# **Appendix of the paper:**

# **‘Party-based Sovereignism in the EU countries: Main patterns and their Justification’**

**Published in Government and Opposition**

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# **Appendix A**

Table A1 - Detailed description of the items used to construct the dependent variable of the study

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Constructed dependent variable** | **Indicators/Wording** | **Source** | **Availability** | **Original measurement** |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Index of sovereignism | EU\_POSITION = overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration in YEAR. | CHES | CHES 2014; CHES 2019 | 1 = Strongly opposed2 = Opposed3 = Somewhat opposed4 = Neutral5 = Somewhat in favor6 = In favor7 = Strongly in favor |
| MULTICULTURALISM = position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers (multiculturalism vs. assimilation). | CHES | CHES 2014; CHES 2019 | 0 = Strongly favors multiculturalism:10 = Strongly favors assimilation |
| NATIONALISM = position towards cosmopolitanism vs. nationalism | CHES | CHES 2014; CHES 2019 | 0 = Strongly promotes cosmopolitan conceptions of society:10 = Strongly promotes nationalist conceptions of society |
| PROTECTIONISM = position towards trade liberalization/protectionism. | CHES | CHES 2019 | 0 = Strongly favors trade liberalization:10 = Strongly favors protection of domestic producers |

Table A2 – Detailed description of the independent variables of the study

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Independent variables** | **Indicators/Wording** | **Source** | **Availability** | **Original measurement** |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-Right general position | LRGEN = position of the party in YEAR in terms of its overall ideological stance | CHES | CHES 2014; CHES 2019 | 0 = Extreme left:5 = Center:10 = Extreme right |
| Gal-Tan position | GALTAN = position of the party in 2019 in terms of their views on social and cultural values | CHES | CHES 2014; CHES 2019 | 0 = Libertarian/Postmaterialist:5 = Center:10 = Traditional/Authoritarian |
| Electoral size | VOTE = vote percentage received by the party in the national election most prior to YEAR | CHES | CHES 2014; CHES 2019 | Percentage |
| Immigration rate | Proportion of immigrants over total population | EUROSTAT | EUROSTAT 2014; EUROSTAT 2019 | Total number of long-term immigrants arriving into the reporting country during the reference year |
| GDP per capita | GDP per capita in PPP | EUROSTAT | EUROSTAT 2014; EUROSTAT 2019 | Gross domestic product at market prices (per head basis) |
| Public opinion index of sovereignism | “In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?” | Eurobarometer | Eurobarometer 82.3 (November 2014); Eurobarometer 91.5 (June-July 2019) | 1=Very positive; 2= Fairly positive; 3=Neutral: 4=Fairly negative; 5=Very negative |
| “Could you please tell me for each of the following, whether the term brings to mind something very positive, fairly positive, fairly negative or very negative?” (Globalization; Free trade; Protectionism) | Eurobarometer | Eurobarometer 82.3 (November 2014); Eurobarometer 91.5 (June-July 2019) | 1=Very positive; 2= Fairly positive; 3=Fairly negative; 4=Very negative |
| “Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you...Immigration of people from outside the EU” | Eurobarometer | Eurobarometer 82.3 (November 2014); Eurobarometer 91.5 (June-July 2019) | 1=Very positive; 2= Fairly positive; 3=Fairly negative; 4=Very negative |

Table A3 – Results of the factor analysis run on the restricted sample of extreme sovereignist parties (i.e., parties falling within the top and bottom deciles of the distribution of the sovereignist index). *Note*: For each item, cell entries report the factor loadings on the latent dimension of sovereignism in each CHES wave. The last row reports the eigenvalue for the corresponding latent dimension.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | Sovereignism 2014 | Sovereignism 2019 (Symmetric) | Sovereignism 2019 (Asymmetric) |
| Multiculturalism | 0.99 | 0.81 | 0.89 |
| Nationalism | 0.99 | 0.78 | 0.87 |
| EU | 0.93 | 0.67 | 0.69 |
| Economic protectionism |  |  | 0.83 |
|  |  |  |  |
| ***Eigenvalue*** | *2.8* | *2.9* | *3.5* |

Table A4 – Results of the factor analysis on the restricted sample of parties falling within the top and bottom decile of the distribution of the sovereignist index. *Note*: For each item, cell entries report the factor loadings on the latent dimension of sovereignism in each CHES wave. The last row reports the eigenvalue for the corresponding latent dimension.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | Sovereignism 2014 | Sovereignism 2019 (Symmetric) | Sovereignism 2019 (Asymmetric) |
| Multiculturalism | 0.90 | 0.94 | 0.94 |
| Nationalism | 0.91 | 0.94 | 0.92 |
| EU | 0.10 | 0.25 | 0.20 |
| Economic protectionism |  |  | 0.31 |
|  |  |  |  |
| ***Eigenvalue*** | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.1 |

# **Appendix B**

Table B1 – Replication of Models 5b and 5c of Table 1, with the addition of party system salience

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 5b + Salience immigration | Model 5c + Salience immigration |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| ***Party level*** |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Region |  |  |
| Continental | Baseline | Baseline |
|  |  |  |
| Southern | 0.0112 | 0.00811 |
|  | (0.0373) | (0.0393) |
|  |  |  |
| Eastern | 0.0393 | 0.0383 |
|  | (0.0356) | (0.0421) |
|  |  |  |
| El. Performance | 0.000169 | 0.00103 |
|  | (0.000924) | (0.000918) |
|  |  |  |
| Left-Right | -0.104\*\*\* | -0.0450\* |
|  | (0.0173) | (0.0181) |
|  |  |  |
| Left-Right sq. | 0.00875\*\*\* | 0.00516\* |
|  | (0.00182) | (0.00186) |
|  |  |  |
| GAL-TAN | 0.0731\*\*\* | 0.0689\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00595) | (0.00591) |
|  |  |  |
| ***Country level*** |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Public sovereignism | 0.0226 | -0.124 |
|  | (0.244) | (0.296) |
|  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.000000747 | 0.00000107 |
|  | (0.000000810) | (0.00000105) |
|  |  |  |
| Immigration rate | 0.00229 | 0.00621 |
|  | (0.0122) | (0.0179) |
|  |  |  |
| Avg. Salience of immigration | -0.00517 | 0.00335 |
|  | (0.0104) | (0.0120) |
|  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.310\* | 0.146 |
|  | (0.127) | (0.135) |
| *N* | 230 | 230 |
| *R*2 | 0.723 | 0.728 |

Standard errors in parentheses \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table B2 – Replication of Models 5a, 5b, and 5c of Table 1, with the addition of the Gini Index

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 5a + Gini | Model 5b + Gini | Model 5c + Gini |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| ***Party level***  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Region |  |  |  |
| Continental | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline |
|  |  |  |  |
| Southern | 0.0578 | 0.0208 | 0.0177 |
|  | (0.0367) | (0.0423) | (0.0449) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Eastern | 0.0347 | 0.0452 | 0.0353 |
|  | (0.0344) | (0.0351) | (0.0415) |
|  |  |  |  |
| El. Performance | -0.00160 | 0.000170 | 0.00111 |
|  | (0.0011) | (0.000914) | (0.000908) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Left-Right | 0.00435 | -0.103\*\*\* | -0.0434\* |
|  | (0.00887) | (0.0178) | (0.0183) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Left-Right sq. |  | 0.00858\*\*\* | 0.00498\* |
|  |  | (0.00189) | (0.00191) |
|  |  |  |  |
| GAL-TAN | 0.0676\*\*\* | 0.0735\*\*\* | 0.0693\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00865) | (0.00611) | (0.00602) |
|  |  |  |  |
| ***Country level*** |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Public sovereignism | 0.0978 | -0.0699 | -0.222 |
|  | (0.468) | (0.289) | (0.319) |
|  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | -0.000000291 | 0.000000621 | 0.000000716 |
|  | (0.00000239) | (0.000000740) | (0.000000951) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Immigration rate | 0.0491 | 0.00644 | 0.0122 |
|  | (0.0428) | (0.0103) | (0.0154) |
|  |  |  |  |
| GINI Index | 0.00277 | -0.00191 | -0.00342 |
|  | (0.00409) | (0.00212) | (0.00227) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.0567 | 0.368\* | 0.307 |
|  | (0.330) | (0.163) | (0.179) |
| *N* | 230 | 230 | 230 |
| *R*2 | 0.604 | 0.723 | 0.730 |

Standard errors in parentheses \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table B3 – Replication of Model 5a of Table 1, with the addition of the single items of the index of public opinion sovereignism

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 5a + Globalisation | Model 5a + EU | Model 5a + Protectionism | Model 5a + Free trade | Model 5a + Immigration |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Party level*** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |
| Continental | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Southern | 0.0325 | 0.0343 | 0.0323 | 0.0345 | 0.0382 |
|  | (0.0568) | (0.0391) | (0.0390) | (0.0506) | (0.0401) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Eastern | -0.0145 | -0.00934 | -0.000704 | -0.0142 | -0.0118 |
|  | (0.0393) | (0.0529) | (0.0472) | (0.0398) | (0.0368) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| El. Performance | -0.00192 | -0.00194 | -0.00197 | -0.00192 | -0.00192 |
|  | (0.00125) | (0.00121) | (0.00124) | (0.00124) | (0.00123) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-Right | 0.00429 | 0.00423 | 0.00463 | 0.00430 | 0.00426 |
|  | (0.00892) | (0.00894) | (0.00877) | (0.00891) | (0.00887) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GAL-TAN | 0.0677\*\*\* | 0.0678\*\*\* | 0.0677\*\*\* | 0.0677\*\*\* | 0.0679\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00873) | (0.00878) | (0.00868) | (0.00876) | (0.00858) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Country level*** |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | -0.000000458 | -0.000000452 | -0.000000112 | -0.000000538 | -0.000000549 |
|  | (0.00000229) | (0.00000208) | (0.00000185) | (0.00000208) | (0.00000181) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration rate | 0.0517 | 0.0534 | 0.0453 | 0.0533 | 0.0534 |
|  | (0.0442) | (0.0338) | (0.0318) | (0.0392) | (0.0317) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GINI Index | 0.00257 | 0.00258 | 0.00156 | 0.00245 | 0.00231 |
|  | (0.00446) | (0.00361) | (0.00440) | (0.00565) | (0.00370) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Globalisation | 0.0234 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.251) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Eu |  | 0.0537 |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.237) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Protectionism |  |  | 0.113 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.180) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Free trade |  |  |  | 0.0150 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.357) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration |  |  |  |  | -0.0356 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.195) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.0149 | -0.0317 | -0.0342 | -0.00465 | 0.0239 |
|  | (0.254) | (0.221) | (0.155) | (0.292) | (0.178) |
| *N* | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 |
| *R*2 | 0.604 | 0.604 | 0.605 | 0.604 | 0.604 |

Standard errors in parentheses \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table B4 – Replication of Model 5b and 5c of Table 1, with the addition of the single items of the index of public opinion sovereignism

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 5b + Globalisation | Model 5b + EU | Model 5b + Protectionism | Model 5b + Free trade | Model 5b + Immigration | Model 5c + Globalisation | Model 5c + EU | Model 5c + Protectionism | Model 5c + Free trade | Model 5c + Immigration |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Party level*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Continental | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Southern | 0.0173 | 0.0145 | 0.0230 | 0.0131 | 0.0183 | 0.0158 | 0.00498 | 0.0173 | 0.0185 | 0.00635 |
|  | (0.0413) | (0.0328) | (0.0328) | (0.0429) | (0.0328) | (0.0457) | (0.0374) | (0.0364) | (0.0466) | (0.0361) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Eastern | 0.0442 | 0.0500 | 0.0417 | 0.0429 | 0.0513 | 0.0376 | 0.0339 | 0.0270 | 0.0354 | 0.0341 |
|  | (0.0364) | (0.0324) | (0.0360) | (0.0349) | (0.0335) | (0.0433) | (0.0388) | (0.0416) | (0.0403) | (0.0426) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| El. Performance | 0.000158 | 0.000172 | 0.000195 | 0.000158 | 0.000204 | 0.00108 | 0.00108 | 0.00114 | 0.00107 | 0.00109 |
|  | (0.000921) | (0.000928) | (0.000928) | (0.000923) | (0.000901) | (0.000912) | (0.000922) | (0.000926) | (0.000917) | (0.000914) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-Right | -0.102\*\*\* | -0.102\*\*\* | -0.103\*\*\* | -0.102\*\*\* | -0.103\*\*\* | -0.0430\* | -0.0422\* | -0.0442\* | -0.0426\* | -0.0425\* |
|  | (0.0179) | (0.0181) | (0.0184) | (0.0182) | (0.0181) | (0.0183) | (0.0187) | (0.0192) | (0.0188) | (0.0190) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-Right sq. | 0.00856\*\*\* | 0.00848\*\*\* | 0.00862\*\*\* | 0.00855\*\*\* | 0.00859\*\*\* | 0.00494\* | 0.00486\* | 0.00502\* | 0.00490\* | 0.00490\* |
|  | (0.00189) | (0.00189) | (0.00193) | (0.00191) | (0.00191) | (0.00190) | (0.00190) | (0.00195) | (0.00194) | (0.00195) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GAL-TAN | 0.0735\*\*\* | 0.0736\*\*\* | 0.0734\*\*\* | 0.0735\*\*\* | 0.0736\*\*\* | 0.0694\*\*\* | 0.0692\*\*\* | 0.0691\*\*\* | 0.0693\*\*\* | 0.0693\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00610) | (0.00611) | (0.00611) | (0.00609) | (0.00608) | (0.00601) | (0.00608) | (0.00607) | (0.00604) | (0.00602) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Country level*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.0000007 | 0.0000009 | 0.0000006 | 0.0000007 | 0.0000006 | 0.0000008 | 0.000001 | 0.0000008 | 0.0000009 | 0.000000881 |
|  | (0.0000007) | (0.0000008) | (0.0000008) | (0.0000008) | (0.0000008) | (0.000001) | (0.000001) | (0.000001) | (0.000001) | (0.00000104) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration rate | 0.00536 | 0.00507 | 0.00825 | 0.00502 | 0.00533 | 0.0132 | 0.00843 | 0.0143 | 0.00927 | 0.00853 |
|  | (0.0103) | (0.0116) | (0.0122) | (0.0107) | (0.0119) | (0.0152) | (0.0168) | (0.0171) | (0.0155) | (0.0169) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GINI Index | -0.00166 | -0.000748 | -0.00105 | -0.00143 | -0.00230 | -0.00337 | -0.00225 | -0.00143 | -0.00326 | -0.00280 |
|  | (0.00210) | (0.00221) | (0.00180) | (0.00202) | (0.00163) | (0.00241) | (0.00254) | (0.00199) | (0.00218) | (0.00192) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Globalisation | -0.00261 |  |  |  |  | -0.131 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.160) |  |  |  |  | (0.186) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Eu |  | 0.170 |  |  |  |  | 0.0638 |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.245) |  |  |  |  | (0.249) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Protectionism |  |  | -0.0823 |  |  |  |  | -0.160 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.130) |  |  |  |  | (0.140) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Free trade |  |  |  | 0.0484 |  |  |  |  | -0.149 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.207) |  |  |  |  | (0.272) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration |  |  |  |  | -0.0918 |  |  |  |  | -0.0308 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.108) |  |  |  |  | (0.136) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.331\*\* | 0.224 | 0.351\*\*\* | 0.309\*\* | 0.400\*\*\* | 0.264\* | 0.146 | 0.228\* | 0.248\* | 0.209 |
|  | (0.101) | (0.151) | (0.0845) | (0.0977) | (0.102) | (0.121) | (0.162) | (0.0998) | (0.118) | (0.127) |
| *N* | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 |
| *R*2 | 0.723 | 0.724 | 0.724 | 0.723 | 0.724 | 0.730 | 0.729 | 0.731 | 0.730 | 0.729 |

Standard errors in parentheses \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table B5 – Replication of Models 3 and 7 of Table 2, with the addition of the Gini Index

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 3 + Gini | Model 6 + Gini |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| ***Party level*** |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Region |  |  |
| Continental | Baseline | Baseline |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Southern | -0.0501 | -0.193\*\* |
|  | (0.0729) | (0.0670) |
|  |  |  |
| Eastern | 0.0802 | 0.0685 |
|  | (0.0830) | (0.0739) |
|  |  |  |
| Δ El. Performance | 0.00359 | -0.000852 |
|  | (0.00811) | (0.00803) |
|  |  |  |
| Δ Left-Right | 0.00947 | 0.0347 |
|  | (0.0943) | (0.111) |
|  |  |  |
| Δ Gal-Tan | 0.0958 | 0.120 |
|  | (0.0506) | (0.0607) |
|  |  |  |
| ***Country level***  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Δ Public sovereignism | 3.366\*\* | 2.817\*\* |
|  | (1.105) | (0.990) |
|  |  |  |
| Δ GDP per capita | -0.0000144\*\*\* | -0.0000178\*\*\* |
|  | (0.00000292) | (0.00000282) |
|  |  |  |
| Δ Immigration rate | -0.0723 | -0.0697 |
|  | (0.0835) | (0.0889) |
|  |  |  |
| Δ GINI Index | -0.0154 | -0.0213 |
|  | (0.0180) | (0.0144) |
|  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.203\*\*\* | 0.250\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0461) | (0.0517) |
| *N* | 173 | 173 |
| *R*2 | 0.117 | 0.153 |

Standard errors in parentheses \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table B6 – Replication of Models 3 and 7 of Table 2, with the addition of the single items of the index of public opinion sovereignism

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 3 + Globalisation | Model 3 + EU | Model 3 + Free trade | Model 3 + Protectionism | Model 3 + Immigration | Model 6 + Globalisation | Model 6 + EU | Model 6 + Free trade | Model 6 + Protectionism | Model 6 + Immigration |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Party level*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Continental | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline | Baseline |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Southern | -0.155 | -0.104 | -0.104 | -0.134 | -0.0371 | -0.304\* | -0.243\*\* | -0.239\*\* | -0.243\*\* | -0.141 |
|  | (0.125) | (0.0629) | (0.0668) | (0.0808) | (0.102) | (0.124) | (0.0705) | (0.0670) | (0.0720) | (0.0766) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Eastern | 0.142 | 0.121 | 0.154 | 0.124 | 0.126 | 0.115 | 0.121 | 0.130 | 0.129 | 0.0939 |
|  | (0.0818) | (0.0829) | (0.0802) | (0.102) | (0.0747) | (0.0783) | (0.0722) | (0.0748) | (0.0847) | (0.0634) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ El. Performance | 0.00246 | 0.00324 | 0.00295 | 0.00263 | 0.00299 | -0.00196 | -0.00144 | -0.00141 | -0.00152 | -0.00123 |
|  | (0.00796) | (0.00807) | (0.00796) | (0.00782) | (0.00802) | (0.00786) | (0.00792) | (0.00784) | (0.00777) | (0.00798) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ Left-Right | -0.00208 | 0.00236 | 0.00347 | -0.000532 | 0.00674 | 0.0238 | 0.0275 | 0.0293 | 0.0272 | 0.0360 |
|  | (0.0912) | (0.0922) | (0.0925) | (0.0913) | (0.0947) | (0.108) | (0.109) | (0.110) | (0.109) | (0.113) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ Gal-Tan | 0.104 | 0.101 | 0.105\* | 0.104 | 0.0936 | 0.126\* | 0.127\* | 0.127\* | 0.127\* | 0.112 |
|  | (0.0508) | (0.0509) | (0.0496) | (0.0509) | (0.0532) | (0.0612) | (0.0611) | (0.0604) | (0.0611) | (0.0634) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Country level*** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ GDP per capita | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00001\* | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00002\*\*\* | -0.00001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000005) | (0.000003) | (0.000003) | (0.000004) | (0.000005) | (0.000005) | (0.000003) | (0.000003) | (0.000004) | (0.000003) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ Immigration rate | -0.0984 | -0.0861 | -0.124 | -0.0888 | -0.0978 | -0.0872 | -0.0940 | -0.111 | -0.0993 | -0.0863 |
|  | (0.0887) | (0.0915) | (0.0915) | (0.0816) | (0.0793) | (0.0831) | (0.0901) | (0.0915) | (0.0865) | (0.0786) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ GINI Index | -0.0232 | -0.0224 | -0.0253 | -0.0231 | -0.0133 | -0.0277 | -0.0278 | -0.0293 | -0.0280 | -0.0140 |
|  | (0.0200) | (0.0201) | (0.0207) | (0.0200) | (0.0200) | (0.0161) | (0.0163) | (0.0168) | (0.0161) | (0.0140) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ Globalisation | -0.813 |  |  |  |  | -1.130 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (1.258) |  |  |  |  | (1.224) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ EU |  | 0.804 |  |  |  |  | 0.159 |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.686) |  |  |  |  | (0.616) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ Free trade |  |  | 1.057 |  |  |  |  | 0.733 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (1.310) |  |  |  |  | (1.276) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ Protectionism |  |  |  | 0.421 |  |  |  |  | -0.0327 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.823) |  |  |  |  | (0.810) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Δ Immigration |  |  |  |  | 1.005 |  |  |  |  | 1.396\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.573) |  |  |  |  | (0.546) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.122\* | 0.174\*\* | 0.168\* | 0.144\* | 0.138\* | 0.174\*\* | 0.201\*\*\* | 0.216\*\* | 0.193\*\*\* | 0.195\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0470) | (0.0585) | (0.0630) | (0.0527) | (0.0571) | (0.0524) | (0.0542) | (0.0641) | (0.0521) | (0.0441) |
| *N* | 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 |
| *R*2 | 0.107 | 0.108 | 0.107 | 0.106 | 0.115 | 0.148 | 0.144 | 0.145 | 0.144 | 0.163 |

Standard errors in parentheses \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

# **Appendix C**

Figure C1- Index of party-based sovereignism and left-right ideology (CHES, 2019)



Note: Correlation between left-right position and sovereignism (R=0.49, p<0.001)

Figure C2 - Index of party-based sovereignism and GAL-TAN (CHES, 2019)

Note: Correlation between GAL-TAN position and sovereignism (R=0.82, p<0.001)