APPENDIX A. Questions Used to Compute Principal Component Scores

Source: 2018 PEW Research Center's American Trends Panel, September 24-October 7

Table A1. Components of Ethno-Nationalism Score

Question	Variable Label on Pew Dataset	Range
The U.S. is better than all other countries in the world*	USWORLD_T	1=Selected 0=Not selected
Would you describe yourself as Born Again or Evangelical&	F_BORN	1=yes 0=no
U.S. Citizen?*	F_CITIZEN	1=yes 0=no
Native-Born?*#	F_NATIVE	1=yes 0=no

*Same question used by Bonikowski et al. 2021 in the analysis of ethno-nationalism
Same question used by Thompson 2020 measuring ethno-nationalism
& Bonikowski et al. use "Christian" instead of Evangelical –see text.

Table A2. Components of the Anti-immigrant Sentiment Index

Question	Variable Label on Pew Dataset	Range
Overall, do you think immigrants who are in the U.S. legally are having an impact?	IMMIMPACT_W38	1=very negative 0=somewhat negative, somewhat positive, or very positive
How much of a problem do you think each of the following are in the country today? C=Illegal Immigration	NATPROBSC_W38	1=A Very Big Problem 0=All other nonmissing responses
Do you think each of the following is generally (a good thing) or (a bad thing) for our society, or doesn't it make much difference? (A=Increasing racial and ethnic diversity)	SOCIETYA_W38	1=very bad thing 0=all other nonmissing responses

Table A3. Components of Support for the Pro-Gun Culture Index

Question	Variable Label	Range
Which of the following statements comes closest to your overall view of gun laws in this country? Gun laws should be less strict than they are today	GUNSTRICT_W38	1=less strict selected 0=all other responses, including "about right"
Do each of the following statements describe you well, or not? "Supporter of the National Rifle Association"	MESUMC_W38	1=Describes me well 0=Does not describe me well

APPENDIX B: ANALYSIS TABLES

Table B1. Weibull Model Proportional Hazard Estimates of the Effects of Right-Wing Organizations and Ideology on Right-Wing Violence in States in the U.S., 2000-2018

Covariates	Coefficients and SEs	Hazard Ratios
Measures of Diversity, Organizations, and Elected Officials:		
Ethnic Diversity (Entropy Index)	1.707 ** (0.472)	5.515 **
NRA Members in 100,000s	0.866** (0.298)	2.378 **
Count of Statewide Right-Wing Organizations	-0.059 (0.036)	.942
Count of Local Right-Wing Organizations	-0.007 (0.005)	.993
Republican Governor (0,1)	0.116 (0.190)	1.123
Republican Majority in Legislature (0,1)	0.080 (0.218)	1.083
Control Variables:		
May Issue State (0,1)	-0.402 (0.243)	.669
GDP in Millions (in current dollars)	1.083* (0.505)	2.954*
Population in Hundred-Thousands	-0.006 (0.004)	.144
Lagged Count of Right-Wing Violent Events	0.144* (0.066)	1.155*
Time Trend	-0.968** (0.072)	.381**
Constant	17.570** (1.940)	2.34e-08**
Scale Parameter (1/rho)	2.356** (0.097)	2.356***
Log-likelihood	-125.743	-125.743
AIC	277.49	277.49
BIC	339.92	339.93

Notes: All covariates are lagged one year. All observations clustered on state id. *p<.05, **p<.01. The number of states is 50 and the number of observations is 900.

**Table B2. Hybrid Model of Counts of Right-Wing Extremist Violent Events
(Columns Report Coefficients for the Effects Within and Between States)**

Covariates[b]	Within State Effects	Between States Effects
Measures of Diversity, Allied Organizations, and Elected Officials:		
Ethnic Diversity (Entropy Index)	3.110 (7.879)	1.057** (.345)
NRA Members in 100,000s	0.079 (0.536)	-0.059 (0.420)
N of Statewide Right-Wing Organizations	0.047 (.034)	0.220** (0.063)
N of Local Right-Wing Organizations	-0.008 (0.014)	- 0.005 (0.006)
Republican Governor (0,1)	-0.004 (0.239)	- 0.612* (0.264)
Republican Majority in Legislature (0,1)	0.243 (0.345)	0.295 (0.342)
Control Variables		
May Issue State (0,1)	- 0.528 (0.660)	- 0.067 (0.288)
GDP in Millions (in current dollars)	1.350 (1.210)	- 0.354 (0.591)
Population in Hundred Thousands[c]	-0.023 (0.018)	-0.009 (0.006)
Time Trend	0.004 (0.087)	(omitted)
Lagged Count of Right-Wing Violent Events	-0.080 (0.062)	3.376** (0.347)
Model Characteristics		
Full Model Constant		-3.272** (0.401)
Log Alpha		-.758(.634)
Random Coefficient (State)		3.21e-34 (6.75e-34)
Number of Observations		900
Log-likelihood		-406.00
AIC		854.99
BIC		965.447

For details on implementing this model, see Allison, Paul D. 2009. "*Fixed Effects Regression Models.* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications. All covariates are lagged one year. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. All observations clustered on state id. *p<.05, **p<.01. The measures for population size do not vary sufficiently within states to estimate a within-effects parameter. A random effects coefficient was reported for this variable.

Table B3. Mixed-Level Negative Binomial Estimates of the Counts of Right-Wing Violent Events in a County, 2000–2020

Covariates	Coefficients and SEs	Incidence Ratio
County-Level Measures (level 1):		
Ethnic Diversity (Entropy Index)	0.929* (0.431)	2.527*
Prior Count of Right-Wing Violent Events	0.629 (0.516)	1.877
Population in 100,000s	0.109 (0.035)	1.115*
County GDP per capita in $1,000s	-0.014* (0.006)	.985*
County Unemployment Rate	-0.078 (0.047)	.925
Percent Urban	0.041** (0.006)	1.042**
Labor Force Participation Rate of Women	0.060 (0.229)	1.061
State-Level Measures (level 2):		
NRA Members in 100,000s	0.329 (0.171)	1.389
Count of Statewide Right-Wing Organizations	0.006 (0.038)	1.006
Count of Local Organizations in the State	-0.0004 (0.008)	1.000
May Issue State	-0.286 (0.313)	0.751
Time Trend	0.038 (0.062)	1.038
Random Effects Parameter		
State Variance		0.308
		(0.214)
Number of States		50
Wald Chi-Square (12 degrees of freedom)		164.02***
Log-likelihood		-701.35
AIC		1432.70
BIC		1563.662

Notes: All covariates are lagged one year. Standard errors are in parentheses next to the coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, *** p<.001.