01
	LGBT+	112	9.73
Age	18-24	131	11.38
	25-34	152	13.21
	35-44	215	18.68
	45-54	212	18.42
	55-64	194	16.85
	65+	244	21.20
Race	White	956	83.06
	Non-white	195	16.94
Religion	0	691	60.03
	1	263	22.85
	2	110	9.56
	3	29	2.52
	4	38	3.30
	5	20	1.74
Ideology	Centre	458	39.79
	Left	356	30.93
	Right	177	15.38
	Prefer not to say	157	13.64
Vote recall	Brexit party	13	1.13
	Conservatives	365	31.71
	Greens	22	1.91

	Labour	415	36.06
	Other	149	12.95
	SNP	30	2.61
	Prefer not to say	154	13.38
Brexit vote recall	I was eligible but did not vote	86	7.47
	I was not eligible to vote	90	7.82
	Leave	376	32.67
	Remain	556	48.31
	Rather not say	40	3.48

Table A.3: Covariate balance across treatment conditions (UK)

	Control (N=576)		Treatment (N=575)			
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Diff. in Means	Std. Error
Immigration views	6.2	3.1	6.0	3.1	-0.2	0.2
Immigration views (+/- mean)	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Gender	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
LGBT+	1.1	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.0
Age	3.9	1.6	3.7	1.7	-0.1	0.1
Non-white	1.2	0.4	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.0
Leavers	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0
Labour voters	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0

Zero significant difference between treatment groups

Study 2 (Spain) data description

Table A.4: Summary statistics (Spain) continuous variables

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Opposes LGBT+ education	1205	3.06	3.27	0.00	10.00
Immigration views	1196	6.17	2.49	0.00	10.00
Pride in EU	1178	6.05	2.57	0.00	10.00
Pride in country's western values	1187	7.16	2.28	0.00	10.00
Pride in country's green efforts	1196	5.94	2.57	0.00	10.00
Pride in country's efforts on gender violence	1195	6.30	2.69	0.00	10.00
Pride in country's flag	1156	4.19	3.26	0.00	10.00
PTV Partido Popular	1150	2.47	2.92	0.00	10.00
PTV PSOE	1146	3.21	3.23	0.00	10.00
PTV VOX	1169	1.60	2.60	0.00	10.00
PTV Ciudadanos	1135	1.78	2.36	0.00	10.00
PTV Mas Pais	1057	2.52	3.30	0.00	10.00

Table A.5: Summary statistics (Spain) categorical variables

		N	Percent
Supports LGBT+ education	No	275	31.34
	Yes	941	68.66
Treatment condition	Control	611	51.24
	Treatment	605	48.76
Immigration views (+/- mean)	Below	516	49.78
	Above	700	50.22
Immigration views (low/medium/high)	Low	134	15.78
	Medium	382	33.99
	High	700	50.22
Gender	Man	615	50.34
	Woman	601	49.66
Sexuality/Gender ID	Cis-hetero	907	83.05
	LGBT+	309	16.95
Age	24 and younger	459	14.77
	25-34	406	20.08
	35-44	184	26.90
	45-54	108	23.69
	55-64	38	9.38
	65 and older	21	5.18
Has children	No	1006	64.30
	Yes	210	35.70
Born in foreign country	No	947	75.16
	Yes	269	24.84

Table A.6: Covariate balance across treatment conditions (Spain)

	Control (N=611)		Treatment (N=605)			
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Diff. in Means	Std. Error
Immigration views (0-10) 1	6.1	2.6	6.3	2.7	0.2	0.3
Immigration views (+/- mean)	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Gender	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
LGBT+	1.1	0.4	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.0
Age	3.1	1.3	3.1	1.4	0.0	0.1
Foreign-born	1.3	0.4	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.0

Zero significant difference between treatment groups

C Descriptive statistics

Sexually modern nativism

The ESS has consistently asked from the first wave to the last the following question: *"Using this card, to what extent do you think [country] should allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe"*. The item has four possible answers: "Allow many to come and live here", "Allow some", "Allow a few", "Allow none". We classified as nativists those who answered the two lowest values, "Allow a few" and "Allow none". Although the item does not refer directly to Muslim immigrants, the reference to immigrants from poor non-European countries is close to the concept. Although the latest waves include a more extensive battery of questions concerning LGBTQ+ attitudes, the ESS only includes one question since the first wave on attitudes toward LGB people. We use this item to observe the development in sexually open attitudes among nativists. This question reads: *"Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish."* It has five points of agreement/disagreement that are made explicit in the figure. Although the ESS surveys have been made in multitude of European countries, not all countries have a consistent series over time. We have selected countries with data for at least 8 of the 10 series conducted by the ESS to date.

Figure A.1: (Rising) LGB tolerance among European nativists (2002-2020)

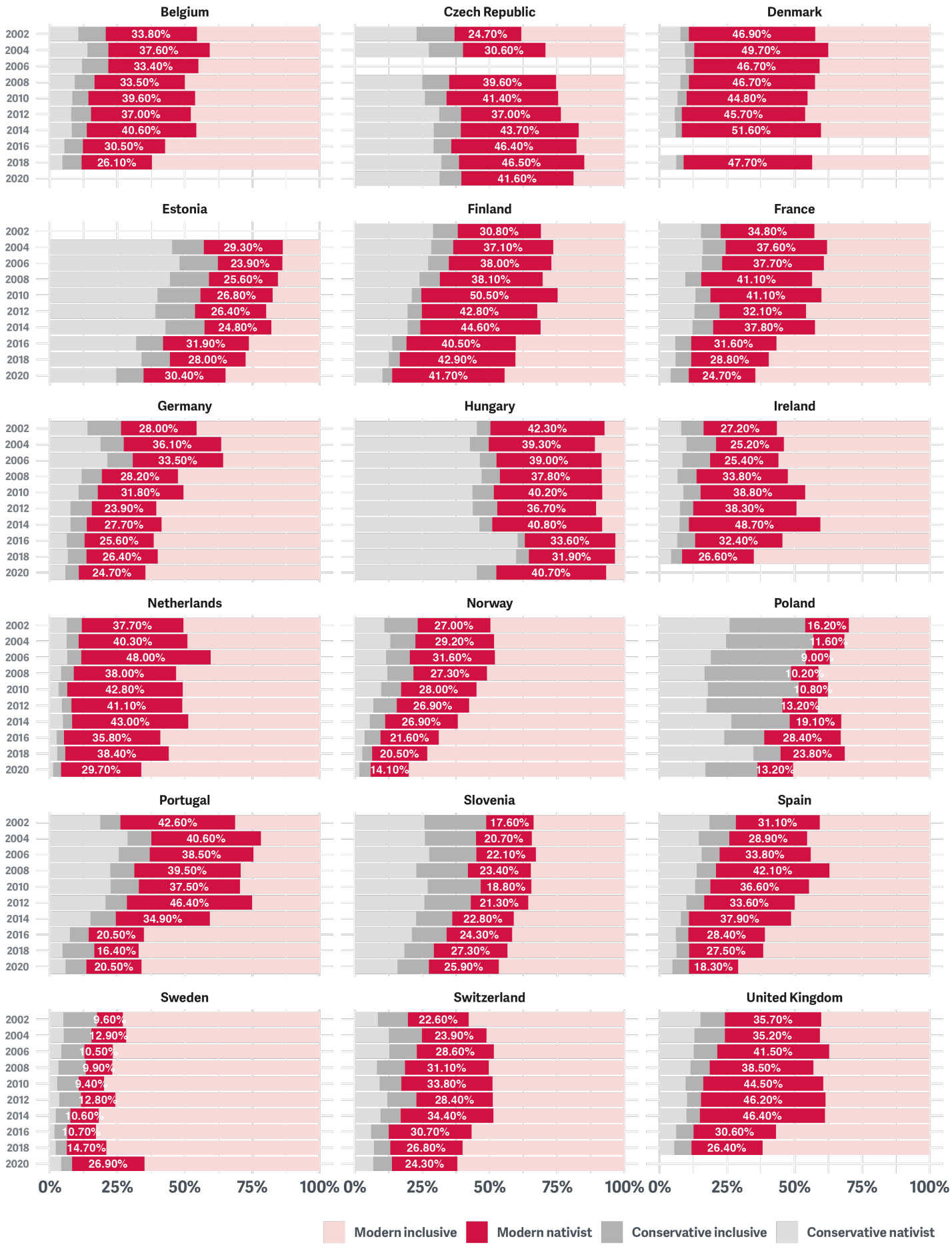


Figure A.2: Prevalence of sexually modern nativists across European states (2002-2020)

Cross-national level of support for LGB and T+ inclusive education

In Figure A.3, we present data from the 2019 Eurobarometer (Eurobarometer 914) to report that between our two cases - the UK and Spain - support for LGB (and T+) education is 7-points (9- points) higher in the Spain that it is in the latter. Congruent with the claims we present in the main body of the text, we interpret this increased support for LGB (and T+) education in Spain to be indicative of the country's status as an early-mover on LGBT+ rights which, as a result, makes it a case where the national in-group acceptance and tolerance of LGBT+ citizens is higher.

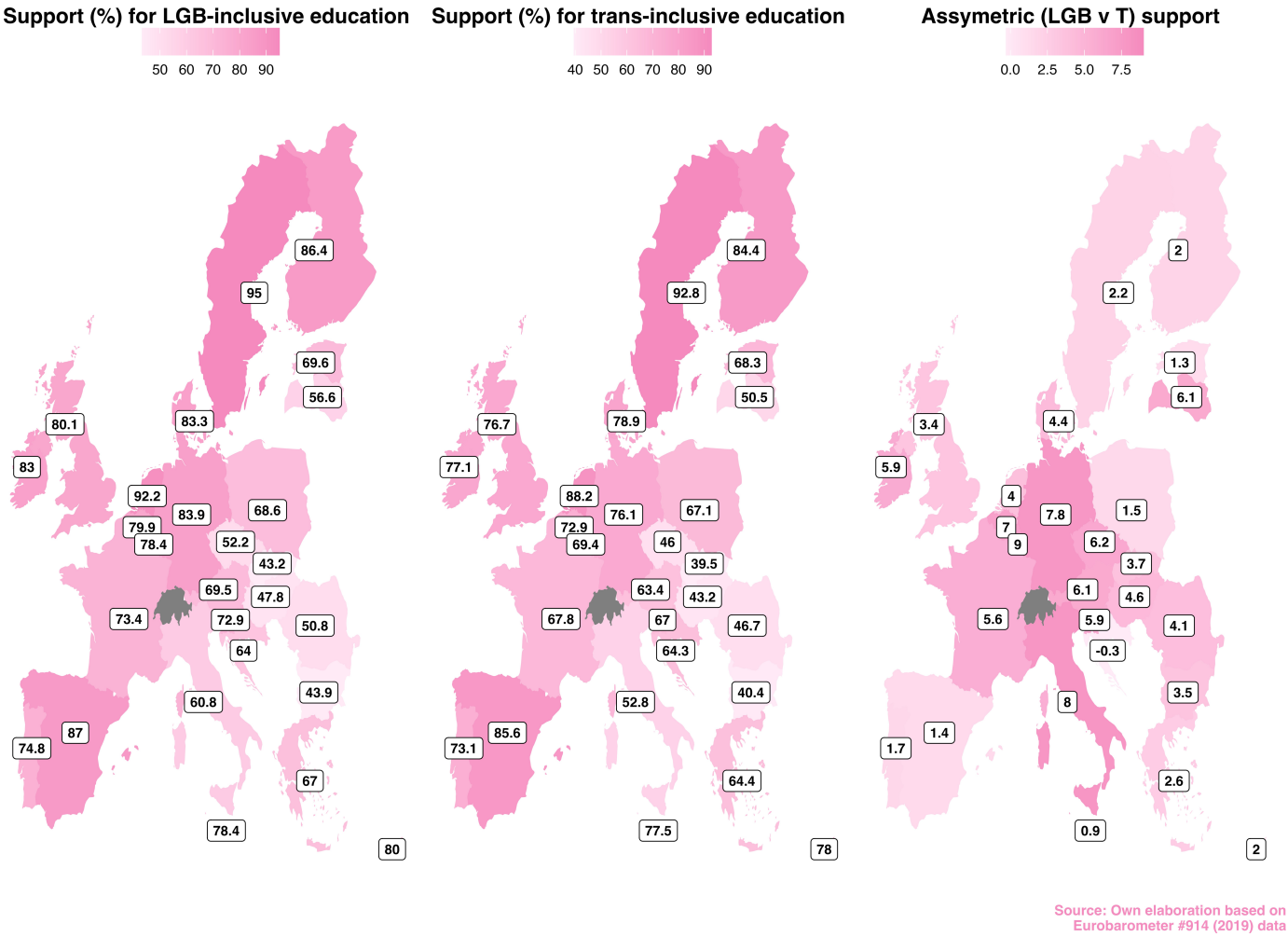


Figure A.3: Support for LGBT+ education across EU member states

D Regression tables

Study 1 (UK) model output

Table A.7: Regression model (binary outcome: support for LGBT+ education) UK

	Base	Interaction model	Pro-immigration only	Anti-immigration only
Treatment	0.022	0.148**	−0.056*	0.097**
	(0.028)	(0.058)	(0.033)	(0.042)
Immigration		0.065***		
		(0.006)		
Treatment*Immigration		−0.019**		
		(0.009)		
Intercept	0.642***	0.238***	0.830***	0.447***
	(0.020)	(0.042)	(0.023)	(0.030)
Observations	1151	1151	595	556
R2	0.001	0.134	0.005	0.009
R2 Adj.	0.000	0.132	0.003	0.008
AIC	1562.5	1401.5	597.5	807.8
BIC	1577.6	1426.8	610.6	820.7
Log.Lik.	−778.230	−695.762	−295.727	−400.880
F	0.613	59.144	2.922	5.260

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table A.8: Regression model (linear outcome: support for LGBT+ education) - UK

	Base	Interaction model	Pro-immigration only	Anti-immigration only
Treatment	−0.161	−1.117**	0.449*	−0.743**
	(0.210)	(0.478)	(0.249)	(0.302)
Immigration		−0.550***		
		(0.045)		
Treatment*Immigration		0.145**		
		(0.067)		
Intercept	3.545***	6.943***	1.969***	5.188***
	(0.148)	(0.335)	(0.165)	(0.209)
Observations	1151	1151	595	556
R2	0.001	0.175	0.005	0.011
R2 Adj.	0.000	0.172	0.004	0.009
AIC	6192.0	5975.9	3015.2	2991.3
BIC	6207.2	6001.1	3028.3	3004.2
Log.Lik.	−3093.016	−2982.940	−1504.589	−1492.627
F	0.588	80.828	3.250	6.076

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

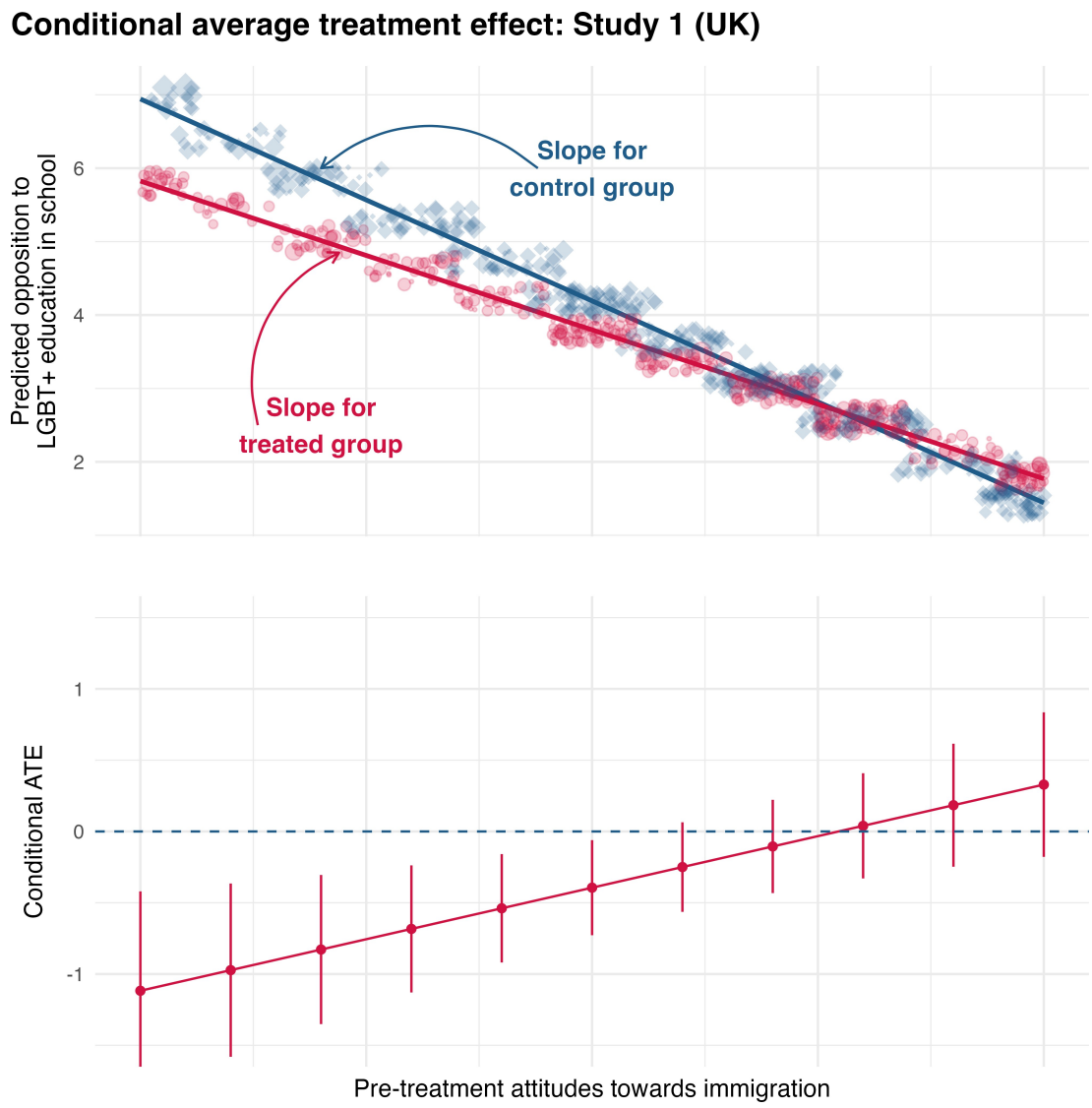


Figure A.4: Treatment effect across distribution of immigrant preferences (continuous outcome)
Full regression output in Table A.8

Study 2 (Spain) model output

Table A.9: Regression model (binary outcome: support for LGBT+ education) - Spain

	Base	Interaction model	Pro-immigration only	Anti-immigration only
Treatment	0.095***	0.211***	0.111***	0.103**
	(0.025)	(0.062)	(0.027)	(0.044)
Immigration	0.065***	0.075***		
	(0.005)	(0.007)		
Treatment*Immigration		−0.019**		
		(0.009)		
Constant	0.238***	0.180***	0.784***	0.484***
	(0.033)	(0.044)	(0.019)	(0.030)
Observations	1196	1196	700	516
R2	0.154	0.157	0.023	0.011
R2 Adj.	0.152	0.155	0.021	0.009
AIC	22 739.9	22 737.8	14 418.3	8629.7
BIC	22 760.3	22 763.3	14 432.0	8642.5
Log.Lik.	−11 365.974	−11 363.917	−7206.155	−4311.859
F	108.429	73.844	16.356	5.476

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table A.10: Regression model (linear outcome: support for LGBT+ education) - Spain

	Base	Interaction model	Pro-immigration only	Anti-immigration only
Treatment	−0.953***	−2.001***	−0.923***	−1.154***
	(0.195)	(0.488)	(0.229)	(0.344)
Immigration	−0.519***	−0.606***		
	(0.036)	(0.052)		
Treatment*Immigration		0.170**		
		(0.072)		
Constant	6.720***	7.249***	2.461***	4.686***
	(0.260)	(0.344)	(0.161)	(0.238)
Observations	1185	1185	695	510
R2	0.164	0.168	0.023	0.022
R2 Adj.	0.163	0.166	0.021	0.020
AIC	27 415.8	27 412.3	17 207.6	10 672.4
BIC	27 436.1	27 437.7	17 221.2	10 685.1
Log.Lik.	−13 703.884	−13 701.143	−8600.779	−5333.190
F	116.256	79.623	16.244	11.276

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Models of additional outcomes

Table A.11: Regression model testing ancillary and placebo outcomes

	EU norms	Western liberal values	Green politics	Domestic violence protections	Spanish flag	Spanish military
Treatment	0.450	1.189*	−0.597	−0.123	−0.526	0.630
	(0.712)	(0.650)	(0.647)	(0.669)	(0.887)	(0.896)
Immigration	0.333***	0.184***	0.232***	0.231***	−0.289***	−0.028
	(0.070)	(0.063)	(0.071)	(0.073)	(0.096)	(0.097)
Treatment*Immigration	−0.092	−0.215**	0.074	0.022	−0.030	−0.172
	(0.103)	(0.095)	(0.094)	(0.099)	(0.133)	(0.133)
Constant	4.044***	6.120***	4.563***	4.857***	6.341***	5.383***
	(0.482)	(0.442)	(0.491)	(0.500)	(0.612)	(0.645)
Observations	1163	1171	1180	1179	1144	1113
R2	0.097	0.025	0.090	0.064	0.073	0.020
R2 Adj.	0.095	0.023	0.088	0.062	0.071	0.017
AIC	25 989.4	26 300.8	26 465.8	26 655.8	26 320.9	25 447.7
BIC	26 014.7	26 326.1	26 491.2	26 681.1	26 346.1	25 472.7

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

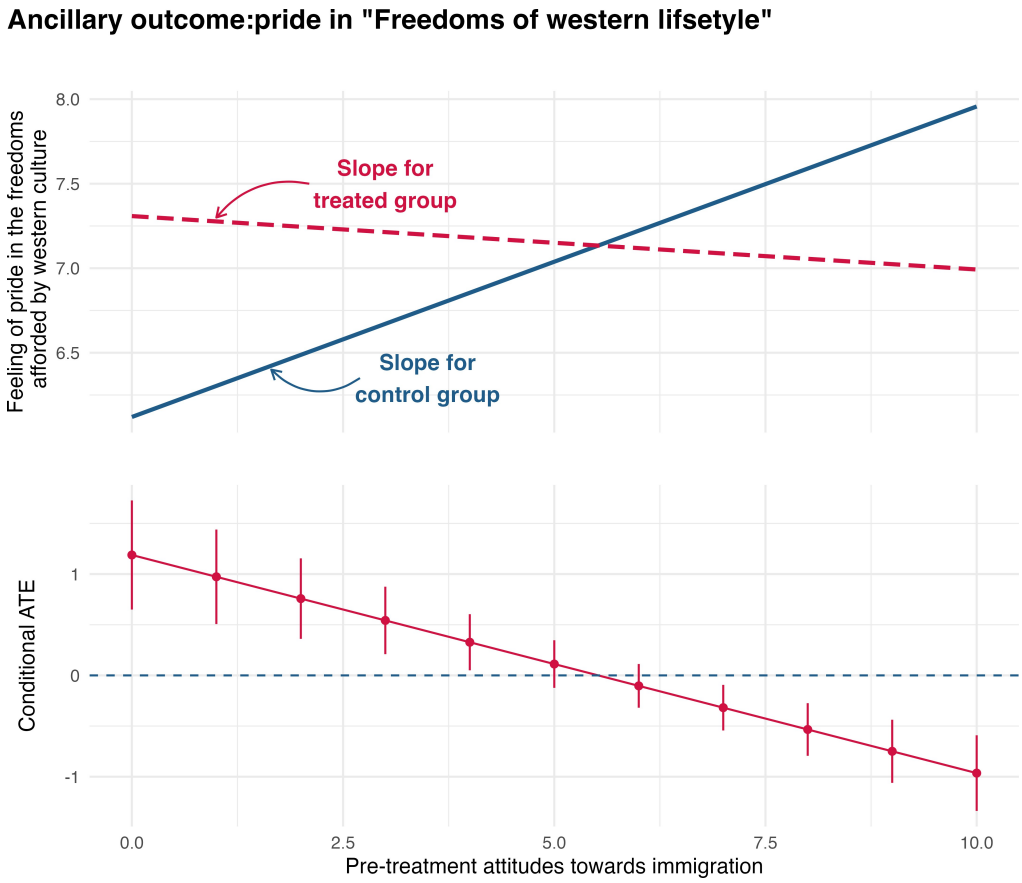


Figure A.5: Mechanism test (linear outcome)
Full regression output in Table A.11

E Translation of Spanish treatment texts

Pro-LGBT content in school textbooks described as "sectarian."

An association of [**Muslim**] parents led by [Lucia Muñoz/**Farah Begum**] proposes to review the educational textbooks used by students in the Community of Madrid. According to statements from one concerned mother, [Teresa Marquez/**Fatima Bennani**], their association has identified "sectarian" content whose objective is to ideologically manipulate children.

As a result, this group of parents has joined the demands of *[**Muslim**] Parents for Freedom*. Under the demands that "parents should be able to choose the type of sex education they want for their children" [Jose´ Manuel Fernández/**Mohammed El Idrissi**], spokesperson for the association, proposes to review a list of books about the LGBT+ community that goes against their [**Muslim**] values.

Among the themes they want to eliminate from school textbooks are those that revolve around protecting family diversity, adoption, including content about the LGBT+ community in school curricula, and the funding of research on sexual orientation and gender identity within public universities.

F Test of Linearity assumption

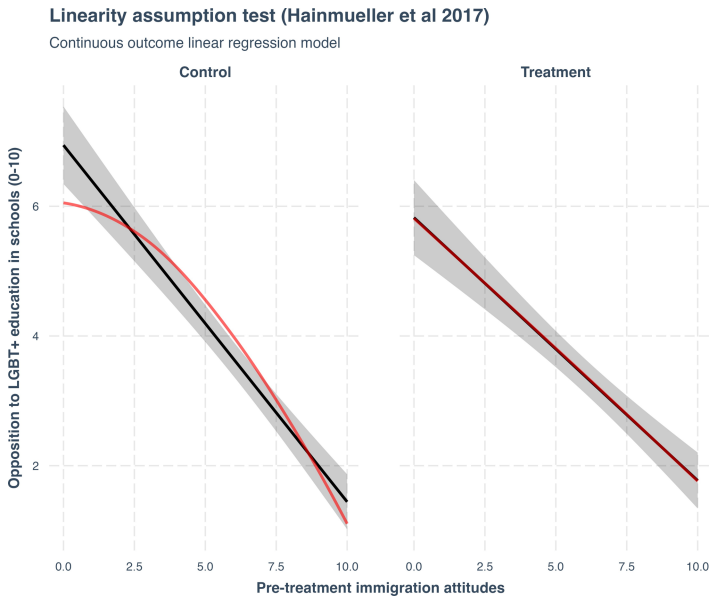


Figure A.6: Hainmueller et al (2017) linearity test on OLS model
Full regression output in Table A.8

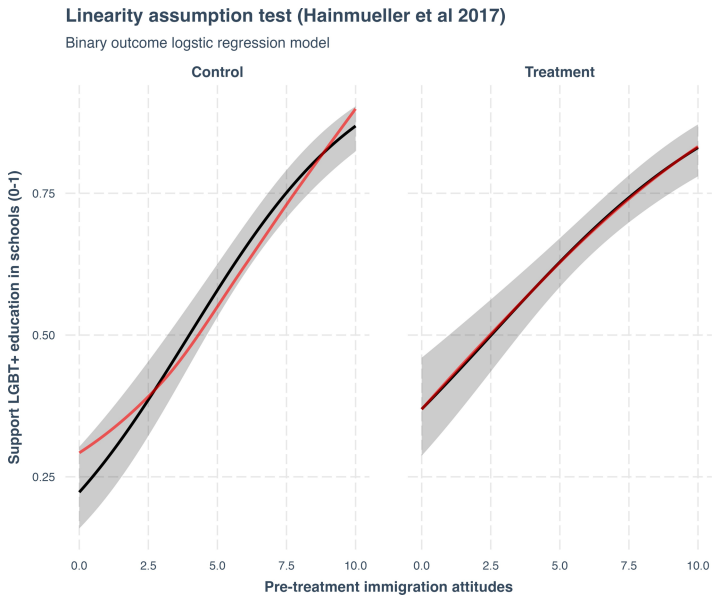


Figure A.7: Hainmueller et al (2017) linearity test on logistic regression model
Full regression output in Table A.7

Power curve

In Figure A.8 we report a power calculation reporting the level of power provided for our estimation of the interaction effects reported to calculate the CATE. This calculation were produced using the *InteractionPoweR* package in *R*. The figure reports the amount of statistical power resulting from variations in the sample size (800-1200 in increments of 50) by the estimated dichotomous interaction effect ranging from .1 to .2. Our estimated interaction is interaction coefficient is .14. The results of our power calculation indicate that the dichotomous interaction model wields a level of statistical power comfortably in excess of the 0.8 threshold (horizontal line in the panels).

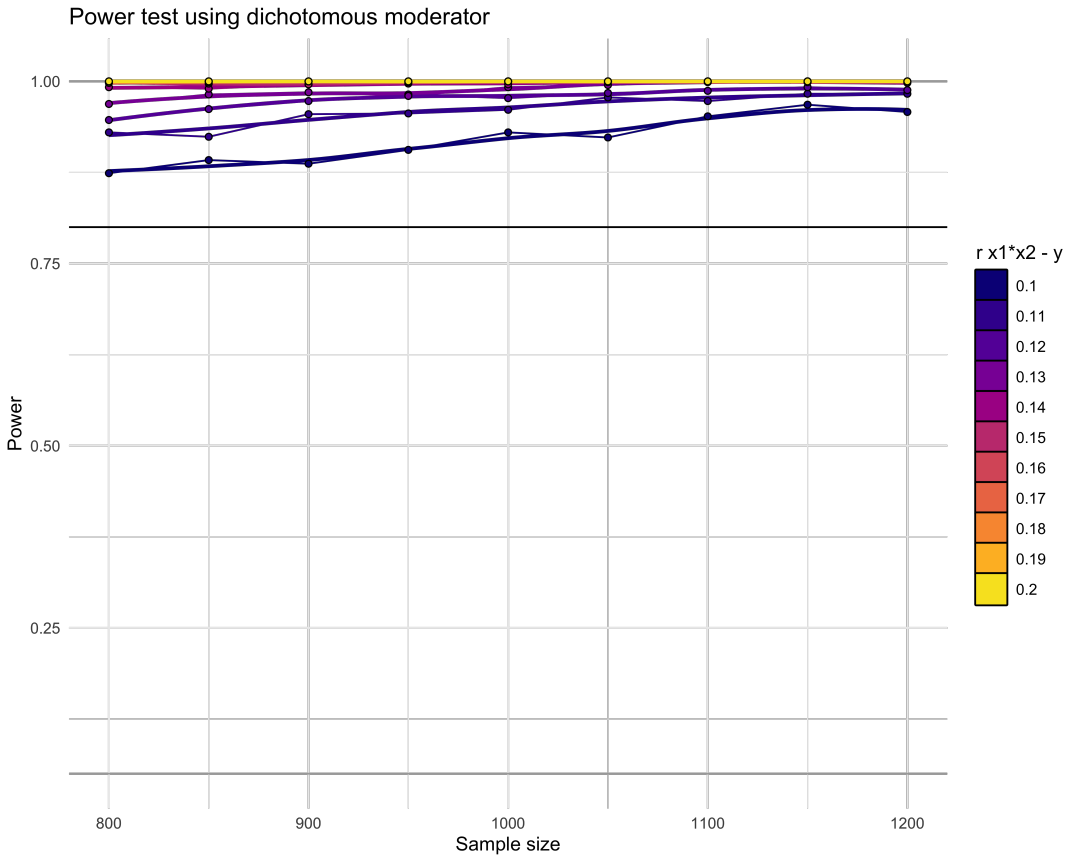
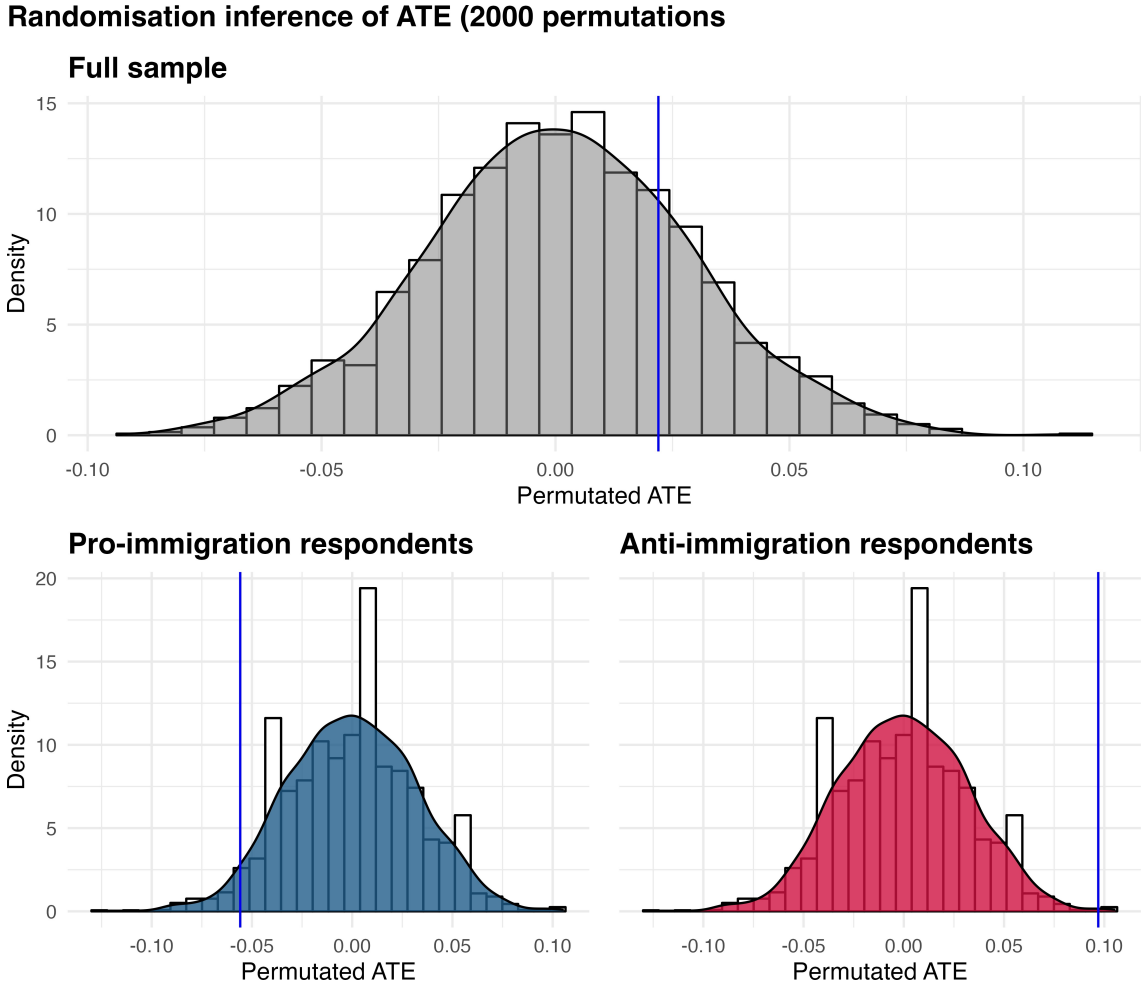


Figure A.8: Power calculation for identification of interaction effects

Randomisation inference

Figure A.9: Randomisation test using 2000 permutations



G Multiverse analyses

Figures **A10** through Figure **A13** reports the effect of treatment assignment on the outcome across a multiverse of different specifications. Variations in models include specifications with different covariates, modelling and subsamples. Figure **A10** and Figure **A12** reports estimations based on the full sample as well as those with below- and above- mean attitudes towards immigration in the UK and Spanish studies, respectively. Figure **A11** and Figure **A13** report estimations based on a three-way stratification of the sample into those with low, mid, and high-level support for immigration among each of the two country studies.

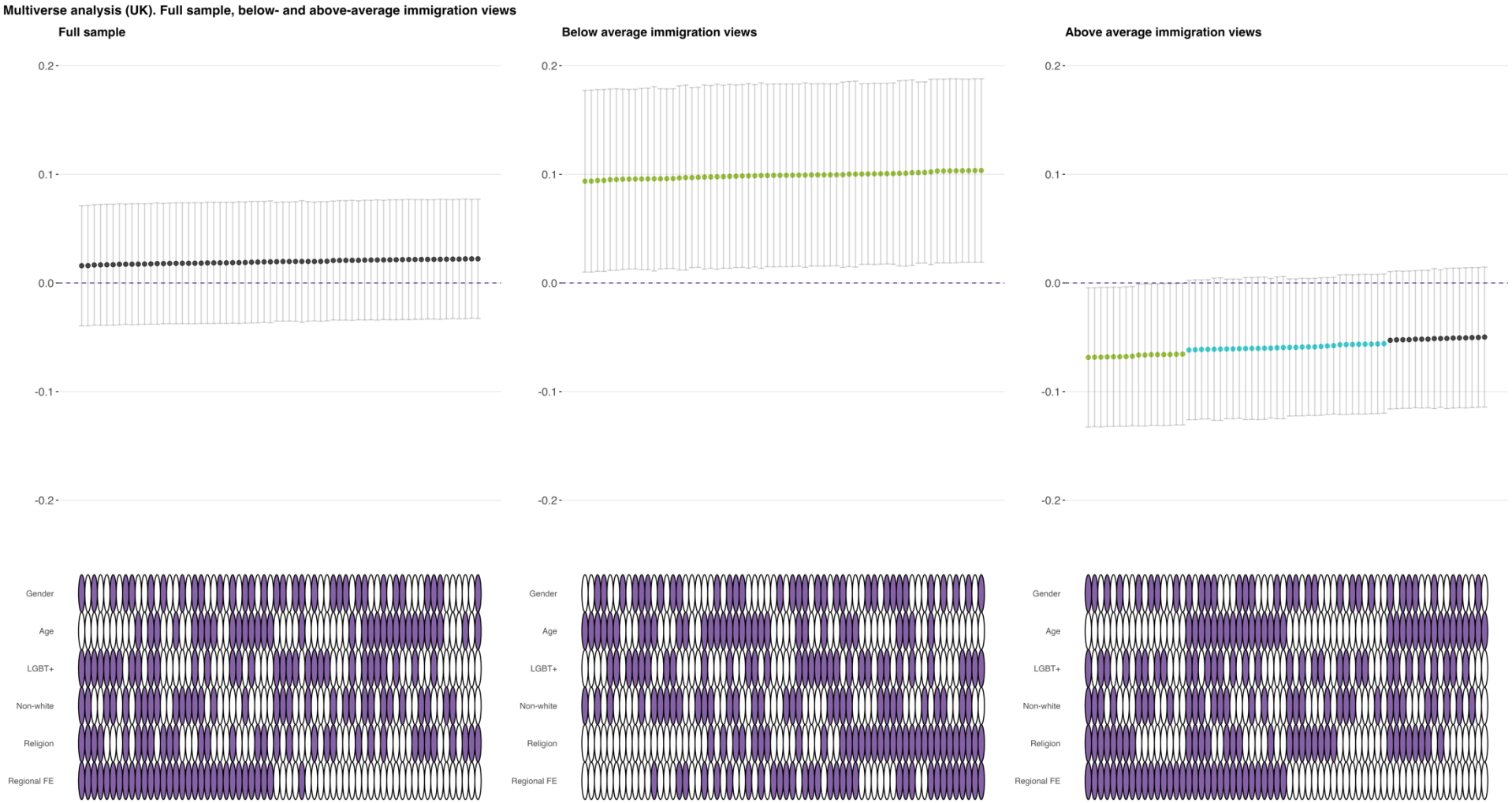


Figure A 10: Multiverse specification curve (UK) I
Output from DataVerse file: multiverse.R

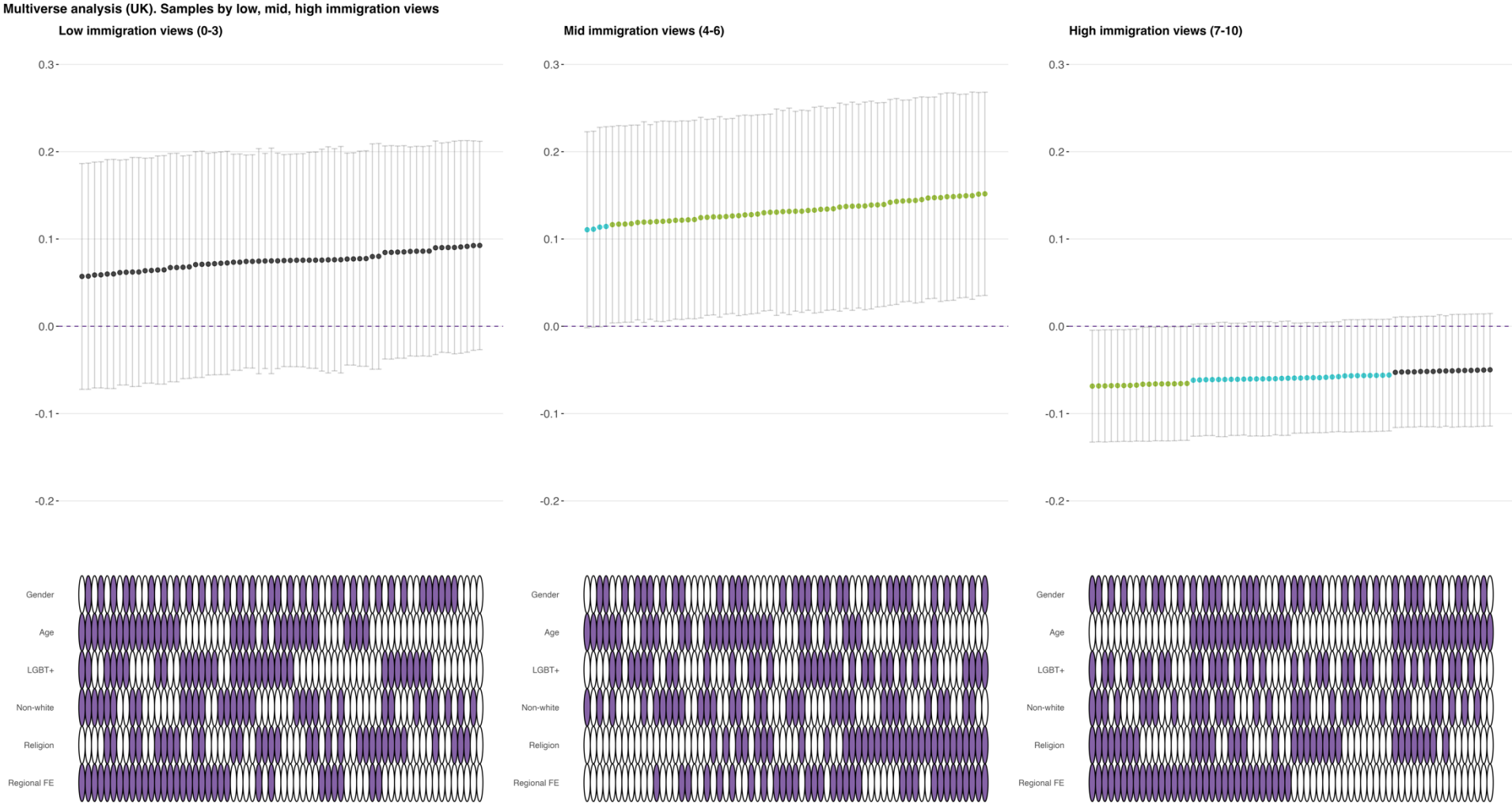


Figure A 11: Multiverse specification curve (UK) II
Output from DataVerse file: multiverse.R

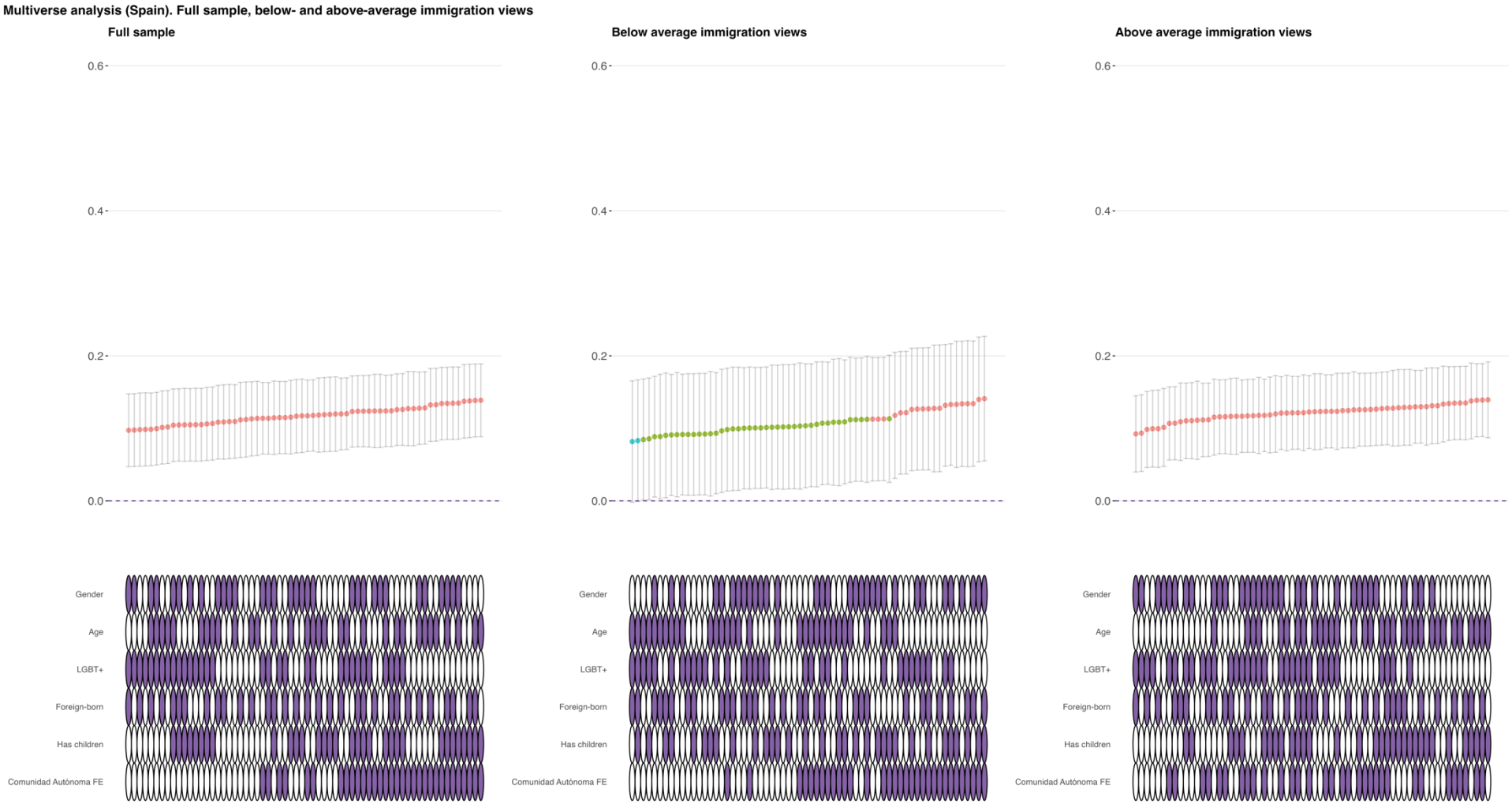


Figure A 12: Multiverse specification curve (Spain) I
Output from DataVerse file: multiverse.R

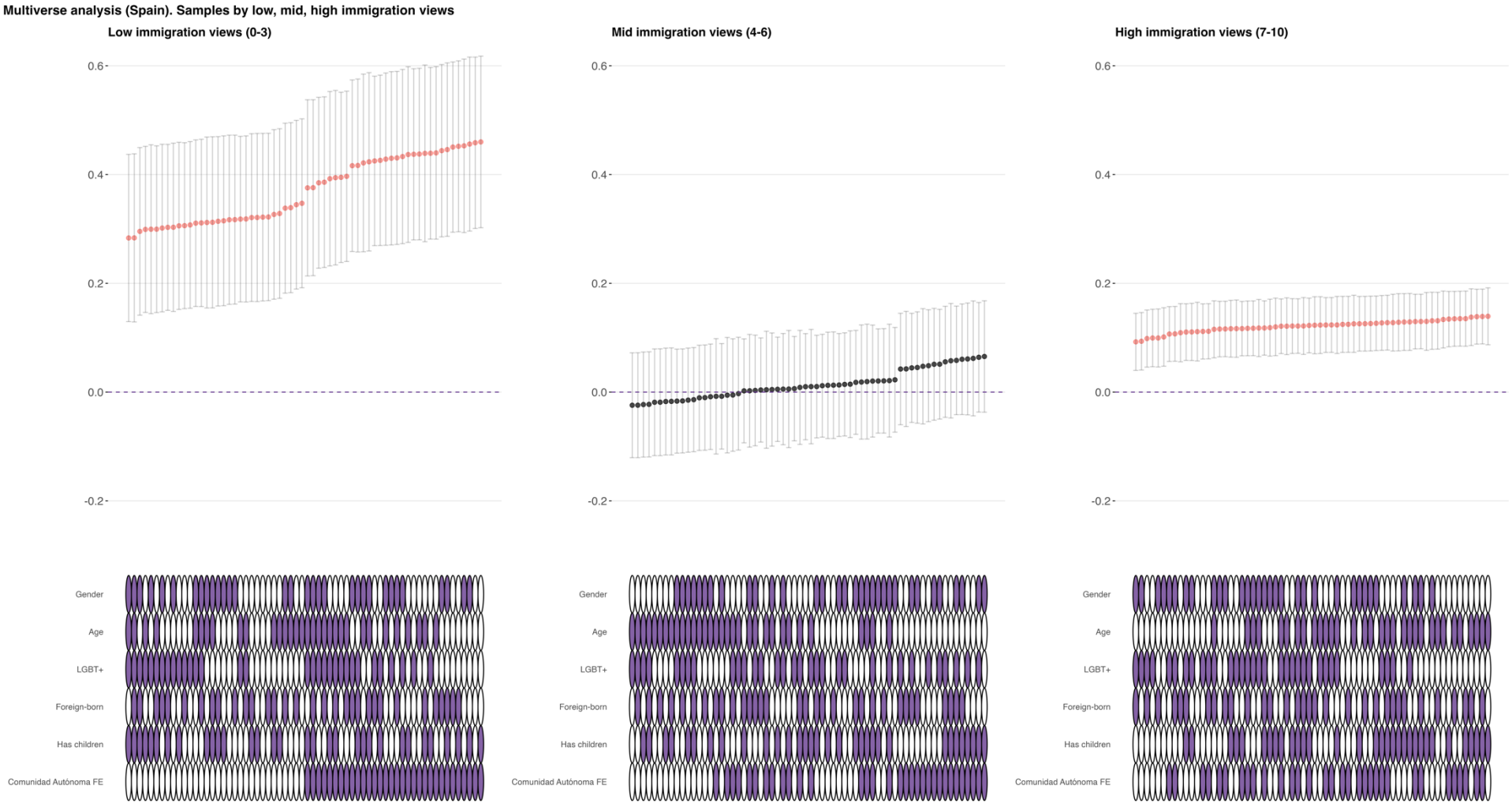


Figure A 13: Multiverse specification curve (Spain) II
Output from DataVerse file: multiverse.R