

Appendix A

Table A1

Member State	Elections included
AT	2002, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2017
BE	2003, 2010, 2014
BG	2001, 2005, 2009, 2014, 2017
CY	2011, 2016
CZ	2002, 2006, 2010, 2013, 2017
DE	2002, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017
DK	2001, 2005, 2007, 2011, 2015
EE	2003, 2007, 2011, 2015
EL	2000, 2004, 2009, 2012, 2015
ES	2000, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2016
FI	2003, 2007, 2011, 2015
FR	2002, 2007, 2012, 2017
HR	2011, 2016
HU	2002, 2006, 2010, 2014
IE	2002, 2007, 2011, 2016
IT	2001, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2018
LT	2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016
LU	2013
LV	2002, 2006, 2011, 2014
MT	2013, 2017
NL	2002, 2006, 2010, 2012, 2017
PL	2001, 2005, 2007, 2011, 2015
PT	2002, 2005, 2009, 2011, 2015
RO	2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016
SE	2002, 2006, 2010, 2014
SI	2000, 2004, 2008, 2014
SK	2002, 2006, 2010, 2012, 2016
UK	2001, 2005, 2010, 2015

Appendix B

Table B1. Top 40 anti-European integration parties, according to the CHES 2014 and 2017 scores.

Country	Party name	Score on European Integration	Votes in the latest legislative election
FR	Front National	1.05	2,976,001
PL	15 - Komitet Wyborczy Kongres Nowej Prawicy	1.06	4,852
NL	Partij voor de Vrijheid	1.07	1,372,800
CZ	SPD	1.07	538,574
EL	KKE - Kommounistiko Komma Elladas	1.11	301,684
EL	Laikos Syndesmos - Chrysi Aygi	1.11	379,722
NL	Forum voor Democratie	1.13	187,117
UK	UK Independence Party	1.14	3,881,099
FR	Debout la France	1.15	265,359
SK	ĽS Naše Slovensko	1.15	209,724
HU	movement for a better hungary	1.21	1,000,637
SE	Sweden Democrats	1.27	801,178
CZ	Svobodni	1.33	79,229
PL	4 - Komitet Wyborczy KORWiN	1.43	701,215
BG	ОБЕДИНЕНИ ПАТРИОТИ – НФСБ, АТАКА и ВМРО	1.50	310,436
IT	Lega	1.50	5,587,719
FI	PS	1.60	524,054
DE	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands	1.67	176,020
DE	Alternative für Deutschland	1.79	5,878,115
DK	5905 Ø. The Red-Green Alliance	1.82	274,463
IT	Fratelli d'Italia con Giorgia Meloni	1.86	1,398,451
PT	PCP-PEV	1.88	444,955
AT	FPÖ	1.90	1,175,961
DK	5899 O. The Danish Peoples Party	1.91	741,746
CZ	KSCM	2.00	393,100
IT	Potere al popolo!	2.00	374,064
SE	Left Party	2.14	356,331
EL	Anexartitoi Ellines - Ethniki Patriotiki Symmachia	2.22	200,532
FR	La France Insoumise	2.25	2,477,823
IE	Anti-Austerity Alliance - People Before Profit	2.25	84,168
BE	Parti Populaire	2.50	102,291
FR	Parti Communiste français	2.58	614,646
UK	Democratic Unionist Party	2.58	184,260
BE	Vlaams Belang	2.60	247,283
NL	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	2.60	218,938
IT	Movimento 5 Stelle	2.64	10,748,065
HU	Fidesz-kdnp	2.71	2,165,342
NL	Socialistische Partij	2.73	955,448
IE	Sinn Féin	2.78	295,313
HR	Hrvatska Stranka Prava - 1861 - HSP - 1861	2.86	19,669

* Wherever possible, the CHES assessment – 2014 or 2017 – that was closest in time to the election included in the analysis was used.

Appendix C

Correlation between mistrust of the EU and votes for parties opposed to European integration.

Figure C1. Parties strongly opposed to EU integration

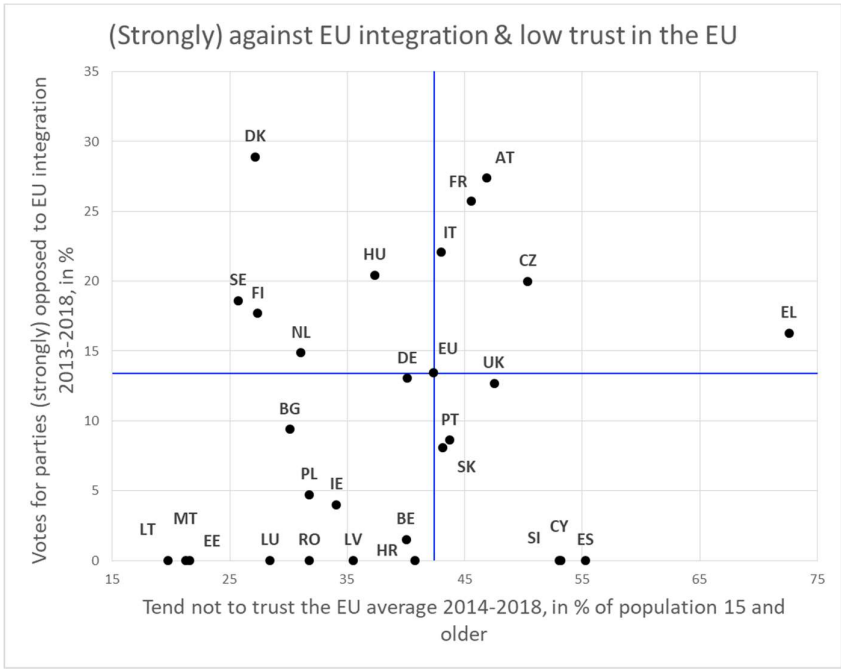
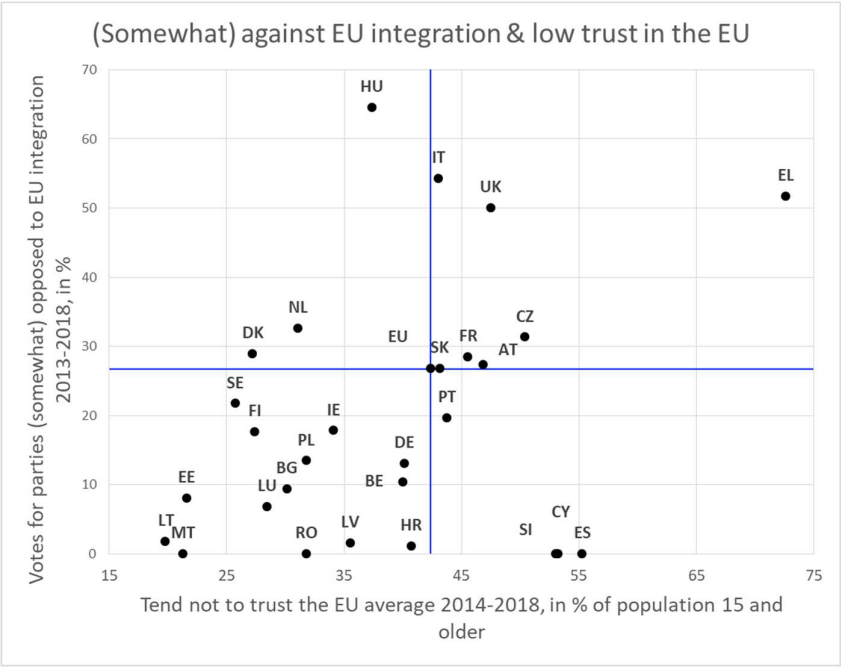


Figure C2. Parties somewhat opposed to EU integration



Appendix D

Table D1. Reference year of the election and the spatial breakdown of the analysis.

Member State	Election year	Spatial units			Number of NUTS3 regions**
		Type of units	Average population*	Number of units	
Belgium	2014	Kantons/Cantons	52,463	209	44
Bulgaria	2017	LAU2	27,719	265	28
Czech Republic	2017	NUTS3	745,081	14	14
Denmark	2015	Constituencies	59,052	92	11
Germany	2017	Constituencies	268,011	299	402
Estonia	2015	NUTS3/LAU2 (some grouped)	128,291	10	5
Ireland	2016	Constituencies	112,821	40	8
Greece	2015	NUTS3 (some grouped)	215,720	48	52
Spain	2016	LAU2	5,628	8,207	59
France	2017	Municipalities	1,822	35,416	101
Croatia	2016	LAU2	7,506	556	21
Italy	2018	LAU2	7,389	7,960	110
Cyprus	2016	Constituencies	139,053	6	1
Latvia	2014	Constituencies	415,921	5	6
Lithuania	2016	Constituencies (some grouped)	62,784	48	10
Luxembourg	2013	Constituencies	127,907	4	1
Hungary	2014	NUTS3	496,719	20	20
Malta	2017	NUTS3	200,434	2	2
Netherlands	2017	LAU2	42,793	388	40
Austria	2017	LAU2	3,957	2,122	35
Poland	2015	LAU1	101,289	380	72
Portugal	2015	LAU2	3,383	3,092	25
Romania	2016	Constituencies	478,818	42	42
Slovenia	2014	Constituencies	254,453	8	12
Slovakia	2016	LAU2	1,845	2,927	8
Finland	2015	LAU2	16,554	317	19
Sweden	2014	LAU2	32,277	290	21
United Kingdom	2015	Constituencies	95,904	650	173
EU			7,874.66	63,417	1342

* Reference year 2011 (calculation based on population data from the Eurostat GEOSTAT 2011 grid)

** NUTS 2013 classification

Appendix E

Table E1. Summary statistics

	N	Mean	St.Dev	Min	Max	Median	t-value
Share of vote for parties opposed to European integration	63324	21.058	14.037	0	100	22.72	377.515
Economic change	63399	.346	1.072	-2.35	6.17	.21	81.367
Change in industrial employment share	63399	-3.83	2.73	-18.8	20.17	-3.71	-353.24
Change in employment	63399	.152	.669	-3.72	4.8	.11	57.344
Population change	63416	3.558	5.437	-25.79	42.47	3.13	164.772
Population density	63416	701.216	1519.488	0	37651.54	223	116.213
Distance to the capital	63416	330.775	379.368	.3	9398.96	299.87	219.569
GDP per capita	63416	87.231	24.821	22.6	342.2	81.88	885.01
Employment rate	63416	53.719	7.638	29.84	98.45	53.16	1771.155
Population 65 and over	63416	21.091	3.775	2.61	35.06	21.02	1406.786
Education	63399	29.736	7.629	12.1	71.7	30.2	981.418
Net migration	63399	2.148	4.026	-15.48	34.45	1.61	134.311
Share of no CHES vote	63324	6.22	8.432	0	100	3.79	185.626

Correlation matrix

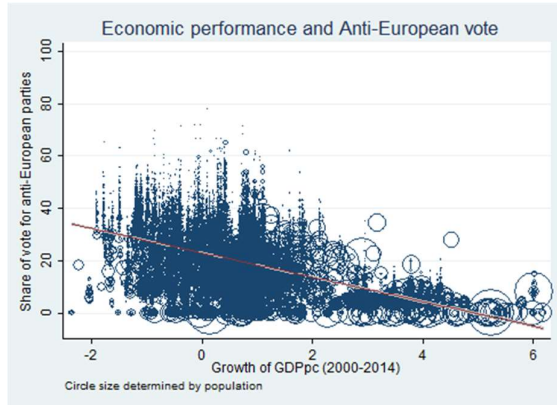
Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Share of vote for parties opposed to European integration	1.000												
Economic change	-0.355	1.000											
Change in industrial employment share	-0.090	0.184	1.000										
Change in employment	0.032	0.260	0.047	1.000									
Population change	0.107	-0.172	-0.144	0.685	1.000								
Population density	-0.165	0.033	-0.035	0.119	0.093	1.000							
Distance to the capital	-0.006	-0.043	0.047	0.211	0.189	-0.013	1.000						
GDP per capita	0.187	-0.050	-0.076	0.448	0.382	0.167	-0.069	1.000					
Employment rate	0.073	0.126	-0.021	0.346	0.192	0.118	-0.076	0.807	1.000				
Population 65 and over	0.074	-0.352	0.065	-0.310	-0.342	-0.192	0.063	-0.241	-0.110	1.000			
Education	-0.029	0.050	-0.097	0.310	0.402	0.059	0.004	0.438	0.351	-0.046	1.000		
Net migration	0.053	-0.179	-0.013	0.599	0.731	0.014	0.183	0.194	0.134	0.201	0.199	1.000	
Share of no CHES vote	0.030	-0.027	0.063	0.078	0.029	-0.042	0.268	-0.020	-0.029	0.022	-0.026	0.024	1.000

Appendix F

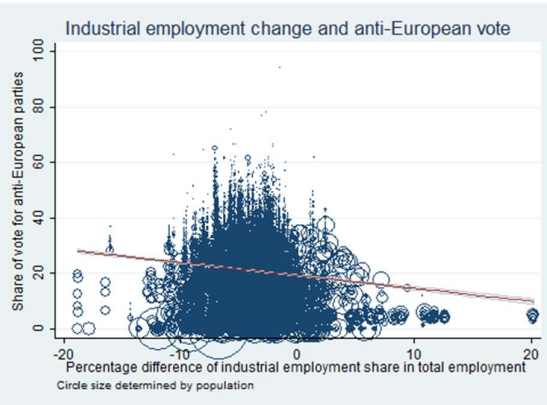
Correlation between votes for parties (strongly) opposed to European integration and the main independent variables.

Figure F1. Main variables of interest

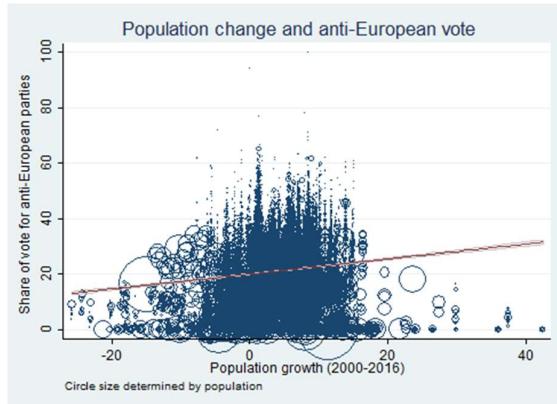
Economic Change



Industrial Change



Demographic Change



Employment Change

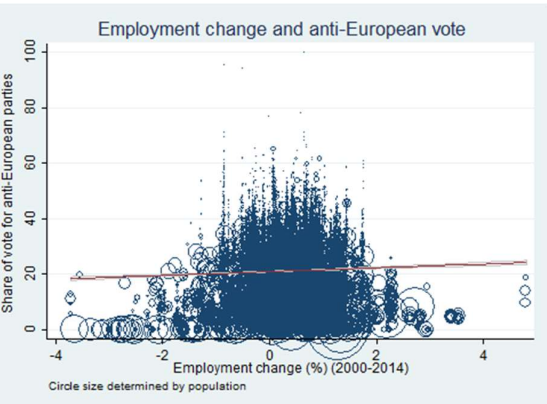
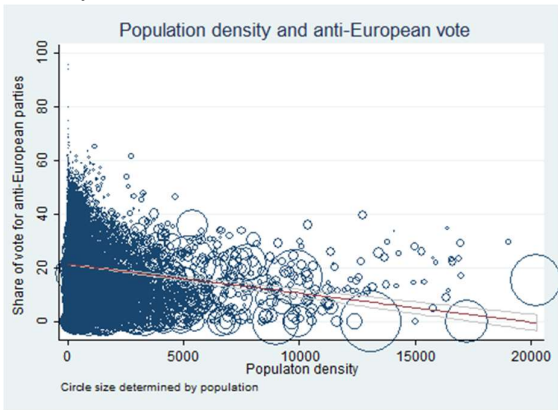
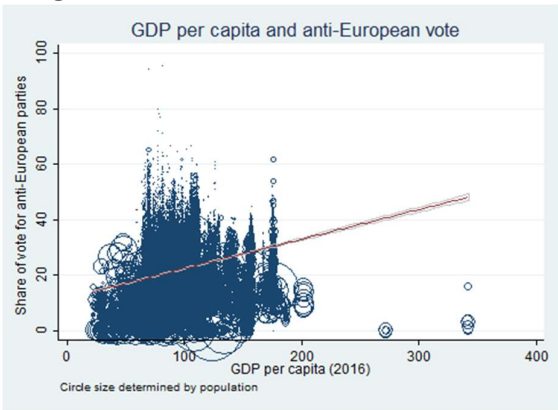


Figure F2. Other control variables

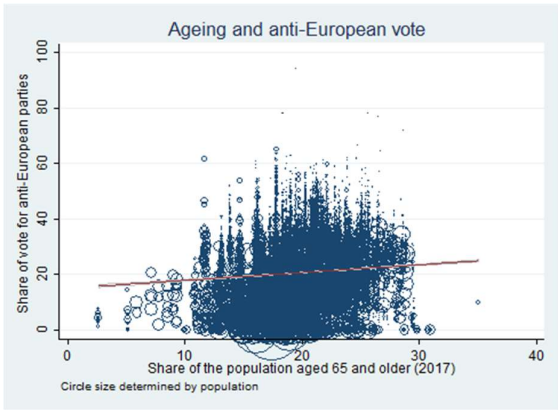
Density



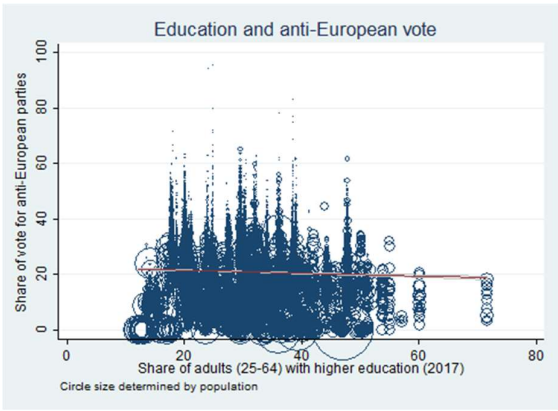
Regional wealth



Age



Education



Appendix G

Table G1. Factors behind the vote for parties (strongly) opposed to European integration (IV analysis).

DEP. V.: Share of vote for parties (strongly) opposed to European integration	(1) Instrumental variables (2SLS)	(2) Instrumental variables (2SLS)	(3) Instrumental variables (2SLS)	(4) Instrumental variables (2SLS)	(5) Instrumental variables (2SLS)	(6) Instrumental variables (2SLS)
Economic change	14.90202*** (0.468)	-5.48000*** (0.187)	-5.24839*** (0.185)	-5.42782*** (0.187)	-5.31265*** (0.186)	-10.36761*** (0.275)
Population density			-0.00032*** (0.000)		-0.00042*** (0.000)	-0.00050*** (0.000)
Rural				0.00324*** (0.001)	-0.00775*** (0.001)	
Distance to the capital						0.00113*** (0.000)
GDP per capita						0.13211*** (0.004)
Employment rate						0.04190*** (0.014)
Population 65 and over						0.17184*** (0.014)
Education						-0.20079*** (0.010)
Net migration						-0.03057** (0.013)
Share of no CHES vote	0.10115*** (0.014)	-0.22613*** (0.004)	-0.22619*** (0.004)	-0.22632*** (0.004)	-0.22595*** (0.004)	-0.21854*** (0.005)
Observations	63,307	63,307	63,307	63,213	63,213	63,307
R-squared		0.58824	0.59183	0.58921	0.59167	0.52861
Country FE	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Wald chi2	1025	250029	253920	250927	257170	139420

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

Appendix H

Table H1. Results including only the vote for parties surveyed in the CHES.

DEP. V.: Share of vote for parties (strongly) opposed to European integration	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) OLS	(5) OLS	(6) OLS
Economic change	-4.69420*** (0.041)	-1.32396*** (0.0721)	-1.33059*** (0.072)	-1.32130*** (0.072)	-1.33171*** (0.072)	-1.81961*** (0.076)
Population density			-0.00037*** (0.000)		-0.00045*** (0.000)	-0.00048*** (0.000)
Rural				0.00574*** (0.001)	-0.00610*** (0.002)	
Distance to the capital						0.00034 (0.000)
GDP per capita						0.13240*** (0.004)
Employment rate						-0.15114*** (0.012)
Population 65 and over						0.11044*** (0.012)
Education						-0.21137*** (0.010)
Net migration						0.08216*** (0.013)
Observations	53,619	53,619	53,619	53,546	53,546	53,619
R-squared	0.11574	0.6340	0.63527	0.63452	0.63575	0.64620
Country FE	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Adjusted R-squared	0.116		0.635	0.634	0.636	0.646
F test	12862		12586	13082	12086	9502

Robust standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix I

Table I1. Regression analysis using NUTS3 regions instead of electoral districts as unit of analysis

DEP. V.: Share of vote for parties (strongly) opposed to European integration	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) OLS
Economic change	-0.69634*** (0.235)			
Change in industrial employment share		-0.18293*** (0.041)		
Change in employment			0.47473** (0.219)	
Population change				0.10566 (0.132)
Population density	-0.00027*** (0.000)	-0.00033*** (0.000)	-0.00028*** (0.000)	-0.00027*** (0.000)
Distance to the capital	-0.00102*** (0.000)	-0.00107*** (0.000)	-0.00125*** (0.000)	-0.00120*** (0.000)
GDP per capita	0.04485*** (0.010)	0.03850*** (0.009)	0.03800*** (0.009)	0.03890*** (0.009)
Employment rate	-0.00294 (0.022)	-0.01278 (0.022)	-0.01497 (0.022)	-0.01323 (0.021)
Population 65 and over	0.20552*** (0.053)	0.16033*** (0.052)	0.20069*** (0.053)	0.26643** (0.113)
Education	-0.10872*** (0.034)	-0.08584** (0.035)	-0.11235*** (0.034)	-0.10693*** (0.034)
Net migration	0.12488*** (0.043)	0.13111*** (0.044)	0.10675** (0.047)	0.03592 (0.140)
Share of no CHES vote	-0.17897*** (0.037)	-0.17886*** (0.035)	-0.18884*** (0.036)	-0.18405*** (0.037)
Observations	868	868	868	868
R-squared	0.81285	0.81457	0.81181	0.81114
Country FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Adjusted R-squared	0.806	0.807	0.805	0.804

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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