

Appendix A: European Parties and Transnational Political Positions

Cedric Antunes

Pedro Azevedo

November 2020

We build on 2019 and 2014 *Chapel Hill expert surveys*, completed by 421 political specialists in political parties and European integration. 277 European parties are comprised in the dataset - whose .csv and .excel files are available on our GitHub repository.

Explanatory Variables

- **EU Position** = overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration in 2019.

1 = Strongly opposed
2 = Opposed
3 = Somewhat opposed
4 = Neutral
5 = Somewhat in favor
6 = In favor
7 = Strongly in favor

- **EU Salience** = relative salience of European integration in the party's public stance in 2019.

0 = European Integration is of no importance.
:
10 = European Integration is of great importance.

- **Post-Materialism** = position of the party in 2019 in terms of their views on social and cultural values. "Libertarian" or "postmaterialist" parties favor expanded personal freedoms ¹. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties reject these ideas in favor of order, tradition, and stability.

0 = Libertarian/Post-materialist
:
5 = center
:
10 = Traditional/Authoritarian

- **Migration** = position on immigration policy

0 = Strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration
:
10 = Strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration

- **Multiculturalism** = position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers (multiculturalism vs. assimilation).

¹Abortion rights, divorce, same-sex marriage, etc.

0 = Strongly favors multiculturalism

:

10 = Strongly favors assimilation

- **Law and Order** = position on civil liberties vs. law and order.

0 = Strongly favors civil liberties

:

10 = Strongly favors tough measures to fight crime

- **Social Lifestyle** = position on social lifestyle (e.g. rights for homosexuals, gender equality).

0 = Strongly supports liberal policies

:

10 = Strongly opposes liberal policies

- **Religious Principles** = position on role of religious principles in politics.

0 = Strongly opposes religious principles in politics

:

10 = Strongly supports religious principles in politics

- **Ethnic Minorities** = position towards ethnic minority rights.

0 = Strongly favors more rights for ethnic minorities

:

10 = Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities

Control Variables

- **EU Market** = position of the party leadership in 2019 on the internal market (i.e. free movement of goods, services, capital and labor).

1 = Strongly opposes

:

7 = Strongly favors

- **EU Budgetary Authority** = position of the party leadership in 2019 on EU authority over economic and budgetary policy.

1 = Strongly opposes

:

7 = Strongly favors

- **Economic Orientation** = position of the party in 2019 in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues.

0 = extreme left

:

5 = center

:

10 = extreme right

- **Redistribution of Wealth** = position on redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor.

0 = Strongly favors redistribution

:

10 = Strongly opposes redistribution

- **Environment** = position towards environmental sustainability.

0 = Strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth
:
10 = Strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection

- **Public Taxes** = position on improving public services vs. reducing taxes during 2019.

0 = Strongly favors improving public services
:
10 = Strongly favors reducing taxes.

- **Deregulation** = position on deregulation of markets.

0 = Strongly opposes deregulation of markets
:
10 = Strongly favors deregulation of markets

- **Economic Interventionism** = position on state intervention in the economy.

0 = Fully in favor of state intervention
:
10 = Fully opposed to state intervention

- **Protectionism** = position towards trade liberalization/protectionism.

0 = Strongly favors trade liberalization
:
10 = Strongly favors protection of domestic producers.

Difference-in-means - Controlled ECR (6 parties)

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU position</i>	-1.381	6.294	0.2143	two.sided	1.803	2.267
<i>EU salience</i>	1.531	9.053	0.16	two.sided	6.938	5.961
<i>Post materialism</i>	-1.404	13.93	0.1823	two.sided	8.668	9.117
<i>Migration</i>	0.6667	9.415	0.5209	two.sided	9.753	9.647
<i>Multiculturalism</i>	0.9746	7.155	0.3616	two.sided	9.716	9.482
<i>Law and Order</i>	-1.817	9.696	0.1002	two.sided	9.207	9.444
<i>Social Lifestyle</i>	-0.4808	12.83	0.6388	two.sided	7.883	8.22
<i>Religious Principles</i>	-1.301	6.666	0.2364	two.sided	5.577	7.207
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	-0.1722	11.99	0.8662	two.sided	9.06	9.126
<i>Nationalism</i>	-0.9418	12.77	0.3638	two.sided	9.474	9.617
<i>Anti-Islam Rhetoric</i>	1.556	10.21	0.1502	two.sided	8.851	8.072

Difference-in-means - Full ECR (14 parties)

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU position</i>	-4.382	16.67	0.000424***	two.sided	1.803	3.169
<i>EU salience</i>	3.031	20.52	0.006467**	two.sided	6.938	5.526
<i>Post materialism</i>	0.5019	18.7	0.6216	two.sided	8.668	8.39
<i>Migration</i>	2.95	16.57	0.009156**	two.sided	9.753	9.02

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>Multiculturalism</i>	2.979	16.44	0.008662**	two.sided	9.716	8.863
<i>Law and Order</i>	2.029	13.57	0.06254	two.sided	9.207	8.185
<i>Social Lifestyle</i>	-0.1135	20.89	0.9107	two.sided	7.883	7.961
<i>Religious Principles</i>	-1.507	21.13	0.1466	two.sided	5.577	6.849
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	16729	16.95	0.1129	two.sided	9.06	7.917
<i>Nationalism</i>	1.647	14.97	0.1204	two.sided	9.474	8.819
<i>Anti-Islam Rhetoric</i>	3.798	19.77	0.001148**	two.sided	8.851	6.572

Robustness Checks

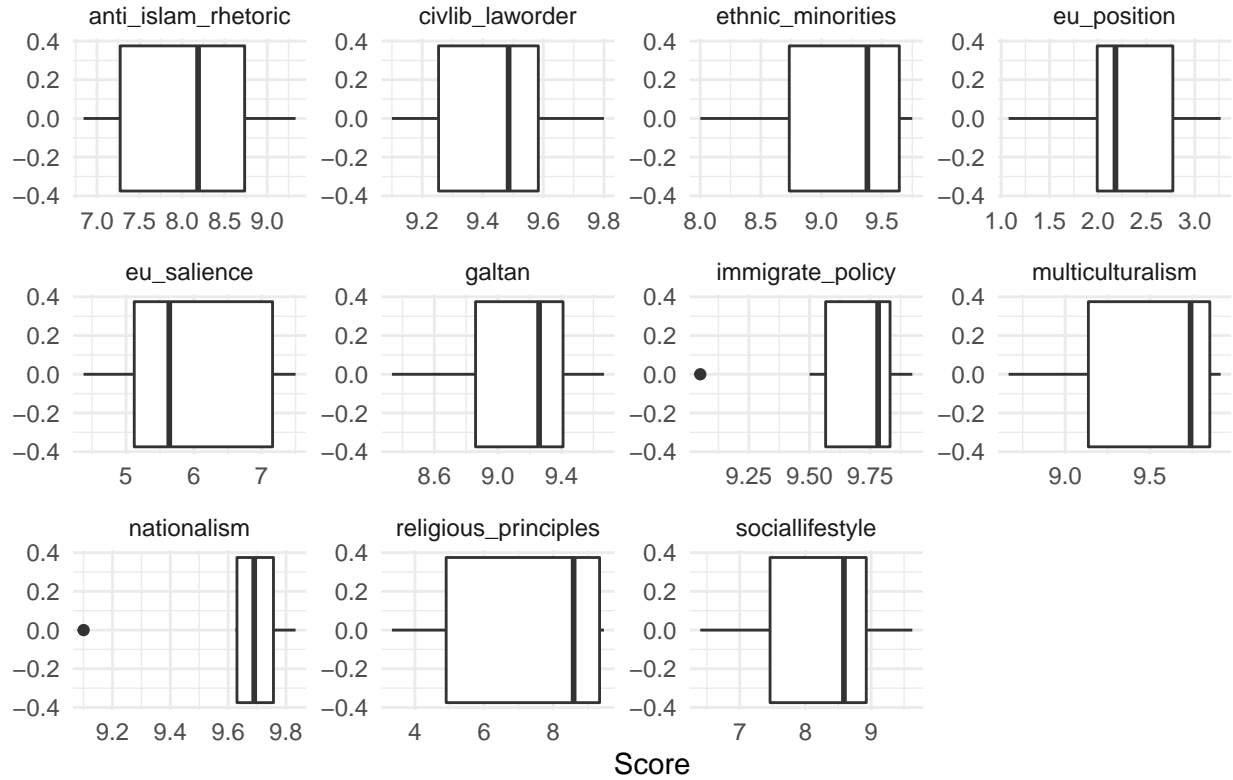
Difference-in-means - Controlled ECR (6 parties)

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU Market</i>	-0.4033	6.453	0.6997	two.sided	2.605	2.812
<i>EU budgetary authority</i>	-0.928	6.821	0.385	two.sided	1.42	1.722
<i>Economic orientation</i>	-0.2842	6.28	0.7854	two.sided	5.974	6.287
<i>Redistribution of wealth</i>	-0.2204	5.907	0.833	two.sided	5.17	5.423
<i>Environment</i>	-0.6928	12.19	0.5014	two.sided	7.938	8.25
<i>Public Taxes</i>	-0.2283	7.247	0.8257	two.sided	6.013	6.255
<i>Deregulation of Markets</i>	-0.1764	5.812	0.866	two.sided	5.335	5.529
<i>Economic Interventionism</i>	-0.0353	6.033	0.973	two.sided	5.232	5.274
<i>Protectionism</i>	0.4443	8.504	0.6679	two.sided	7.716	7.429

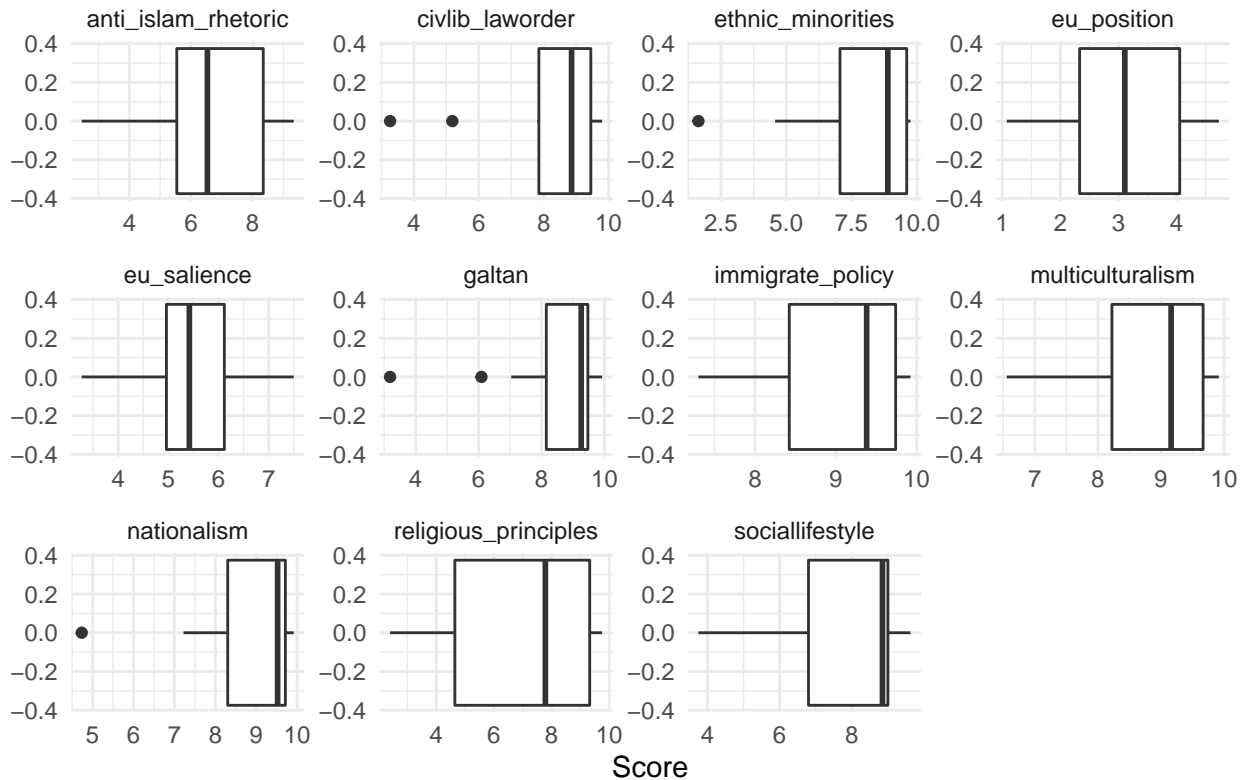
Difference-in-means - Full ECR (14 parties)

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU Market</i>	-3.001	17.63	0.007791**	two.sided	2.605	3.945
<i>EU budgetary authority</i>	-3.178	17.56	0.005327**	two.sided	1.42	2.418
<i>Economic orientation</i>	-0.5079	21.1	0.6168	two.sided	5.974	6.311
<i>Redistribution of wealth</i>	-1.086	19.82	0.2903	two.sided	5.17	5.891
<i>Environment</i>	1.193	21.35	0.246	two.sided	7.938	7.421
<i>Public Taxes</i>	-0.2592	21.97	0.7979	two.sided	6.013	6.191
<i>Deregulation of Markets</i>	-0.6621	18.63	0.516	two.sided	5.335	5.778
<i>Economic Interventionism</i>	-0.7946	19.98	0.4362	two.sided	5.232	5.808
<i>Protectionism</i>	1.852	19.84	0.07896	two.sided	7.716	6.494

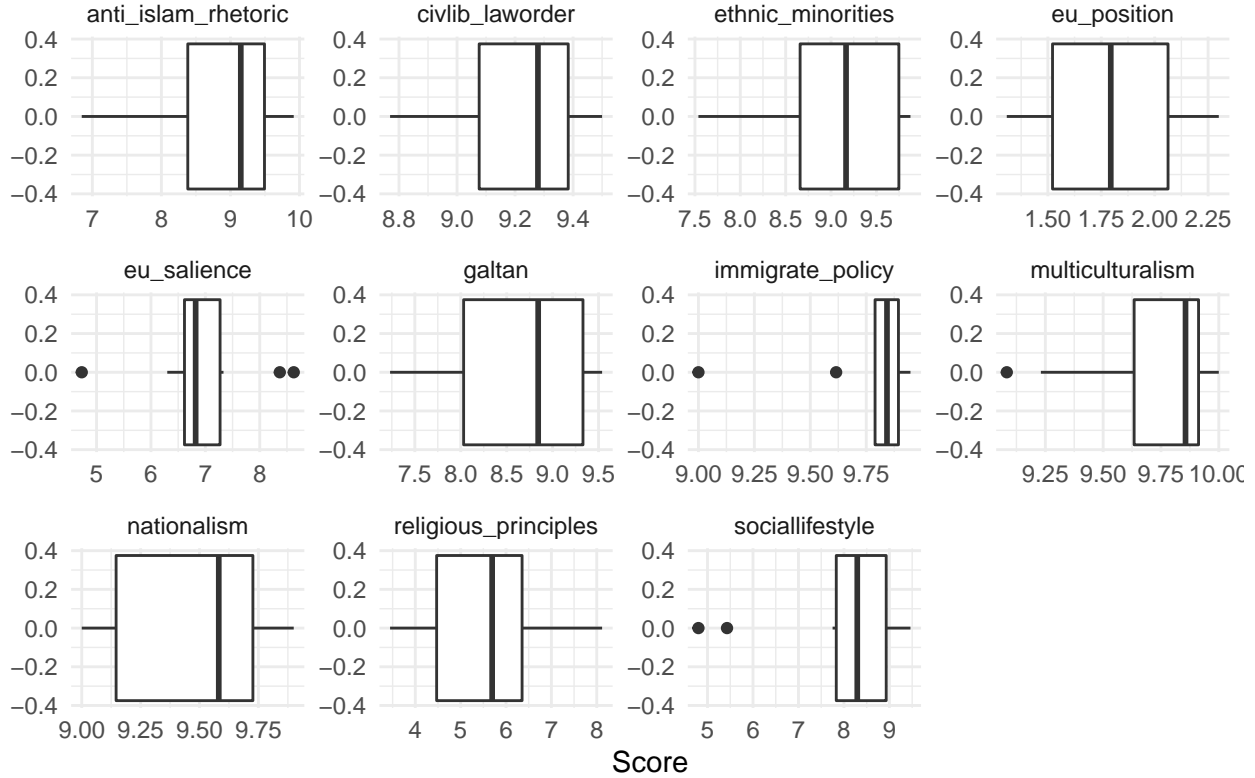
European Conservatives and Reformists – Controlled Group (9th European f



European Conservatives and Reformists – Full Group (9th European Parliam



Identity and Democracy (9th European Parliament)



Descriptive Statistics

Table 5: European Political Position in 2014

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Euro Skepticism	268	4.816	1.777	1	3.4	6.4	7
Euro Salience	268	5.819	1.541	1.571	4.635	6.773	9.727
Post-Materialism	268	5.112	2.628	0.286	2.780	7.298	10.000
Law and Order	268	5.139	2.351	0.750	3.108	7.000	10.000
Social Lifestyle	268	4.679	2.788	0.000	2.000	7.000	10.000
Religious Principles	268	4.349	2.605	0	2	6.5	10
Migration	267	5.254	2.386	0.471	3.367	7.000	10.000
Multiculturalism	268	5.332	2.449	0	3.4	7.1	10
Ethnic Minorities	268	4.852	2.548	0	2.8	6.8	10
Nationalism	268	5.402	2.504	0.000	3.493	7.500	10.000

Table 6: European Political Position in 2019

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Euro Skepticism	277	4.917	1.724	1.000	3.786	6.429	6.947
Euro Salience	277	5.897	1.643	1.250	4.714	7.143	9.941
Post-Materialism	277	4.949	2.694	0.400	2.714	7.143	10.000
Law and Order	277	5.447	2.590	0.000	3.333	7.588	10.000
Social Lifestyle	277	5.400	2.551	0.636	3.143	7.385	10.000
Religious Principles	276	5.024	2.488	0.333	3.000	7.000	10.000
Migration	277	4.273	2.785	0	1.8	6.4	10
Multiculturalism	277	4.094	2.566	0.167	1.800	6.130	9.750
Ethnic Minorities	276	4.639	2.551	0.000	2.500	6.273	10.000
Nationalism	276	5.073	2.653	0.789	2.871	7.000	10.000
Anti-Islam Rhetoric	271	2.922	2.528	0.000	1.143	3.477	9.917

Table 7: Identity and Democracy (10 parties)

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Euro Skepticism	10	1.803	0.357	1.308	1.522	2.062	2.300
Euro Salience	10	6.938	1.084	4.727	6.616	7.271	8.625
Post-Materialism	10	8.668	0.789	7	8.0	9.3	10
Law and Order	10	9.753	0.281	9.000	9.789	9.894	9.947
Social Lifestyle	10	9.716	0.318	9.083	9.634	9.913	10.000
Religious Principles	10	9.207	0.235	8.769	9.076	9.383	9.500
Migration	10	7.883	1.563	4.800	7.830	8.929	9.462
Multiculturalism	10	5.577	1.484	3.444	4.471	6.354	8.118
Ethnic Minorities	10	9.060	0.811	7.538	8.659	9.748	9.875
Nationalism	10	9.474	0.338	9	9.1	9.7	10
Anti-Islam Rhetoric	10	8.851	0.938	6.846	8.382	9.493	9.917

Table 8: European Conservatives and Reformists - Controlled Group (5 parties)

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Euro Skepticism	6	2.267	0.776	1.077	1.992	2.773	3.267
Euro Salience	6	5.961	1.318	4.375	5.122	7.161	7.500
Post-Materialism	6	9.117	0.490	8.333	8.859	9.410	9.667
Law and Order	6	9.647	0.325	9.050	9.566	9.832	9.923
Social Lifestyle	6	9.482	0.536	8.667	9.137	9.853	9.917
Religious Principles	6	9.444	0.263	9.100	9.254	9.583	9.800
Migration	6	8.220	1.215	6.400	7.461	8.925	9.625
Multiculturalism	6	7.207	2.846	3.333	4.902	9.341	9.467
Ethnic Minorities	6	9.126	0.699	8.000	8.734	9.643	9.750
Nationalism	6	9.617	0.265	9.100	9.631	9.757	9.833
Anti-Islam Rhetoric	6	8.072	0.987	6.842	7.272	8.734	9.333

Table 9: European Conservatives and Reformists - Full Group (14 parties)

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Euro Skepticism	14	3.169	1.087	1.077	2.331	4.054	4.727
Euro Salience	14	5.526	1.181	3.273	4.961	6.116	7.500
Post-Materialism	14	8.390	1.851	3.188	8.152	9.472	9.923
Law and Order	14	9.020	0.868	7.300	8.424	9.740	9.923
Social Lifestyle	14	8.863	1.004	6.556	8.222	9.668	9.917
Religious Principles	14	8.185	1.863	3.267	7.852	9.453	9.800
Migration	14	7.961	1.769	3.750	6.800	9.000	9.625
Multiculturalism	14	6.849	2.624	2.400	4.645	9.320	9.750
Ethnic Minorities	14	7.917	2.372	1.636	7.054	9.607	9.750
Nationalism	14	8.819	1.433	5	8.3	9.7	10
Anti-Islam Rhetoric	14	6.572	1.953	2.455	5.538	8.344	9.333

Table 10: Identity and Democracy - Robustness Checks

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
EU Market	10	2.605	0.572	1.600	2.375	3.027	3.222
EU Budgetary Authority	10	1.420	0.399	1.000	1.170	1.424	2.250
Economic Orientation	10	5.974	1.164	4	4.8	6.8	8
Redistribution of Wealth	10	5.170	1.042	4.000	4.372	5.775	7.316
Environment	10	7.938	0.964	6.077	7.349	8.541	9.000
Public Taxes	10	6.013	1.420	4.154	5.280	6.621	8.882
Deregulation of Markets	10	5.335	0.947	4	4.7	6.1	6
Economic Interventionism	10	5.232	1.152	3.364	4.392	6.132	6.667
Protectionism	10	7.716	1.037	6.111	6.911	8.418	9.000

Table 11: European Conservatives and Reformists - Controlled Group - Robustness Checks

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
EU Market	6	2.267	0.776	1.077	1.992	2.773	3.267
EU Budgetary Authority	6	5.961	1.318	4.375	5.122	7.161	7.500
Economic Orientation	6	9.117	0.490	8.333	8.859	9.410	9.667
Redistribution of Wealth	6	9.647	0.325	9.050	9.566	9.832	9.923
Environment	6	9.482	0.536	8.667	9.137	9.853	9.917
Public Taxes	6	9.444	0.263	9.100	9.254	9.583	9.800
Deregulation of Markets	6	8.220	1.215	6.400	7.461	8.925	9.625
Economic Interventionism	6	7.207	2.846	3.333	4.902	9.341	9.467
Protectionism	6	9.126	0.699	8.000	8.734	9.643	9.750
nationalism	6	9.617	0.265	9.100	9.631	9.757	9.833
anti_islam_rhetoric	6	8.072	0.987	6.842	7.272	8.734	9.333

Table 12: European Conservatives and Reformists - Full Group - Robustness Checks

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
EU Market	14	3.945	1.527	1.444	2.643	5.225	6.120
EU Budgetary Authority	14	2.418	1.076	1.000	1.616	3.000	4.375
Economic Orientation	14	6.311	2.067	2.818	5.004	7.863	9.333
Redistribution of Wealth	14	5.891	2.157	2	4.7	7.7	9
Environment	14	7.421	1.153	5.364	6.932	8.096	9.308
Public Taxes	14	6.191	1.945	3.667	4.379	7.833	9.214
Deregulation of Markets	14	5.778	2.241	3.000	3.583	8.135	9.000
Economic Interventionism	14	5.808	2.344	1.524	4.074	7.919	8.938
Protectionism	14	6.494	2.143	2	5.9	8.2	9