

Appendix 1: Factor analysis for each election

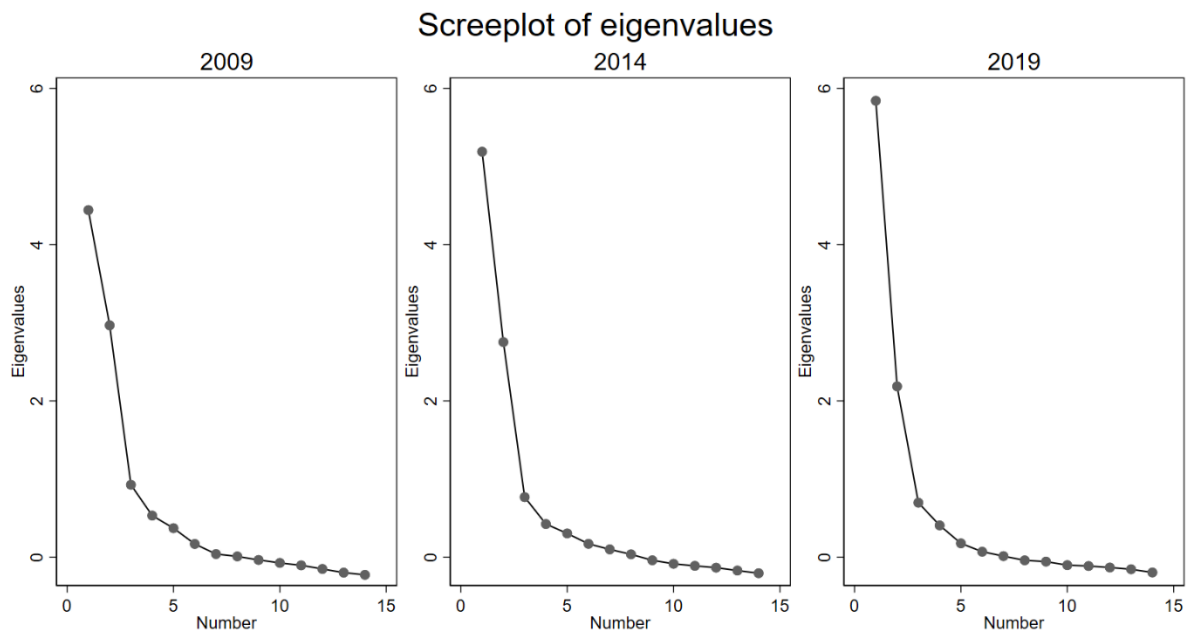


Figure A1. Screeplot of Eigenvalues for the unrotated factor analysis for each election

Table A1. Eigenvalues and proportion of explained variance for unrotated solutions

Factor	2009		2014		2019	
	Eigenvalue	Proportion	Eigenvalue	Proportion	Eigenvalue	Proportion
1	4.807	0.516	5.698	0.574	6.440	0.678
2	3.138	0.337	2.819	0.284	2.226	0.235
3	0.898	0.096	0.804	0.081	0.713	0.075
4	0.554	0.059	0.570	0.057	0.426	0.045
5	0.382	0.041	0.338	0.034	0.260	0.027
6	0.199	0.021	0.255	0.026	0.149	0.016
7	0.126	0.014	0.136	0.014	0.073	0.008
8	0.034	0.004	0.061	0.006	0.004	0.000
9	-0.020	-0.002	0.007	0.001	-0.032	-0.003
10	-0.036	-0.004	-0.044	-0.005	-0.061	-0.007
11	-0.069	-0.007	-0.089	-0.009	-0.092	-0.010
12	-0.102	-0.011	-0.119	-0.012	-0.116	-0.012
13	-0.170	-0.018	-0.139	-0.014	-0.131	-0.014
14	-0.197	-0.021	-0.163	-0.016	-0.160	-0.017
15	-0.222	-0.024	-0.203	-0.020	-0.203	-0.021

Table A2. Pattern matrix of factor analysis with oblique (promax) rotation for each election, plus correlations between factors

Variable	2009			2014			2019		
	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness	Factor1	Factor2	Uniqueness
Gay marriage	0.674	0.075	0.530	0.654	0.235	0.443	0.628	0.180	0.499
Soft drugs	0.712	0.039	0.486	0.604	0.067	0.611	0.637	0.078	0.556
Euthanasia	0.557	0.175	0.640	0.492	0.275	0.617	0.544	0.139	0.635
Criminality	-0.782	-0.034	0.383	-0.741	-0.092	0.410	-0.635	-0.204	0.471
Immigration restriction	-0.697	-0.133	0.479	-0.647	-0.185	0.490	-0.788	-0.092	0.323
Immigrant assimilation	-0.800	0.169	0.357	-0.754	0.140	0.462	-0.827	0.199	0.385
Renewables	0.498	0.062	0.743	0.661	-0.060	0.579	0.731	0.066	0.430
Public transport	0.550	0.175	0.649	0.615	-0.004	0.623	0.681	0.103	0.480
Social programmes	0.614	-0.295	0.571	0.781	-0.093	0.417	0.763	-0.196	0.477
Government spending	-0.602	0.171	0.628	-0.724	0.393	0.459	-0.766	0.244	0.477
EU foreign policy	0.037	0.836	0.294	-0.122	0.923	0.188	-0.019	0.895	0.210
EU security	-0.256	0.839	0.270	-0.230	0.928	0.188	-0.294	0.887	0.297
EU integration	0.047	0.869	0.235	0.203	0.818	0.210	0.161	0.793	0.262
EU members' veto	0.121	0.800	0.327	0.261	0.696	0.361	0.369	0.517	0.471
<i>Correlation between factors</i>		<i>.094</i>			<i>.241</i>			<i>.328</i>	

Appendix 2: Results of multilevel regression models

Table A3. Results of multilevel regression models on EU integration position including the time-varying effects of economic left-right position, with observations (N=625) nested in parties (N=334) and countries (N=28)

	1a		2a		3a		4a	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Economic left-right	0.035	0.034	0.098*	0.041	0.038	0.034	0.100*	0.041
2009	<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>	
2014	-0.067	0.040	-0.073	0.039	-0.068	0.040	-0.053	0.066
2019	-0.121**	0.040	-0.131**	0.039	-0.123**	0.040	-0.042	0.064
NWE	<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>	
SE	-0.017	0.111	-0.021	0.111	-0.017	0.111	-0.023	0.111
CEE	0.232*	0.103	0.230*	0.103	0.228*	0.103	0.221*	0.103
2014 X Econ. L-R			-0.052	0.044			-0.051	0.044
2019 X Econ. L-R			-0.138**	0.044			-0.139**	0.044
Econ. L-R ²					-0.020	0.032	0.020	0.048
2014 X Econ. L-R ²							-0.023	0.061
2019 X Econ. L-R ²							-0.107	0.058
Intercept	0.002	0.075	0.009	0.075	0.021	0.081	-0.007	0.087
Var. intercept country	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.011	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.013
Var. intercept party	0.579	0.051	0.576	0.052	0.574	0.053	0.572	0.052
Var. residual	0.116	0.010	0.113	0.010	0.117	0.010	0.112	0.010
<i>Model comparison</i>			VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2
Likelihood ratio test			1a	9.93**	1a	0.38	3a	14.28**
							2a	4.72

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; NWE = reference category; 2009 = reference category; Var. = variance

Table A4. Results of multilevel regression models on EU integration position including the time-varying effects of anti-immigration position, with observations (N=625) nested in parties (N=334) and countries (N=28)

	1b		2b		3b		4b	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Anti-immigration	-0.089**	0.034	-0.014	0.045	-0.103**	0.034	-0.036	0.045
2009	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
2014	-0.079	0.041	-0.077	0.040	-0.071	0.042	-0.168**	0.064
2019	-0.113**	0.040	-0.107**	0.040	-0.095*	0.041	-0.140*	0.066
NWE	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
SE	-0.018	0.113	-0.023	0.113	-0.002	0.111	0.001	0.114
CEE	0.251*	0.103	0.260*	0.104	0.228*	0.102	0.244*	0.104
2014 X Anti-imm.			-0.050	0.046			-0.049	0.048
2019 X Anti-imm.			-0.134**	0.046			-0.120*	0.047
Anti-imm. ²					-0.114**	0.036	-0.167**	0.053
2014 X Anti-imm. ²							0.122*	0.062
2019 X Anti-imm. ²							0.066	0.064
Intercept	-0.004	0.076	-0.005	0.076	0.085	0.080	0.120	0.086
Var. intercept country	0.003	0.014	0.004	0.014	0.006	0.013	0.007	0.014
Var. intercept party	0.549	0.051	0.551	0.051	0.498	0.050	0.502	0.050
Var. residual	0.119	0.010	0.116	0.010	0.126	0.011	0.121	0.011
<i>Model comparison</i>			VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2
Likelihood ratio test			1b	8.77*	1b	8.98**	3b	10.77*
							2b	10.98*

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; NWE = reference category; 2009 = reference category; Var. = variance

Table A5. Results of multilevel regression models on EU integration position including the time-varying effects of green position, with observations (N=625) nested in parties (N=334) and countries (N=28)

	1c		2c		3c		4c	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Green	0.143**	0.029	0.076	0.046	0.115**	0.032	0.075	0.047
2009	<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>	
2014	-0.024	0.041	-0.034	0.041	-0.020	0.041	0.021	0.058
2019	-0.083*	0.041	-0.090*	0.041	-0.073	0.041	-0.094	0.058
NWE	<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>		<i>Ref.</i>	
SE	-0.057	0.112	-0.049	0.111	-0.058	0.113	-0.052	0.111
CEE	0.236*	0.102	0.237*	0.101	0.221*	0.103	0.229*	0.102
2014 X Green			0.071	0.051			0.009	0.058
2019 X Green			0.093	0.050			0.086	0.055
Green ²					-0.058*	0.026	-0.032	0.047
2014 X Green ²							-0.068	0.057
2019 X Green ²							0.012	0.056
Intercept	-0.012	0.075	-0.005	0.075	0.035	0.079	0.021	0.082
Var. intercept country	0.005	0.013	0.004	0.013	0.007	0.013	0.005	0.013
Var. intercept party	0.510	0.049	0.510	0.049	0.499	0.048	0.499	0.048
Var. residual	0.121	0.010	0.120	0.010	0.121	0.011	0.120	0.010
<i>Model comparison</i>			<i>VS</i>	χ^2	<i>VS</i>	χ^2	<i>VS</i>	χ^2
Likelihood ratio test			1c	3.48	1c	4.80*	3c	4.82
							2c	6.15

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; NWE = reference category; 2009 = reference category; Var. = variance

Table A6. Results of multilevel regression models on EU integration position including the cross-regional time-varying effects of economic and anti-immigration positions, with observations (N=625) nested in parties (N=334) and countries (N=28)

	5		6		7	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Economic left-right	0.133*	0.057				
2014	-0.085	0.052	-0.071	0.056	-0.170*	0.083
2019	-0.096	0.052	-0.073	0.053	-0.179*	0.084
2014 X Econ. LR	-0.096	0.057				
2019 X Econ. LR	-0.158**	0.058				
SE	0.011	0.124	0.009	0.125	-0.100	0.176
CEE	0.312**	0.119	0.264*	0.117	0.202	0.148
SE X Econ. LR	0.044	0.100				
CEE X Econ. LR	-0.229*	0.103				
2014 X SE	0.100	0.098	0.133	0.100	0.114	0.193
2014 X CEE	-0.099	0.095	-0.082	0.096	0.004	0.145
2019 X SE	-0.155	0.097	-0.158	0.097	-0.040	0.178
2019 X CEE	-0.069	0.094	0.033	0.101	0.140	0.155
2014 X SE X Econ. LR	0.141	0.103				
2014 X CEE X Econ. LR	0.112	0.112				
2019 X CEE X Econ. LR	0.208	0.116				
Anti-immigration			0.029	0.068	-0.020	0.070
2014 X Anti-imm.			-0.036	0.062	-0.043	0.067
2019 X Anti-imm.			-0.143*	0.062	-0.112	0.063
SE X Anti-imm.			-0.034	0.105	0.001	0.106
2014 X SE X Anti-imm.			0.049	0.101	0.066	0.105
2014 X CEE X Anti-imm.			-0.189	0.131	-0.214	0.138
2019 X SE X Anti-imm.			0.033	0.102	0.006	0.105
2019 X CEE X Anti-imm.			-0.047	0.131	-0.051	0.141
Anti-imm ²					-0.223**	0.075
2014 X Anti-imm ²					0.135	0.081
2019 X Anti-imm ²					0.168*	0.083
SE X Anti-imm ²					0.179	0.126
CEE X Anti-imm ²					0.048	0.148
2014 X SE X Anti-imm ²					-0.037	0.156
2014 X CEE X Anti-imm ²					-0.086	0.187
2019 X SE X Anti-imm ²					-0.179	0.150
2019 X CEE X Anti-imm ²					-0.144	0.195
Intercept	0.002	0.078	-0.018	0.078	0.140	0.095
Var. intercept country	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.131	0.007	0.014
Var. intercept party	0.580	0.050	0.553	0.051	0.513	0.052
Var. residual	0.104	0.008	0.109	0.009	0.111	0.010
<i>Model comparison</i>	VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2
Likelihood ratio test	2a	23.66**	2b	19.54*	6	13.75
					4b	22.31

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; NWE = reference category; 2009 = reference category; Var. = variance

Appendix 3: Results of robustness checks

Table A7. Results of multilevel regression models on EU integration position including the time-varying effects of all issue positions, with observations (N=625) nested in parties (N=334) and countries (N=28)

	A1		A2		A3		A4	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Economic left-right	0.101**	0.035	0.135**	0.045	0.103**	0.035	0.133**	0.045
Anti-immigration	-0.025	0.038	0.046	0.057	-0.037	0.039	0.024	0.058
Green	0.129**	0.031	0.089	0.052	0.106**	0.034	0.095	0.053
Permissive	0.175**	0.046	0.204**	0.063	0.176**	0.046	0.200**	0.063
2009	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
2014	-0.051	0.043	-0.059	0.043	-0.041	0.044	-0.093	0.074
2019	-0.102*	0.042	-0.114**	0.043	-0.078	0.044	-0.146	0.076
NWE	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
SE	-0.059	0.110	-0.057	0.110	-0.039	0.111	-0.029	0.111
CEE	0.259*	0.101	0.271**	0.101	0.224*	0.102	0.253*	0.103
2014XEcon. LR			-0.027	0.056			-0.000	0.057
2019XEcon. LR			-0.072	0.057			-0.065	0.058
2014XAnti-imm.			-0.057	0.068			-0.057	0.070
2019XAnti-imm.			-0.113	0.068			-0.093	0.070
2014XGreen			0.050	0.061			-0.009	0.068
2019XGreen			0.016	0.062			0.003	0.069
2014XPermiss.			-0.024	0.072			-0.012	0.074
2019XPermiss.			-0.020	0.073			-0.013	0.074
Anti-imm. ²					-0.111**	0.036	-0.205**	0.054
Green ²					-0.051	0.027	0.019	0.048
Permissive ²					-0.011	0.047		
2014XAnti-imm. ²							0.161*	0.064
2019XAnti-imm. ²							0.110	0.068
2014XGreen ²							-0.116*	0.059
2019XGreen ²							-0.046	0.058
Intercept	-0.016	0.074	-0.010	0.074	0.120	0.085	0.131	0.088
Var. intercept country	0.007	0.013	0.007	0.013	0.011	0.013	0.012	0.013
Var. intercept party	0.457	0.045	0.462	0.046	0.402	0.044	0.405	0.044
Var. residual	0.124	0.011	0.119	0.010	0.132	0.012	0.124	0.012
<i>Model comparison</i>			VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2	VS	χ^2
Likelihood ratio test			A1	11.81	A1	13.24**	A3	18.52
							A2	19.96**

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; NWE = reference category; 2009 = reference category; Var. = variance

Association between EU dimension & other issues

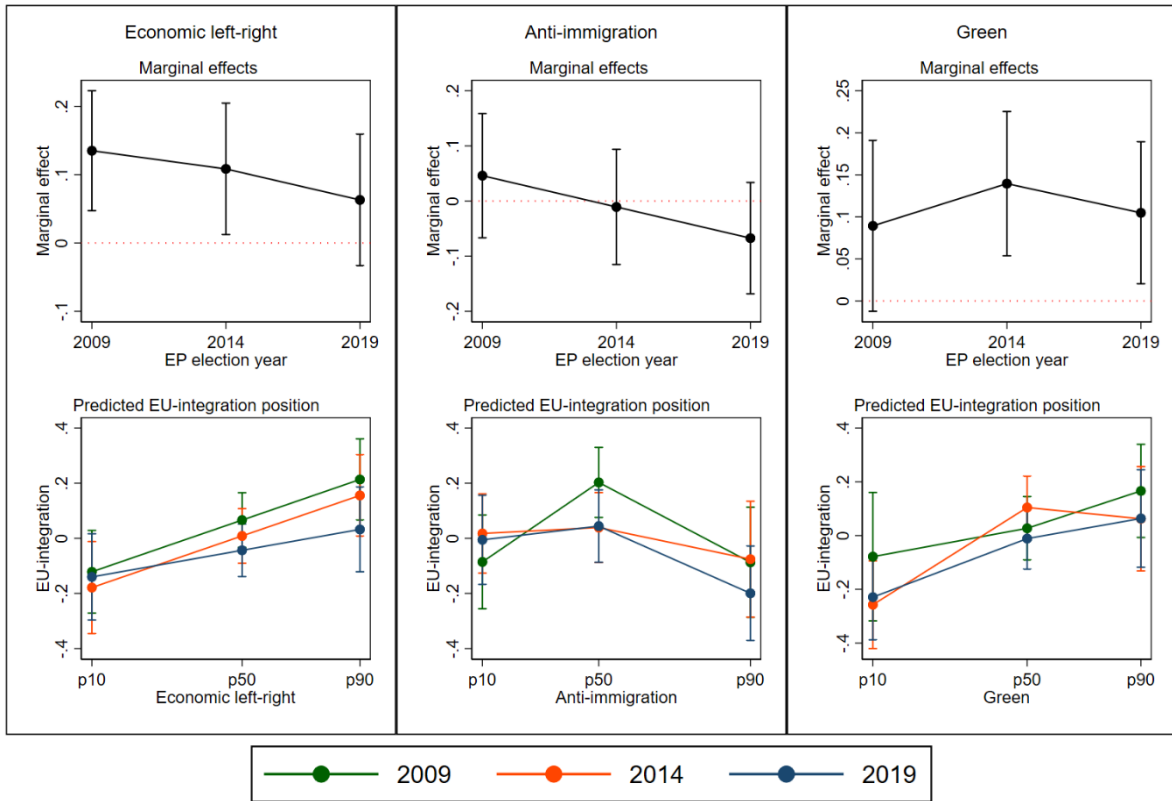


Figure A2. Marginal effects on economic, anti-immigration and green issues on EU integration positions, and predicted EU integration position as function of these issues, by election year, controlled for other issues. Note: p10 = 10th percentile, p50 = 50th percentile, p90 = 90th percentile in the distribution of the independent variable.

Table A8. Results of multilevel regression models on EU integration position including the cross-regional time-varying effects of all issues, with observations (N=625) nested in parties (N=334) and countries (N=28)

	A5	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Anti-immigration	0.008	0.081
2014	-0.068	0.059
2019	-0.074	0.056
2014 X Anti-immigration	0.039	0.087
2019 X Anti-immigration	-0.037	0.088
SE	-0.073	0.132
CEE	0.306*	0.124
SE X Anti-immigration	0.248	0.168
CEE X Anti-immigration	0.079	0.136
2014 X SE	0.089	0.115
2014 X CEE	-0.091	0.112
2019 X SE	-0.206	0.115
2019 X CEE	0.003	0.109
2014 X SE X Anti-immigration	-0.414*	0.192
2014 X CEE X Anti-immigration	-0.343*	0.174
2019 X SE X Anti-immigration	0.066	0.205
2019 X CEE X Anti-immigration	-0.241	0.171
Green	0.027	0.068
2014 X Green	0.074	0.077
2019 X Green	0.155	0.085
SE X Green	0.090	0.135
CEE X Green	0.304*	0.140
2014 X SE X Green	-0.081	0.178
2014 X CEE X Green	-0.190	0.154
2019 X SE X Green	-0.398*	0.165
2019 X CEE X Green	-0.377*	0.163
Economic left-right	0.143*	0.059
2014 X Economic left-right	-0.085	0.073
2019 X Economic left-right	-0.032	0.075
SE X Economic left-right	0.149	0.118
CEE X Economic left-right	-0.124	0.106
2014 X SE X Economic left-right	0.171	0.156
2014 X CEE X Economic left-right	0.015	0.126
2019 X SE X Economic left-right	-0.324*	0.154
2019 X CEE X Economic left-right	-0.028	0.134
Permissive	0.143	0.092
2014 X Permissive	0.031	0.089
2019 X Permissive	-0.013	0.089
SE X Permissive	0.393*	0.180
CEE X Permissive	0.082	0.150
2014 X SE X Permissive	-0.395	0.217
2014 X CEE X Permissive	-0.253	0.191
2019 X SE X Permissive	0.070	0.234
2019 X CEE X Permissive	-0.121	0.181
Intercept	-0.008	0.075

Var. intercept country	0.005	0.012
Var. intercept party	0.450	0.044
Var. residual	0.103	0.009

<i>Model comparison</i>	VS	χ^2
Likelihood ratio test	5	78.63**
	6	78.52**

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; NWE = reference category; 2009 = reference category; Var. = variance

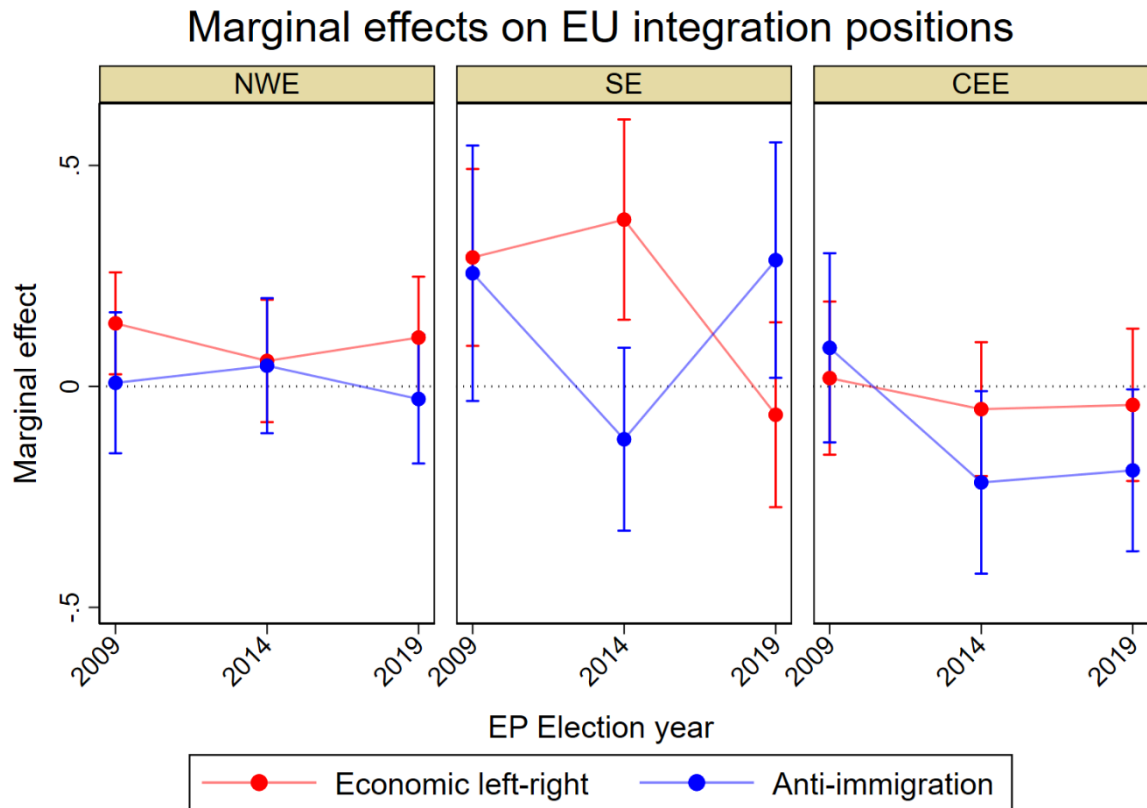


Figure A3. Marginal effects of parties' positions on economic and anti-immigration issues on parties' EU-integration position, by region and election, controlled for positions on other issues based on Model A5