

Supplemental Materials for:
Territorial Loss and Populism

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Contents

A Full Model Specifications	2
B Results by Party	12
C Additional Figures	14
D Description of Variables	16

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E Survey Experiment Design	17
E.1 Territorial Loss Treatment	17

Appendices

A Full Model Specifications

For all of the tables presented in this section, we standardize both territorial loss concern and the attitudinal control variables to range from 0-1, so that all coefficients can comparably be interpreted as the effect of going from the minimum to maximum value on each dimension.

Table A.1: Regression Estimates of Loss Concern Effects on Pooled Populist Party Evaluations

	Support for Populist (All)			Support for Populist (In Power)			Support for Populist (In Opposition)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Territorial Loss Concern	27.74*** (2.03)	16.95*** (2.37)	9.72*** (2.28)	13.34*** (3.73)	13.95*** (3.50)	4.52 (2.75)	21.70*** (1.65)	15.95*** (2.03)	16.42*** (2.13)
Age			-0.16*** (0.04)			-0.12** (0.06)			-0.07* (0.04)
Completed University			-2.43 (1.95)			-5.41* (3.00)			2.93* (1.77)
Completed Secondary			1.15 (2.24)			-0.13 (3.23)			4.70** (2.03)
Technical/Vocational Education			1.44 (2.16)			-3.05 (2.96)			7.66*** (1.95)
Male			0.10 (1.31)			-0.24 (1.73)			-0.22 (1.23)
Urban			-3.86** (1.96)			-1.13 (2.81)			-0.57 (1.87)
Small Town			-3.00* (1.79)			-2.31 (2.50)			-0.58 (1.66)
COVID Restriction Support Index			6.85* (3.99)			52.35*** (5.19)			-22.78*** (3.54)
Interventionism Index			5.54 (3.90)			18.38*** (5.72)			-3.44 (3.89)
Globalization Support Index			-4.43*** (1.66)			-1.88 (2.16)			-1.67 (1.57)
Support for Democracy Index			-0.48 (0.90)			4.57*** (0.98)			-1.75** (0.88)
National Identity Index			19.98*** (4.29)			21.83*** (5.46)			0.07 (4.62)
Accept LGBT Neighbors			-16.57*** (2.41)			-20.24*** (2.82)			2.75 (2.40)
Religious Importance			13.13*** (2.00)			26.15*** (2.44)			-4.64** (2.03)
Political Interest			-15.45*** (2.54)			-7.82** (3.18)			-11.17*** (2.26)
Constant	16.47*** (1.29)	32.67*** (1.65)	34.85*** (5.66)	24.29*** (2.78)	19.80*** (2.19)	-18.55** (7.49)	13.44*** (0.97)	12.68*** (1.40)	32.17*** (5.20)
Fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	6,483	6,483	6,483	3,209	3,209	3,209	6,483	6,483	6,483

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.2: ATE Estimates of Prime Effects on Pooled Populist Party Evaluations

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
	Support for Populist (All)			Support for Populist (In Power)			Support for Populist (In Opposition)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Territorial Prime	2.44 (1.85)	2.79* (1.65)	1.88 (1.52)	-0.87 (2.77)	-0.40 (2.65)	-0.10 (2.00)	2.08 (1.58)	2.86* (1.54)	2.55* (1.45)
Age			-0.14*** (0.05)			-0.09 (0.07)			-0.09* (0.05)
Completed University			-3.30 (2.38)			-6.22* (3.50)			4.03* (2.22)
Completed Secondary			0.58 (2.60)			-0.13 (3.61)			5.73** (2.42)
Technical/Vocational Education			-0.06 (2.58)			-3.90 (3.43)			10.05*** (2.42)
Male			1.32 (1.51)			-0.48 (1.96)			0.58 (1.44)
Urban			-4.04* (2.29)			-0.53 (3.14)			-0.04 (2.19)
Small Town			-2.02 (2.09)			-0.02 (2.78)			0.02 (1.96)
COVID Restriction Support Index			4.47 (4.59)			51.71*** (5.74)			-24.30*** (4.18)
Interventionism Index			7.47 (4.57)			17.19*** (6.34)			-3.24 (4.53)
Globalization Support Index			-6.87*** (1.87)			-3.76 (2.47)			-2.32 (1.79)
Support for Democracy Index			-0.99 (1.07)			5.20*** (1.15)			-2.90*** (1.03)
National Identity Index			23.56*** (4.99)			22.85*** (5.94)			7.37 (5.16)
Accept LGBT Neighbors			-15.13*** (2.82)			-20.21*** (3.27)			3.58 (2.73)
Religious Importance			14.10*** (2.27)			24.90*** (2.80)			-2.74 (2.27)
Political Interest			-16.69*** (2.84)			-9.36*** (3.52)			-14.03*** (2.64)
Constant	28.71*** (1.53)	41.89*** (1.52)	36.87*** (6.72)	32.08*** (2.46)	28.15*** (2.04)	-15.55* (8.73)	23.11*** (1.20)	21.67*** (1.35)	35.36*** (6.07)
Fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	4,869	4,869	4,869	2,395	2,395	2,395	4,869	4,869	4,869

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.3: Regression Estimates of Interaction Models on Pooled Populist Party Evaluations

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Populist (Pooled)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Territorial Loss Concern	18.94*** (4.77)	-3.39 (16.50)	9.79** (4.63)	-8.32 (14.49)	4.04 (3.95)	-8.08 (12.47)
Territorial Prime	-4.69 (3.53)	-6.69 (4.29)	-3.07 (2.96)	-4.03 (3.46)	-2.41 (2.64)	-3.15 (3.04)
Prime : Concern	12.15** (5.40)	34.49* (19.05)	10.44** (4.76)	22.74 (16.48)	8.08* (4.19)	17.17 (14.94)
Territorial Loss Concern ²		23.26 (14.99)		18.66 (13.49)		12.52 (11.60)
Prime : Concern ²		-23.27 (17.72)		-12.99 (16.08)		-9.54 (14.61)
Age					-0.14*** (0.05)	-0.14*** (0.05)
Completed University					-3.50 (2.38)	-3.45 (2.36)
Completed Secondary					0.12 (2.59)	0.17 (2.59)
Technical/Vocational Education					-0.36 (2.59)	-0.28 (2.57)
Male					0.86 (1.52)	0.80 (1.51)
Urban					-4.12* (2.28)	-4.05* (2.25)
Small Town					-2.37 (2.07)	-2.31 (2.05)
COVID Restriction Support Index					3.35 (4.59)	3.57 (4.59)
Interventionism Index					7.04 (4.55)	6.85 (4.58)
Globalization Support Index					-6.23*** (1.88)	-6.16*** (1.86)
Support for Democracy Index					-0.53 (1.05)	-0.58 (1.06)
National Identity Index					19.62*** (4.96)	19.21*** (4.91)
Accept LGBT Neighbors					-15.18*** (2.80)	-15.16*** (2.81)
Religious Importance					12.99*** (2.33)	13.11*** (2.33)
Political Interest					-15.77*** (2.83)	-15.73*** (2.83)
Constant	19.84*** (3.19)	21.85*** (3.91)	35.20*** (2.97)	36.92*** (3.48)	38.34*** (6.91)	39.57*** (7.09)
Fixed effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	4,869	4,869	4,869	4,869	4,869	4,869

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.4: Regression Estimates of Interaction Models on Pooled Party Evaluations for Populist Parties in Power

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Populist (In Power Only)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Territorial Loss Concern	1.42 (8.58)	-52.24* (31.64)	2.53 (8.04)	-44.91 (29.14)	-1.37 (5.35)	-42.21** (18.50)
Territorial Prime	-14.49** (6.89)	-19.51** (8.83)	-13.47** (6.38)	-16.93** (8.06)	-8.21* (4.31)	-12.81** (5.22)
Prime : Concern	21.90** (9.25)	68.67** (33.99)	20.98** (8.76)	55.89* (31.20)	13.22** (6.01)	53.19** (21.65)
Territorial Loss Concern ²		52.50** (25.74)		46.39* (24.05)		40.01** (16.21)
Prime : Concern ²		-46.09 (28.33)		-34.71 (26.36)		-39.08** (19.36)
Age					-0.09 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)
Completed University					-6.51* (3.43)	-6.14* (3.34)
Completed Secondary					-0.63 (3.59)	-0.54 (3.53)
Technical/Vocational Education					-4.29 (3.38)	-4.09 (3.29)
Male					-1.23 (1.96)	-1.55 (1.92)
Urban					-0.27 (3.07)	0.40 (2.93)
Small Town					-0.27 (2.70)	0.29 (2.62)
COVID Restriction Support Index					50.87*** (5.71)	50.92*** (5.70)
Interventionism Index					17.81*** (6.34)	17.72*** (6.35)
Globalization Support Index					-2.80 (2.43)	-2.45 (2.42)
Support for Democracy Index					5.40*** (1.12)	5.39*** (1.12)
National Identity Index					18.96*** (6.00)	18.40*** (5.81)
Accept LGBT Neighbors					-20.66*** (3.24)	-20.83*** (3.22)
Religious Importance					24.12*** (2.79)	24.19*** (2.79)
Political Interest					-8.36** (3.51)	-8.18** (3.48)
Constant	31.21*** (6.51)	37.31*** (8.42)	26.37*** (5.58)	31.88*** (7.38)	-11.49 (9.00)	-7.01 (9.36)
Fixed effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	2,395	2,395	2,395	2,395	2,395	2,395

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.5: Regression Estimates of Interaction Models on Pooled Party Evaluations for Populist Parties in Opposition

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Support for Populist (In Opposition Only)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Territorial Loss Concern	19.10*** (3.22)	36.94*** (11.37)	14.33*** (3.82)	39.67*** (11.80)	15.15*** (3.80)	42.95*** (10.68)
Territorial Prime	0.66 (2.40)	-0.41 (2.59)	2.49 (2.50)	3.05 (2.80)	2.66 (2.20)	3.41 (2.41)
Prime : Concern	0.83 (4.05)	6.77 (14.93)	-0.83 (4.23)	-11.24 (14.55)	-1.59 (3.99)	-14.09 (13.53)
Territorial Loss Concern ²		-18.59 (11.92)		-26.03** (11.88)		-28.62** (11.15)
Prime : Concern ²		-5.53 (15.41)		11.30 (14.78)		13.43 (14.06)
Age					-0.08* (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)
Completed University					3.50 (2.15)	3.41 (2.13)
Completed Secondary					4.98** (2.32)	4.87** (2.31)
Technical/Vocational Education					9.63*** (2.36)	9.46*** (2.33)
Male					0.12 (1.44)	0.29 (1.42)
Urban					-0.10 (2.21)	-0.23 (2.15)
Small Town					-0.33 (1.95)	-0.45 (1.92)
COVID Restriction Support Index					-26.11*** (4.17)	-26.66*** (4.13)
Interventionism Index					-4.16 (4.58)	-3.58 (4.52)
Globalization Support Index					-1.29 (1.83)	-1.47 (1.80)
Support for Democracy Index					-2.34** (1.04)	-2.18** (1.03)
National Identity Index					2.29 (5.38)	3.50 (5.25)
Accept LGBT Neighbors					3.56 (2.72)	3.46 (2.66)
Religious Importance					-4.20* (2.38)	-4.59** (2.33)
Political Interest					-12.92*** (2.63)	-13.00*** (2.62)
Constant	14.24*** (1.73)	12.63*** (1.93)	13.39*** (2.30)	10.97*** (2.53)	32.91*** (6.09)	29.91*** (6.12)
Fixed effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	4,869	4,869	4,869	4,869	4,869	4,869

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.6: Logistic Regression Estimates of Interaction Models on Pooled Propensity to Name Period of Greatest Historical Extent

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
	Name Period of Greatest Historical Extent								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Territorial Prime	0.39*** (0.15)		0.70*** (0.27)	0.39** (0.15)		0.81*** (0.29)	0.40** (0.16)		0.82*** (0.29)
Territorial Loss Concern		1.77*** (0.17)	2.05*** (0.28)		1.33*** (0.22)	1.68*** (0.33)		1.45*** (0.24)	1.79*** (0.33)
Prime : Concern			-0.54 (0.36)			-0.68* (0.38)			-0.69* (0.39)
Age							-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)
Completed University							0.29 (0.28)	0.22 (0.27)	0.21 (0.28)
Completed Secondary							-0.02 (0.31)	-0.12 (0.30)	-0.12 (0.31)
Technical/Vocational Education							-0.33 (0.29)	-0.43 (0.29)	-0.44 (0.29)
Male							1.01*** (0.16)	0.94*** (0.16)	0.95*** (0.16)
Urban							-0.00 (0.19)	-0.01 (0.19)	-0.01 (0.19)
Small Town							-0.24 (0.19)	-0.25 (0.19)	-0.26 (0.19)
COVID Restriction Support Index							-0.52 (0.42)	-0.73* (0.41)	-0.67 (0.42)
Interventionism Index							-0.27 (0.48)	-0.43 (0.46)	-0.42 (0.47)
Globalization Support Index							0.37** (0.18)	0.45*** (0.17)	0.45*** (0.17)
Support for Democracy Index							0.06 (0.11)	0.07 (0.10)	0.08 (0.10)
National Identity Index							0.58 (0.52)	-0.06 (0.52)	-0.09 (0.52)
Accept LGBT Neighbors							0.43 (0.27)	0.44* (0.26)	0.45* (0.26)
Religious Importance							0.13 (0.26)	-0.05 (0.24)	-0.04 (0.24)
Political Interest							-0.12 (0.29)	-0.03 (0.29)	-0.05 (0.29)
Constant	-2.55*** (0.12)	-3.38*** (0.13)	-3.75*** (0.21)	-2.30*** (0.12)	-2.98*** (0.18)	-3.40*** (0.26)	-2.43*** (0.69)	-2.33*** (0.65)	-2.75*** (0.72)
Fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	6,483	6,483	6,483	3,209	3,209	3,209	6,483	6,483	6,483

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
Survey version 4 (diaspora prime only) included as control.

Table A.7: Effects of Concern and Experimental Prime on Perceived Best Period in National History

	Hungary		Romania		Turkey		Germany	
	Pre 1918 (1)	Post 2010 (2)	1918-1938 (3)	Post 2007 (4)	Pre 1922 (5)	Post 2002 (6)	Pre 1918 or 1933-1945 (7)	Post 2009 (8)
Territorial Loss Concern	1.13** (0.49)	0.61* (0.33)	2.07*** (0.58)	-0.58 (0.47)	0.93 (0.84)	-1.14*** (0.40)	5.70*** (1.07)	0.35 (0.61)
Territorial Prime	0.74* (0.44)	-0.46 (0.36)	0.63 (0.63)	-0.07 (0.43)	2.64*** (0.80)	-0.37 (0.47)	1.36 (0.87)	0.35 (0.30)
Prime : Concern	-0.18 (0.59)	0.21 (0.46)	-0.65 (0.82)	0.19 (0.69)	-2.43** (1.13)	0.53 (0.69)	-3.19** (1.35)	-1.10 (0.89)
Age	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Completed University	0.71** (0.32)	-0.43 (0.30)	0.02 (0.42)	-0.01 (0.36)	0.37 (0.62)	-0.17 (0.31)	0.38 (0.87)	0.83** (0.38)
Completed Secondary	0.06 (0.35)	-0.23 (0.31)	-0.42 (0.44)	0.40 (0.35)	0.64 (0.65)	0.21 (0.37)	0.77 (1.03)	0.50 (0.42)
Technical/Vocational Education	-0.08 (0.32)	-0.08 (0.28)	-0.66 (0.92)	-0.24 (0.59)	0.86 (0.65)	-0.20 (0.33)	-0.51 (0.78)	-0.20 (0.37)
Male	1.00*** (0.18)	0.10 (0.17)	1.04*** (0.31)	0.01 (0.25)	1.35*** (0.38)	0.14 (0.24)	0.69 (0.72)	0.02 (0.27)
Urban	0.26 (0.29)	-0.14 (0.27)	-0.06 (0.37)	-0.28 (0.32)	1.95* (1.07)	-0.24 (0.39)	1.07 (0.99)	-0.11 (0.41)
Small Town	-0.06 (0.23)	0.07 (0.21)	-0.86** (0.34)	-0.45 (0.31)	1.96 (1.25)	-0.33 (0.44)	0.26 (0.73)	0.06 (0.37)
COVID Restriction Support Index	-0.93* (0.56)	2.91*** (0.52)	-0.48 (0.74)	0.69 (0.87)	2.11 (1.37)	1.57* (0.88)	-3.33* (1.71)	2.41*** (0.79)
Interventionism Index	-0.44 (0.61)	1.34** (0.58)	-0.37 (0.70)	0.58 (0.60)	1.12 (1.13)	-2.04** (0.87)	2.71 (2.02)	-0.27 (0.73)
Globalization Support Index	0.34 (0.24)	-0.22 (0.22)	1.27*** (0.32)	0.41 (0.27)	-1.15** (0.46)	0.14 (0.26)	-1.58 (1.10)	0.78** (0.35)
Support for Democracy Index	0.13 (0.10)	0.62*** (0.10)	0.53** (0.21)	0.39* (0.22)	-0.47 (0.29)	-0.10 (0.16)	-0.25 (0.30)	0.08 (0.22)
National Identity Index	0.11 (0.55)	1.86*** (0.69)	-1.33 (0.99)	0.48 (0.79)	0.29 (1.27)	1.46* (0.83)	1.95 (2.03)	-0.07 (0.84)
Accept LGBT Neighbors	0.30 (0.30)	-0.72*** (0.28)	0.72* (0.42)	0.36 (0.33)	0.35 (0.59)	-0.86** (0.40)	-1.07 (0.86)	0.31 (0.59)
Religious Importance	-0.16 (0.27)	0.80*** (0.25)	-0.31 (0.44)	0.05 (0.41)	-1.07 (0.67)	2.68*** (0.55)	-0.14 (0.87)	0.70 (0.45)
Political Interest	-0.54 (0.33)	-0.46 (0.31)	0.61 (0.54)	-2.13*** (0.42)	-1.43* (0.78)	-1.58*** (0.49)	0.35 (0.99)	0.43 (0.57)
Constant	-1.57* (0.88)	-5.46*** (0.90)	-3.83** (1.55)	0.22 (1.47)	-7.78*** (2.52)	-1.00 (1.54)	-6.36*** (2.36)	-2.30* (1.27)
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	1,812	1,812	1,678	1,678	1,397	1,397	1,596	1,596

Note: All coefficients are from binary logistic regression models with heteroskedasticity-consistent (HC1) standard errors and inverse probability population weights. Standard demographic controls and regional fixed effects are included in all models.
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.8: Proportion of Respondents Naming Best Period by Country

Period	Proportion
Hungary	
After 2010	16.1 %
1990-2009	24.6 %
1945-1989	16.9 %
1939-1944	0.7 %
1919-1938	2.5 %
Pre-1918*	11 %
DK/RA	28.4 %
Romania	
After 2007	18.6 %
1990-2006	10.2 %
1945-1989	19.5 %
1939-1944	1.9 %
1919-1938*	15.9 %
Pre-1918	3.7 %
DK/RA	30.2 %
Turkey	
After 2002	37.3 %
1984-2001	16.0 %
1950-1983	3.2 %
1923-1950	18.0 %
1879-1922	1.3 %
Pre-1878*	3.6 %
DK/RA	20.6 %
Germany	
After 2009	20.4 %
1990-2008	34.7 %
1945-1989	23.4 %
1933-1944*	0.2 %
1919-1932	0.6 %
Pre-1918*	1.7 %
DK/RA	18.5 %

Period(s) of greatest extent indicated by *.

Table A.9: Effects of Concern over Loss on AUR Support

	Voted for AUR (W3)	Close to AUR (W3)	Loss Concern (W4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Loss Concern (W1)	9.995*** (3.745)	22.921*** (4.078)	0.590***
Name Bessarabia (W1)	0.193 (2.580)	-8.374*** (3.018)	
COVID Restriction Support Index (W1)	-4.040 (2.935)	-25.692*** (6.490)	(0.065)
Age	-0.157 (0.115)	-0.335*** (0.128)	0.002 (0.002)
Woman	-0.345 (1.710)	-3.478 (2.775)	-0.022 (0.045)
University Educated (W1)	-3.849*** (1.419)	-2.655 (2.891)	0.059 (0.048)
Urban (W1)	0.593 (1.735)	-0.454 (3.145)	-0.036 (0.046)
Interventionism Index	2.175 (2.500)	-6.257 (5.257)	
National Identity Index (W1)	-1.979 (3.539)	8.006 (7.986)	
Accept LGBT Neighbors (W1)	4.416 (3.452)	-3.841 (3.693)	
Religious Importance (W1)	2.934 (3.647)	5.766 (4.808)	
Political Interest (W1)	-0.441 (3.050)	6.288 (5.038)	
Voted for AUR			-0.052 (0.168)
Constant	0.689 (6.500)	29.215** (13.180)	0.046 (0.101)
N	278	277	164
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

All models include regional fixed effects as well as inverse probability attrition weights.

Model (1) is a logistic regression.

Loss Concern and COVID Approval are rescaled to range from 0 to 1.

B Results by Party

Table B.1: Effects of Territorial Loss Attitudes on Party Ratings

	Jobbik	Fidesz Hungary	MSZP	PSD	PMP Romania	USR	PNL	AKP	CHP Turkey	IYI	AfD	SPD Germany	CDU
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Territorial Loss Concern	8.25** (3.98)	11.86*** (4.50)	-1.63 (3.32)	6.05 (5.16)	4.49 (5.81)	4.49 (5.81)	16.87** (6.63)	-11.60 (7.12)	3.95 (7.01)	24.97*** (7.07)	18.70** (8.84)	7.49 (8.01)	-1.89 (7.30)
Territorial Prime	-2.05 (3.20)	1.76 (3.08)	-1.41 (2.87)	2.53 (3.71)	-6.95 (4.51)	-6.95 (4.51)	-1.44 (5.02)	-10.77 (7.18)	-1.66 (7.05)	9.95* (5.81)	2.39 (2.40)	-1.38 (3.12)	-5.42 (3.63)
Prime : Concern	3.33 (4.87)	2.15 (5.09)	-0.65 (3.95)	-3.52 (6.54)	15.72** (7.01)	15.72** (7.01)	8.57 (7.85)	13.98 (10.06)	10.18 (10.63)	-15.03* (8.93)	-17.27* (10.10)	-1.27 (9.20)	-4.66 (9.59)
Age	-0.24*** (0.06)	-0.18*** (0.07)	0.25*** (0.05)	0.17** (0.09)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.10)	0.14 (0.15)	-0.29* (0.17)	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)
Completed University	-6.71** (3.37)	-2.48 (3.23)	0.32 (2.31)	6.06** (3.02)	-3.42 (3.82)	-3.42 (3.82)	-5.32 (3.96)	-4.35 (4.45)	6.75 (4.11)	4.82 (3.76)	0.55 (2.82)	2.43 (3.68)	5.44 (4.49)
Completed Secondary	-3.67 (3.54)	2.13 (3.44)	0.13 (2.44)	4.18 (2.78)	-4.18 (3.75)	-4.18 (3.75)	-7.07* (3.70)	0.05 (5.86)	-0.39 (5.16)	8.12 (5.01)	3.35 (3.75)	0.84 (4.61)	4.13 (4.97)
Technical/Vocational Education	0.57 (3.12)	0.45 (2.90)	1.04 (2.11)	2.90 (3.95)	-4.16 (4.64)	-4.16 (4.64)	1.19 (5.24)	-7.20 (4.80)	11.91*** (4.56)	10.43** (4.20)	-0.25 (2.83)	-0.10 (3.45)	1.72 (4.34)
Male	1.65 (1.77)	-4.39** (1.87)	-0.48 (1.38)	2.79 (2.33)	1.35 (2.65)	1.35 (2.65)	2.42 (2.81)	2.54 (3.82)	-15.68*** (3.61)	-1.83 (3.43)	2.10 (1.98)	-4.87* (2.64)	-5.33* (2.92)
Urban	-2.31 (3.12)	2.03 (3.06)	4.55* (2.42)	2.49 (2.86)	5.95* (3.55)	5.95* (3.55)	-0.29 (3.61)	-6.97 (6.41)	10.95* (6.39)	-1.42 (6.26)	3.82 (2.96)	-4.10 (4.25)	0.25 (4.61)
Small Town	-0.53 (2.23)	-0.06 (2.24)	-0.36 (1.60)	5.55** (2.56)	4.34 (3.07)	4.34 (3.07)	0.36 (3.43)	-3.37 (7.48)	3.78 (7.09)	-4.72 (6.45)	4.65* (2.74)	0.60 (3.88)	0.30 (4.20)
COVID Restriction Support Index	-20.90*** (5.76)	55.84*** (5.41)	-6.74 (4.12)	-16.01*** (6.17)	18.76** (7.58)	18.76** (7.58)	50.17*** (8.07)	34.59*** (11.70)	-30.32** (12.20)	-27.99** (10.99)	-29.18*** (6.68)	35.98*** (7.17)	41.68*** (8.54)
Interventionism Index	1.85 (5.98)	24.67*** (6.18)	-10.10** (5.04)	-0.47 (4.74)	-1.07 (5.38)	-1.07 (5.38)	1.98 (7.00)	-4.42 (12.61)	-9.78 (13.59)	-17.52 (11.96)	-7.60 (6.95)	0.23 (7.55)	-15.50* (8.66)
Globalization Support Index	-1.76 (2.40)	-7.47*** (2.72)	5.49*** (1.86)	-7.91*** (2.44)	7.32** (3.02)	7.32** (3.02)	10.14*** (3.10)	3.92 (3.92)	5.64 (3.91)	1.51 (2.94)	-5.48* (2.98)	5.23 (3.66)	2.66 (3.76)
Support for Democracy Index	-1.46 (1.08)	6.53*** (1.01)	-0.27 (0.83)	-2.79* (1.55)	-0.82 (1.84)	-0.82 (1.84)	2.96 (2.69)	1.53 (2.38)	7.72*** (2.38)	7.48*** (2.22)	-11.60*** (1.84)	8.31*** (1.93)	2.11 (2.10)
National Identity Index	-5.00 (5.30)	22.69*** (5.71)	-7.62* (4.44)	3.66 (7.49)	-1.35 (8.12)	-1.35 (8.12)	-22.51** (9.71)	10.28 (11.91)	-4.55 (12.44)	2.91 (11.33)	32.87*** (6.89)	-19.87** (7.79)	45.24*** (8.63)
Accept LGBT Neighbors	6.28* (3.55)	-22.91*** (3.62)	8.17*** (2.83)	-2.24 (2.70)	8.90** (3.60)	8.90** (3.60)	5.19 (3.70)	-11.80* (6.08)	5.00 (5.91)	8.54 (5.77)	-4.03 (4.56)	9.57* (4.91)	2.13 (5.54)
Religious Importance	-5.91** (2.91)	19.55*** (3.14)	-3.73* (2.15)	10.35*** (3.18)	-6.90 (4.45)	-6.90 (4.45)	1.06 (4.58)	39.99*** (6.03)	-21.74*** (6.72)	-1.50 (5.59)	0.37 (3.44)	4.35 (4.55)	13.45*** (4.49)
Political Interest	-14.38*** (3.30)	-7.59** (3.50)	-12.31*** (2.63)	-6.41* (3.67)	-13.83*** (4.23)	-13.83*** (4.23)	-30.13*** (4.55)	-13.20* (7.08)	-4.11 (6.74)	-0.97 (6.22)	-14.94*** (3.91)	-9.93* (5.08)	-7.01 (6.28)
Constant	46.25*** (9.22)	-29.00*** (8.83)	18.33** (7.55)	9.89 (13.87)	46.61*** (16.14)	46.61*** (16.14)	54.62*** (13.93)	3.68 (21.28)	87.85*** (22.52)	45.73** (19.86)	14.93 (9.28)	21.14* (12.07)	-6.20 (14.00)
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	1,369	1,369	1,369	1,264	1,264	1,264	1,264	1,026	1,026	1,026	1,210	1,210	1,210

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table B.2: Territorial Loss Attitudes and Retrospective Vote Choice

	Jobbik	Fidesz Hungary	Other Party	Dancila (PSD)	Paleologu (PMP) Romania	Barna (USR)	Iohannis (PNL)	AKP	CHP Turkey	IYI	AfD	SPD Germany	CDU
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Territorial Loss Concern	0.74** (0.29)	0.68** (0.27)	-0.42 (0.28)	0.16 (0.81)	0.15 (0.65)	0.20 (0.47)	0.59* (0.33)	-0.33 (0.34)	0.33 (0.40)	1.48** (0.57)	0.53 (0.66)	0.32 (0.43)	-0.20 (0.38)
Age	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Completed University	-0.25 (0.34)	-0.36 (0.33)	0.11 (0.27)	1.38* (0.79)	0.97 (0.85)	0.44 (0.45)	-0.80** (0.35)	-0.11 (0.33)	0.10 (0.31)	-0.16 (0.64)	0.72 (0.86)	0.07 (0.36)	0.12 (0.37)
Completed Secondary	-0.05 (0.33)	-0.12 (0.35)	0.12 (0.29)	1.31* (0.78)	0.93 (0.86)	0.27 (0.46)	-0.67* (0.34)	0.18 (0.39)	-0.14 (0.40)	0.58 (0.65)	1.48* (0.87)	-0.02 (0.43)	0.38 (0.40)
Technical/Vocational Education	0.10 (0.30)	-0.26 (0.31)	0.07 (0.25)	2.14* (1.17)	0.73 (1.18)	0.29 (0.68)	-0.65 (0.53)	-0.10 (0.36)	0.29 (0.33)	0.50 (0.56)	1.24 (0.84)	0.13 (0.35)	-0.01 (0.35)
Male	0.48** (0.19)	-0.17 (0.18)	0.32** (0.16)	-0.41 (0.44)	-1.05** (0.53)	0.17 (0.34)	-0.07 (0.21)	0.24 (0.27)	-0.43* (0.24)	1.45*** (0.42)	0.05 (0.38)	0.21 (0.24)	0.05 (0.25)
Urban	0.03 (0.28)	-0.24 (0.30)	0.23 (0.28)	-0.54 (0.57)	-1.04* (0.58)	-0.36 (0.42)	0.52* (0.27)	-0.46 (0.48)	1.68** (0.76)	0.51 (0.61)	0.52 (0.47)	-0.08 (0.39)	-0.02 (0.39)
Small Town	-0.10 (0.22)	-0.34* (0.20)	0.09 (0.18)	-0.10 (0.59)	-0.35 (0.54)	-0.30 (0.41)	0.17 (0.29)	-0.38 (0.52)	1.29 (0.81)	0.36 (0.74)	-0.06 (0.40)	0.10 (0.35)	0.02 (0.33)
COVID Restriction Support Index	-2.74*** (0.56)	3.98*** (0.58)	-0.77* (0.44)	-2.48* (1.31)	-3.35*** (1.23)	-0.24 (0.86)	3.76*** (0.70)	1.42 (0.95)	-0.61 (0.92)	-2.89** (1.19)	-4.01*** (0.97)	1.57** (0.69)	1.15* (0.66)
Interventionism Index	-0.02 (0.56)	2.42*** (0.61)	-1.92*** (0.59)	-1.42* (0.83)	-0.28 (1.06)	0.56 (0.80)	-0.58 (0.60)	0.45 (0.90)	-1.11 (1.02)	-2.55** (1.24)	0.49 (1.15)	0.29 (0.79)	-0.46 (0.76)
Globalization Support Index	-0.44 (0.27)	-0.88*** (0.24)	0.93*** (0.21)	-0.67 (0.47)	0.83 (0.68)	0.16 (0.34)	0.55** (0.25)	0.33 (0.29)	0.19 (0.24)	0.50 (0.64)	-1.52*** (0.45)	0.25 (0.32)	-0.12 (0.30)
Support for Democracy Index	-0.18* (0.10)	0.50*** (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	-0.40 (0.28)	0.13 (0.27)	0.28 (0.20)	0.22 (0.19)	0.04 (0.19)	0.04 (0.20)	0.55 (0.35)	-1.00*** (0.27)	0.34 (0.22)	0.27 (0.20)
National Identity Index	0.07 (0.58)	2.67*** (0.72)	-1.37*** (0.50)	1.33 (1.81)	3.87** (1.79)	-0.46 (0.98)	-1.26 (0.87)	0.80 (1.12)	-1.50* (0.79)	0.22 (1.22)	3.12*** (1.07)	-2.07** (0.82)	3.62*** (0.91)
Accept LGBT Neighbors	0.00 (0.32)	-1.26*** (0.31)	0.97*** (0.32)	-0.44 (0.71)	-0.03 (0.71)	1.32*** (0.46)	-0.62 (0.39)	-0.42 (0.41)	0.27 (0.36)	0.46 (0.79)	-0.92 (0.72)	0.76 (0.53)	0.08 (0.46)
Religious Importance	-0.43 (0.30)	1.45*** (0.26)	-0.95*** (0.25)	0.39 (0.75)	0.95 (0.92)	-1.10* (0.57)	-0.53 (0.44)	3.21*** (0.85)	-1.59*** (0.44)	-0.18 (0.67)	-0.80 (0.59)	0.62 (0.39)	0.52 (0.34)
Political Interest	-0.57 (0.38)	-0.27 (0.34)	-1.50*** (0.31)	0.36 (0.62)	-0.03 (1.02)	-0.86 (0.57)	-1.13*** (0.41)	-0.90* (0.49)	-0.75 (0.48)	-0.83 (0.67)	-1.48* (0.85)	-0.45 (0.60)	0.20 (0.56)
Constant	-0.24 (0.93)	-6.33*** (0.92)	1.06 (0.84)	-22.86*** (2.15)	-6.39*** (2.16)	1.04 (1.75)	-0.12 (1.55)	-4.72*** (1.70)	1.26 (1.96)	-0.66 (2.52)	-3.95** (1.71)	-3.92*** (1.21)	-4.75*** (1.15)
Fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imputations	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Observations	1,812	1,812	1,812	1,678	1,678	1,678	1,678	1,397	1,397	1,397	1,596	1,596	1,596

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

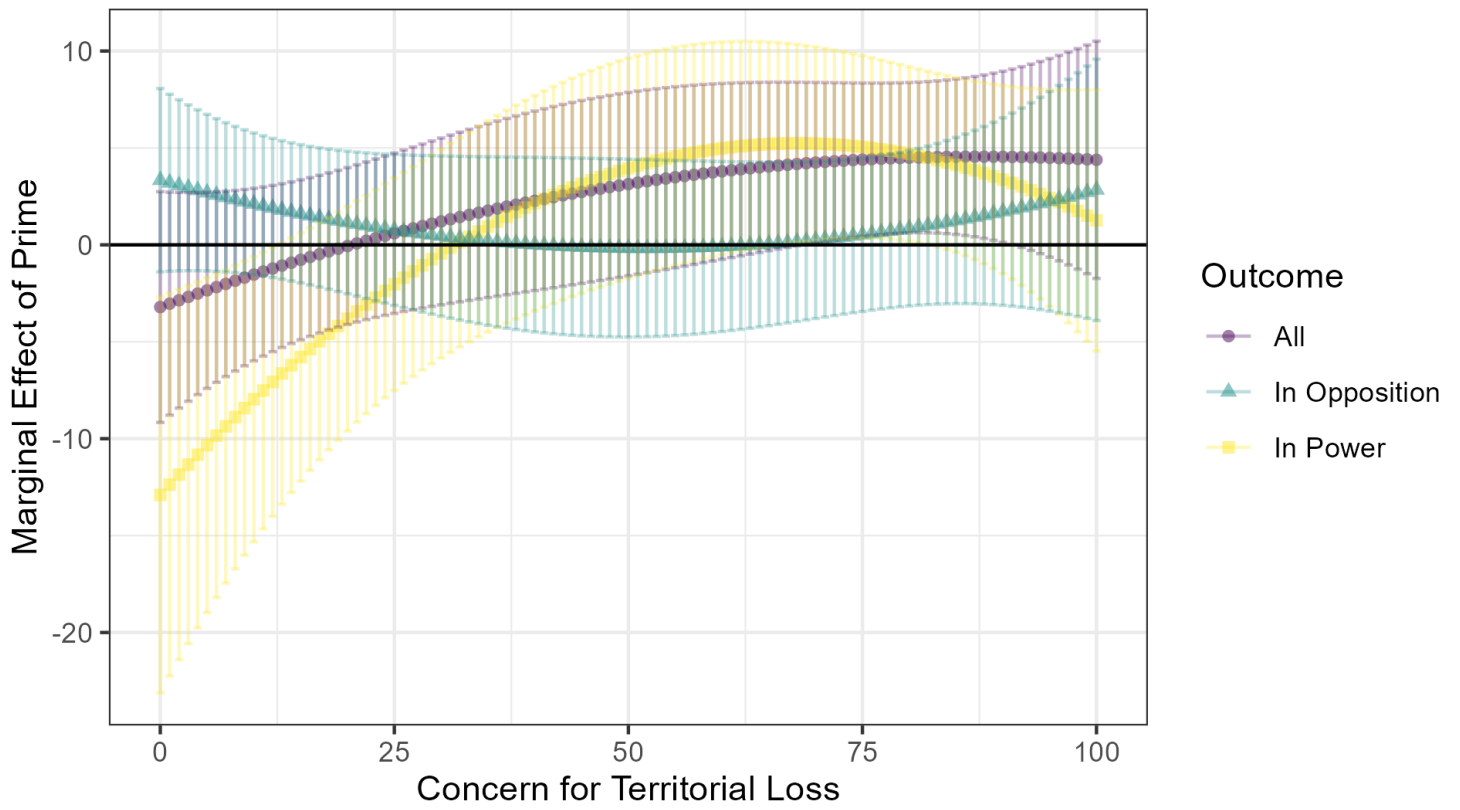


Figure 1: Marginal Effects of Loss Prime on Party Rating by Party Status

C Additional Figures

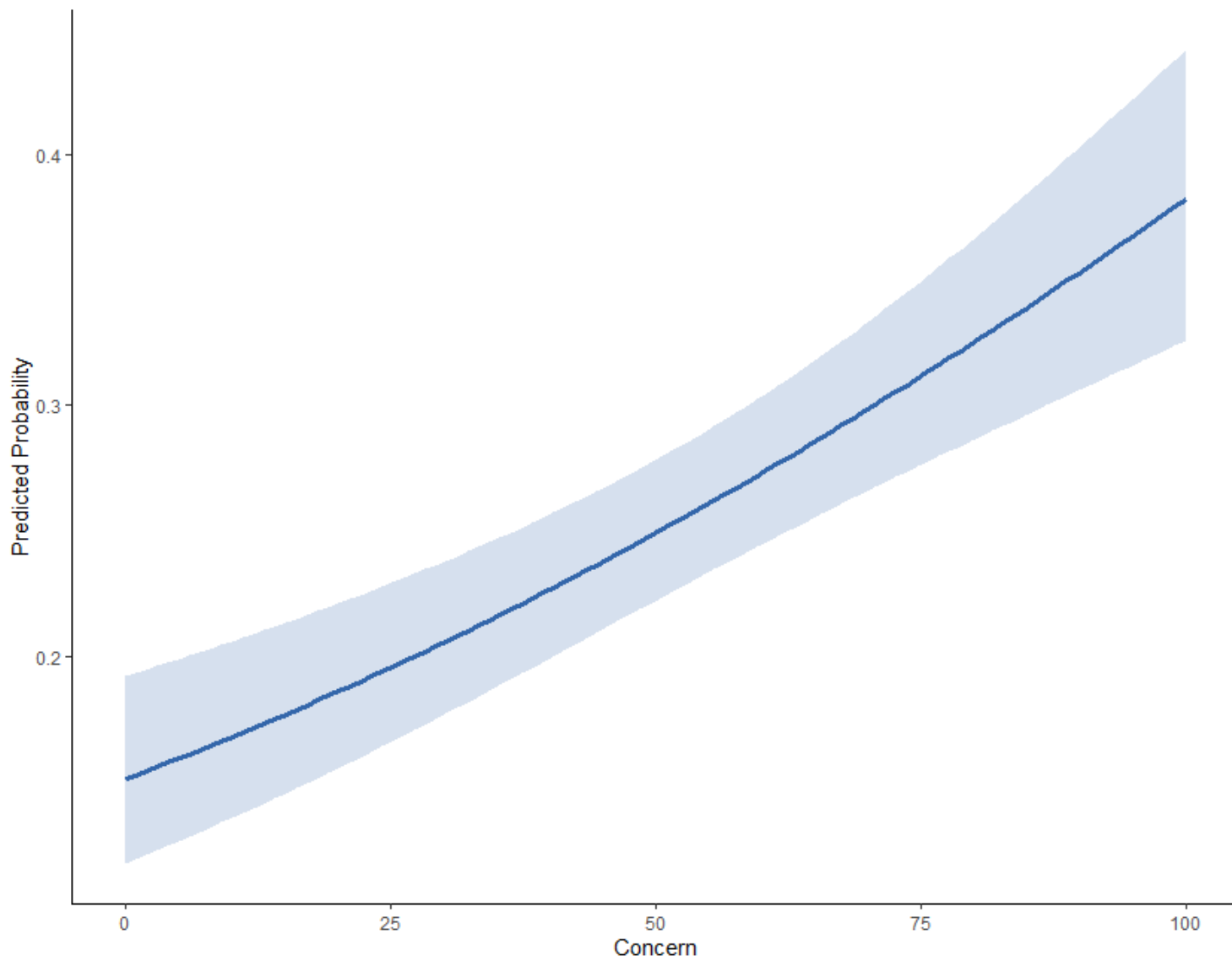


Figure 2: Predicted probability of having voted for a populist party by loss concern

D Description of Variables

The *Democracy Support Index* was based on three survey questions: (1) evaluation of "having a democratic political system" on a four-point scale ranging from "very bad" to "very good", (2) agreement with the statement "Democracy might have its problems but it's still the best form of government" on a five-point Likert scale, and (3) agreement with the statement "Democracies are better than other forms of government at dealing with a crisis such as the coronavirus pandemic" on a five-point Likert scale. The index had a Cronbach's alpha of .73.

The *Globalization Support Index* was based on a five-item battery, which asked respondents to evaluate whether each of the following items (1) Free trade with other countries (2) Foreign companies investing in our country (3) [Country's] people working abroad (4) People from other countries working in [Country] (5) [Country's] EU membership/candidacy, had more costs or benefits using a five-point scale ranging from "a lot more costs than benefits" to a "lot more benefits than costs." The index had a Cronbach's alpha of .74.

The *National Identity Index* was based on a three-item battery question asking respondents how strongly do they felt they belonged to the [Country's] (1) culture, (2) people, and (3) state, using a five-point scale ranging from "not at all" to "very strongly." The index had a Cronbach's alpha of .89.

The *COVID Restriction Support Index* was based on a a five-item battery, which asked respondents to state their support for each of the following government measures aimed at stopping the spread of the coronavirus /COVID-19 (1) Ordering people to wear masks that cover the nose and mouth when outside the home, (2) Requiring people to stay at home for non-essential activities, (3) Ordering non-essential businesses to close, (4) Having police officers monitor public spaces such as roads, parks, and beaches and prevent access as necessary (5) Allowing the government to use cell phone apps to track peoples' movements using GPS, using a 4-point scale ranging from "strongly oppose" to "strongly support". The index had a Cronbach's alpha of .83.

The *Interventionism Index* was based on a four-item battery that asked about the extent of government involvement in four aspects of the economy (1) Setting energy prices, (2) Providing jobs for the unemployed, (3) Subsidizing loss making companies, (4) Owning industrial enterprises, using a four-point scale, ranging from 1-not involved to 4-highly involved. The index had a Cronbach's alpha of .68.

The *Accept LGBT neighbors* variable was based on a survey question (that was part of a bigger battery) and asked the respondent's attitude towards having homosexuals as neighbors, using a five-point scale ranging from "totally unacceptable" to "totally desired". The *Religiosity* measure was based on a five-point question about the importance of religion in the respondent's daily life, with options ranging from "Not important at all" to "Very important". The *Political Interest* variable is based on a question that captures the respondents' interest in politics using a 5-point scale ranging from "Not at all interested" to "Very interested."

To facilitate comparability of results, we rescaled all variables except for age to a 0-1 scale. Summary statistics are given in Table D.1.

E Survey Experiment Design

E.1 Territorial Loss Treatment

There have been a number of dramatic changes to Europe's borders in the past century, and much land that belonged to [Country] in previous generations has now been lost to other countries. Please use the field below to enter the first such territory that comes to mind, or, if you cannot remember its name, then enter the country to which it now belongs. [Text field] [New Page] Please indicate on a scale from 0 to 100, where 100 is 'very concerned' and 0 is 'not at all concerned', how concerned you are about the loss of this territory.

Table D.1: Summary Statistics of Main Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Populist Rating (All)	30	35	0	100
Populist Rating (In Power)	32	38	0	100
Populist Rating (In Opposition)	24	32	0	100
Voted Populist	0.13	0.34	0	1
Named Greatest Historical Extent	0.09	0.28	0	1
Territorial Loss Concern	49	37	0	100
Age	48	16	18	89
Complete University Education	0.32	0.46	0	1
University/Preparatory Education	0.24	0.43	0	1
Technical/Vocational Education	0.30	0.46	0	1
Man	0.48	0.50	0	1
Urban	0.38	0.49	0	1
Small Town	0.34	0.47	0	1
COVID Restriction Support Index	0.55	0.24	0	1
Economic Interventionism Index	0.60	0.23	0	1
Globalization Support Index	0.55	0.20	0	1
Democracy Support Index	0.73	0.22	0	1
National Identity Index	0.76	0.22	0	1
Accept LGBT neighbors	0.55	0.37	0	1
Religious Importance	0.47	0.38	0	1
Political Interest	0.43	0.29	0	1

All proportions calculated using sample weights.

Table E.1: Summary of Question Order in Each Treatment Condition

	<i>Version</i>			
	Both First (1)	Territorial Prime First (2)	Both Last (3)	Diaspora Prime First (4)
1	Territory	Territory	Best Historical Period	Diaspora
2	Diaspora	<i>National ID</i>	Political	Best Historical Period
3	<i>National ID</i>	Best Historical Period	Risk	Political
4	Best Historical Period	Political	Demographic	Risk
5	Political	Risk	<i>National ID</i>	<i>National ID</i>
6	Risk	Demographic	Territory	Demographic
7	Demographic	Diaspora	Diaspora	Territory
Observations	1,965	2,082	2,142	2,037