

Appendix A: European Parties and Transnational Political Positions

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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 (5 parties)

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU position</i>	-1.225	4.697	0.2786	two.sided	1.803	2.296
<i>EU salience</i>	1.041	7.438	0.3304	two.sided	6.938	6.279
<i>Post materialism</i>	-1.155	11.51	0.2714	two.sided	8.668	9.066
<i>Migration</i>	0.4245	6.605	0.6847	two.sided	9.753	9.676
<i>Multiculturalism</i>	1.003	5.215	0.3603	two.sided	9.716	9.435
<i>Law and Order</i>	-1.503	6.687	0.1786	two.sided	9.207	9.433
<i>Social Lifestyle</i>	-0.07925	10.96	0.9383	two.sided	7.883	7.939
<i>Religious Principles</i>	-0.8541	5.039	0.4318	two.sided	5.577	6.774
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	0.05453	8.8	0.9577	two.sided	9.06	9.037
<i>Nationalism</i>	-0.8323	9.173	0.4264	two.sided	9.474	9.616
<i>Anti-Islam Rhetoric</i>	1.526	7.139	0.1701	two.sided	8.851	7.987

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

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU position</i>	-4.491	15.2	0.0004178***	two.sided	1.803	3.249
<i>EU salience</i>	2.794	20.26	0.01113*	two.sided	6.938	5.614
<i>Post materialism</i>	0.6058	16.83	0.5527	two.sided	8.668	8.315
<i>Migration</i>	2.928	14.96	0.01042*	two.sided	9.753	8.984

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>Multiculturalism</i>	3.079	14.94	0.007666*	two.sided	9.716	8.797
<i>Law and Order</i>	2.111	12.48	0.05559	two.sided	9.207	8.084
<i>Social Lifestyle</i>	0.07222	20.54	0.9431	two.sided	7.883	7.833
<i>Religious Principles</i>	-1.244	19.55	0.2282	two.sided	5.577	6.654
<i>Ethnic Minorities</i>	1.769	15.33	0.09671	two.sided	9.06	7.79
<i>Nationalism</i>	1.698	13.61	0.1121	two.sided	9.474	8.757
<i>Anti-Islam Rhetoric</i>	3.938	18.12	0.0009526***	two.sided	8.851	6.423

Robustness Checks

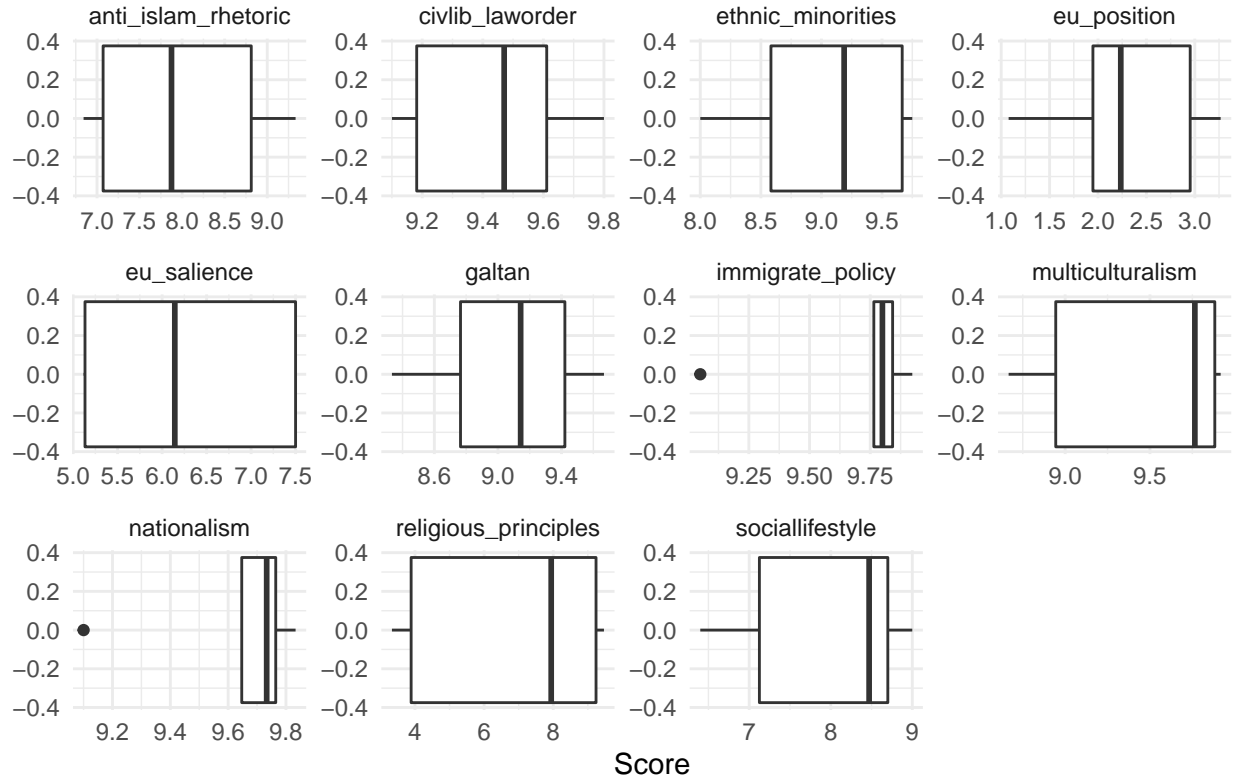
Difference-in-means - Controlled ECR (5 parties)

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU Market</i>	-0.5655	4.838	0.597	two.sided	2.605	2.941
<i>EU budgetary authority</i>	-0.8591	4.986	0.4296	two.sided	1.42	1.752
<i>Economic orientation</i>	-0.5614	4.792	0.5997	two.sided	5.974	6.669
<i>Redistribution of wealth</i>	-0.4749	4.546	0.6568	two.sided	5.17	5.793
<i>Environment</i>	-1.221	11	0.2477	two.sided	7.938	8.467
<i>Public Taxes</i>	-0.5558	5.472	0.6003	two.sided	6.013	6.656
<i>Deregulation of Markets</i>	-0.5613	4.545	0.6011	two.sided	5.335	6.006
<i>Economic Interventionism</i>	-0.3231	4.628	0.7607	two.sided	5.232	5.672
<i>Protectionism</i>	0.9229	6.827	0.3875	two.sided	7.716	7.115

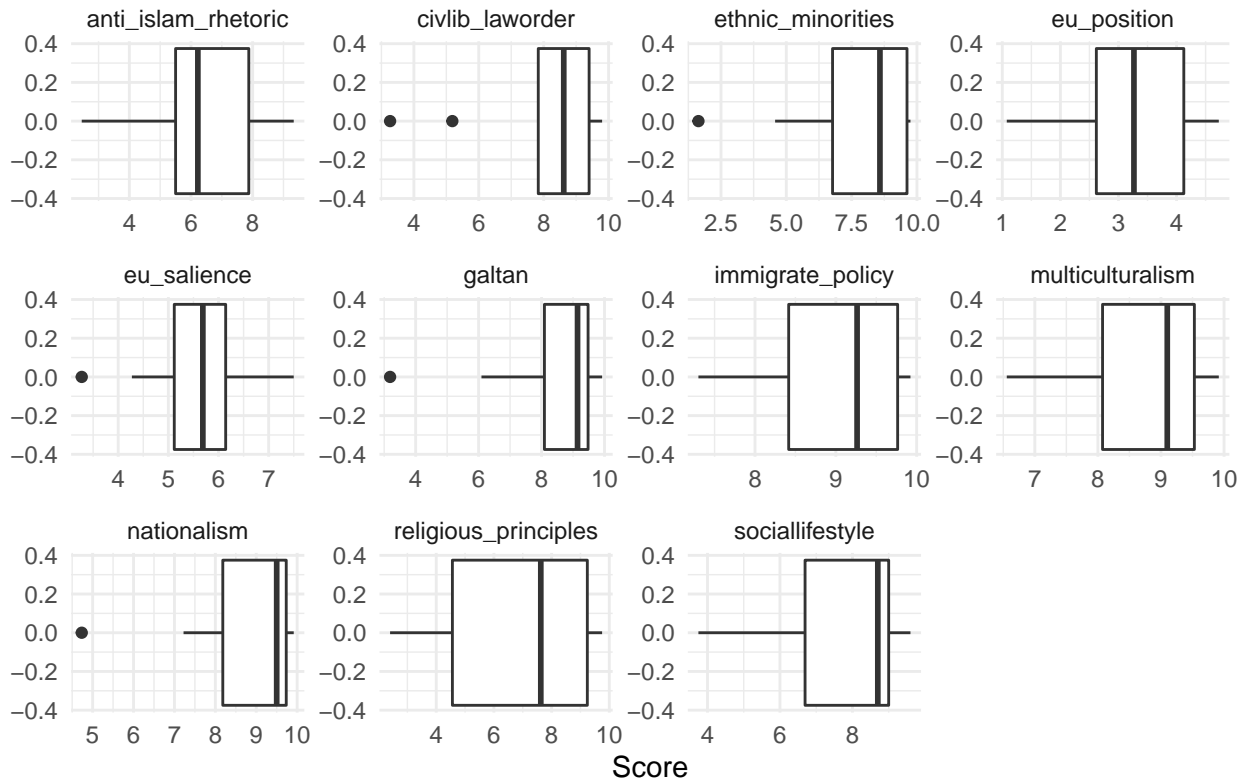
Difference-in-means - Full ECR (14 parties)

Variable	T.test	df	P-value	H_a	ID mean	ECR mean
<i>EU Market</i>	-3.26	16.21	0.004849**	two.sided	2.605	4.082
<i>EU budgetary authority</i>	-3.244	15.91	0.005116**	two.sided	1.42	2.484
<i>Economic orientation</i>	-0.7124	19.5	0.4847	two.sided	5.974	6.46
<i>Redistribution of wealth</i>	-1.328	18.25	0.2006	two.sided	5.17	6.069
<i>Environment</i>	1.103	20.93	0.2823	two.sided	7.938	7.44
<i>Public Taxes</i>	-0.4673	20.97	0.6451	two.sided	6.013	6.341
<i>Deregulation of Markets</i>	-0.9522	17.17	0.3542	two.sided	5.335	5.981
<i>Economic Interventionism</i>	-1.041	18.4	0.3113	two.sided	5.232	6.002
<i>Protectionism</i>	2.117	18.35	0.04819*	two.sided	7.716	6.301

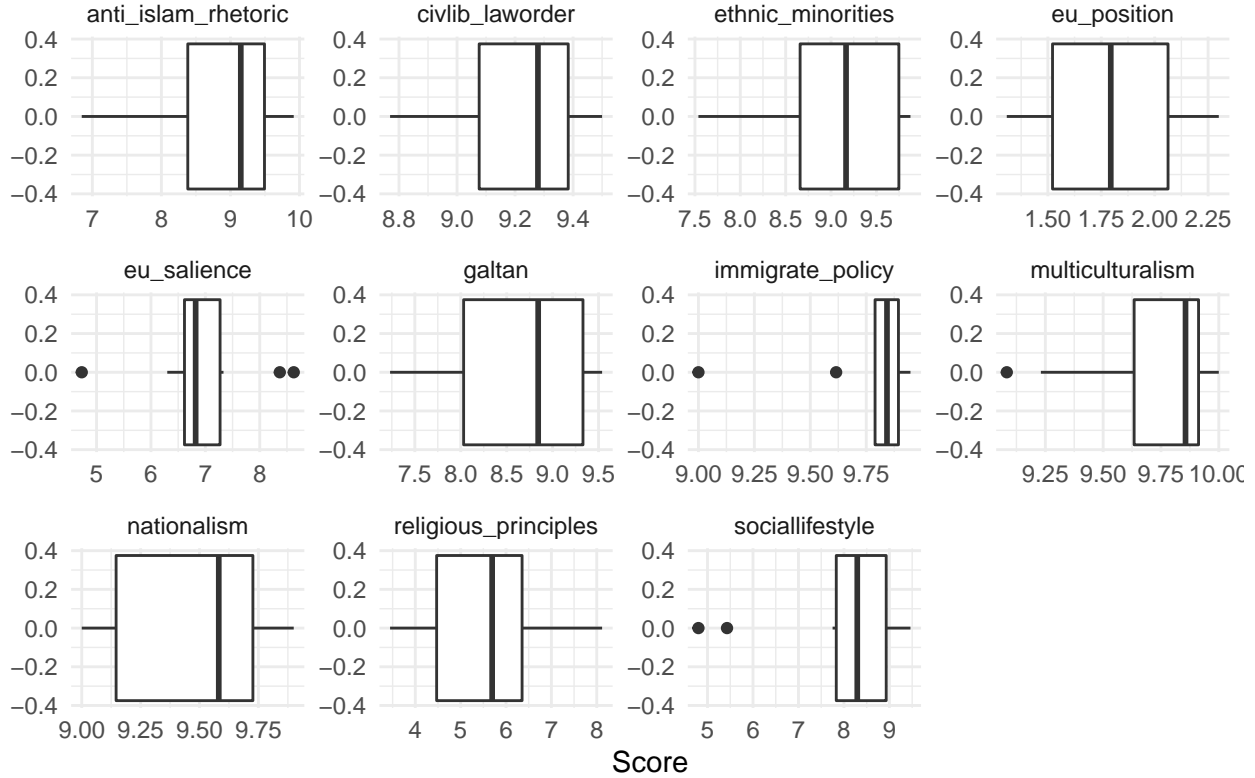
European Conservatives and Reformists – Controlled Group (9th European f



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	5	2.296	0.864	1.077	1.947	2.952	3.267
Euro Salience	5	6.279	1.190	5.118	5.133	7.500	7.500
Post-Materialism	5	9.066	0.529	8.333	8.765	9.421	9.667
Law and Order	5	9.676	0.355	9.050	9.765	9.842	9.923
Social Lifestyle	5	9.435	0.586	8.667	8.944	9.882	9.917
Religious Principles	5	9.433	0.292	9.100	9.182	9.611	9.800
Migration	5	7.939	1.120	6	7.1	8.7	9
Multiculturalism	5	6.774	2.952	3.333	3.889	9.238	9.467
Ethnic Minorities	5	9.037	0.743	8.000	8.583	9.667	9.750
Nationalism	5	9.616	0.296	9.100	9.647	9.765	9.833
Anti-Islam Rhetoric	5	7.987	1.079	6.842	7.071	8.812	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	13	3.249	1.087	1.077	2.619	4.125	4.727
Euro Salience	13	5.614	1.179	3.273	5.118	6.143	7.500
Post-Materialism	13	8.315	1.904	3.188	8.091	9.478	9.923
Law and Order	13	8.984	0.892	7.300	8.417	9.765	9.923
Social Lifestyle	13	8.797	1.014	6.556	8.074	9.529	9.917
Religious Principles	13	8.084	1.899	3.267	7.833	9.400	9.800
Migration	13	7.833	1.773	3.750	6.692	9.000	9.600
Multiculturalism	13	6.654	2.624	2.400	4.560	9.238	9.750
Ethnic Minorities	13	7.790	2.418	1.636	6.769	9.619	9.750
Nationalism	13	8.757	1.472	5	8.2	9.7	10
Anti-Islam Rhetoric	13	6.423	1.948	2.455	5.500	7.875	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	5	2.296	0.864	1.077	1.947	2.952	3.267
EU Budgetary Authority	5	6.279	1.190	5.118	5.133	7.500	7.500
Economic Orientation	5	9.066	0.529	8.333	8.765	9.421	9.667
Redistribution of Wealth	5	9.676	0.355	9.050	9.765	9.842	9.923
Environment	5	9.435	0.586	8.667	8.944	9.882	9.917
Public Taxes	5	9.433	0.292	9.100	9.182	9.611	9.800
Deregulation of Markets	5	7.939	1.120	6	7.1	8.7	9
Economic Interventionism	5	6.774	2.952	3.333	3.889	9.238	9.467
Protectionism	5	9.037	0.743	8.000	8.583	9.667	9.750
nationalism	5	9.616	0.296	9.100	9.647	9.765	9.833
anti_islam_rhetoric	5	7.987	1.079	6.842	7.071	8.812	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	13	4.082	1.497	1.444	2.824	5.333	6.120
EU Budgetary Authority	13	2.484	1.090	1.000	1.750	3.000	4.375
Economic Orientation	13	6.460	2.071	2.818	5.588	7.917	9.333
Redistribution of Wealth	13	6.069	2.135	2	4.8	7.9	9
Environment	13	7.440	1.198	5.364	6.909	8.148	9.308
Public Taxes	13	6.341	1.939	3.667	4.765	7.889	9.214
Deregulation of Markets	13	5.981	2.195	3.000	4.333	8.346	9.000
Economic Interventionism	13	6.002	2.320	1.524	4.824	8.074	8.938
Protectionism	13	6.301	2.101	2	5.9	8	9