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**Appendix (Online)**

Table A.1: Summary descriptive statistics of the data used in the *party-system*-level analysis (dependent variables: *EC/EU Membership Level* and *EC/EU Membership Status*)

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. error</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>Polarization (MDP)</b>	48.28	23.06	0	131.07	277
<b>Polarization (Dalton)</b>	1.50	0.77	0.02	3.97	277
<b>EC/EU Integration Level</b>	2.85	1.37	0	4	277
<b>EC/EU Integration Status</b>	33.83	14.92	0	47	277
<b>Depth</b>	3.54	2.04	0	6	277
<b>Treaty Period</b>	2.64	2.12	0	6	275
<b>Effective Number of Parties</b>	4.05	1.47	1.91	11.07	277
<b>Population (log)</b>	2.26	1.28	-1.16	4.41	275
<b>Trade Openness</b>	80.30	43.20	20.55	290.79	277
<b>Median Voter</b>	-4.25	12.22	-45.78	40.22	274
<b>Disproportionality</b>	5.53	5.94	0.36	58.75	277
<b>GDP Growth</b>	0.09	0.09	-0.21	0.42	217

Table A.2: Summary descriptive statistics of the data used in the *party*-level analysis (dependent variables: *Extremism (Mean)* and *Extremism (Median)*)

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. error</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>Extremism (Mean)</b>	0.80	0.64	0	4.7	1473
<b>Extremism (Median)</b>	0.73	0.72	0	4.7	1473
<b>EC/EU Membership</b>	0.76	0.43	0	1	1473
<b>Trend</b>	30.82	15.15	1	57	1473
<b>EC/EU Membership*Trend</b>	26.45	19.37	0	57	1473
<b>Effective Number of Parties</b>	4.81	1.76	2.26	10.35	1473
<b>Trade Openness</b>	75.35	41.84	22.89	317.22	1420
<b>Population</b>	129	72.64	17.62	287.16	1433
<b>Median Voter</b>	4.37	1.24	1.21	8.05	1473
<b>Disproportionality</b>	4.63	4.33	0.41	25.25	1473
<b>Party Vote Share</b>	0.14	0.13	0	0.54	1473
<b>GDP Growth</b>	2.19	2.60	-12.10	9.39	1313
<b>EMU</b>	0.41	0.49	0	1	1473
<b>Single Market</b>	0.52	0.50	0	1	1473

### **Analysis using the Europeanization variable**

An alternative explanatory variable we have used is *Europeanization*, derived from the Europeanization index computed by Schmitter (1996) and updated by Hooghe and Marks (2009). This Europeanization index provides information on the level of EU competencies across 28 issue areas in four main categories: economic policy, social/industrial policy, legal/constitutional policy, and international relations/security policy. The index is constructed based on the scope of treaty obligations undertaken up that point. A Europeanization score ranging from one to five, where one implies that all policy decisions are taken at the national level and five indicates that all policy decisions are taken at the EU level, is assigned to those policy areas for each milestone period of the EU: the initial phase (1950-6), the European Economic Community (1957-67), and the European Community (1968-91). We construct two Europeanization scores for each period: *Europeanization* is calculated by taking the average of all scores across the four main policy categories and *Europeanization (Economic)* is calculated by taking the average of scores only in the economic policy area. This variable captures the deepening of European integration.

We estimate an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) model with robust standard errors clustered by countries. Table A.3 presents the estimates from the regressions where we analyze the impact of Europeanization on party-system polarization. The first column shows the estimates of the model with control variables as specified above. *Europeanization* is positive but not significant. *EC/EU Membership* exerts a negative and significant effect (at the 10 per cent level) on party-system polarization. *Europeanization\*EC/EU Membership* is both positive and significant at the five per cent level. We are particularly interested in the impact of Europeanization on party-system polarization at the national level. We employ two strategies to test this: first, we compute the marginal effect of EC/EU membership on polarization for different values of Europeanization; and, second, we estimate the marginal effect of Europeanization on polarization in general.

Table A.3: Effect of Europeanization on party-system polarization

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>Europeanization</b>	0.14 (0.97)		0.21 (0.96)		-0.03 (0.09)	
<b>Europeanization (Economic)</b>		0.25 (0.66)		0.3 (0.65)		-0.00 (0.95)
<b>EC/EU Membership</b>	-2.43* (1.28)	-2.37* (1.23)	-2.59* (1.32)	-2.62* (1.26)	-0.19 (0.13)	-0.20 (0.11)
<b>Europeanization*EC/EU Membership</b>	1.96** (0.84)	1.48** (0.61)	1.99** (0.86)	1.55** (0.63)	0.16* (0.09)	0.13** (0.06)
<b>Effective Number of Parties</b>	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.1)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
<b>Trade Openness</b>	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.17** (0.07)	-0.18** (0.08)	-0.17** (0.08)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
<b>Population</b>	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)
<b>Lagged Polarization</b>			0.1 (0.07)	0.1 (0.07)		
<b>Median Voter</b>					0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
<b>Constant</b>	9.02** (4.01)	9.36* (4.63)	9.23** (3.98)	9.75* (4.77)	1.03** (0.35)	1.09** (0.39)
<i>N</i>	126	126	122	122	126	126
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.63	0.63	0.64	0.63	0.44	0.44

The dependent variable *Polarization* is measured in columns (1) through (4) as the distance between the two most extreme parties (MDP index) and in columns (5) and (6) as the Dalton index. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors clustered by country. All models include country fixed effects and decade fixed effects, which are not reported here. Models in columns (5) and (6) also include the *Disproportionality* variable, which is not reported here. \* denotes statistical significance at the ten per cent level, \*\* at the five per cent level, and \*\*\* at the one per cent level.

Table A.4: Effect of EC/EU membership on party-level extremism (median)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<b>EC/EU Membership</b>	-0.28*	-0.26	-0.23	-0.26*
	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)
<b>Trend</b>	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
<b>EC/EU Membership*Trend</b>	0.01**	0.01*	0.01	0.01*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
<b>Effective Number of Parties</b>	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**	0.04**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
<b>Trade Openness</b>	-0.00	-0.01*	-0.00**	-0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
<b>Population</b>	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
<b>Median Voter</b>	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
<b>Party Vote Share</b>	0.33*	0.38*	0.36	0.36**
	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.14)
<b>GDP Growth</b>		0.00	0.00	0.00
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
<b>EMU</b>			0.17*	
			(0.08)	
<b>Single Market</b>			-0.09	
			(0.08)	
<b>Constant</b>	1.26**	1.24***	1.31**	1.24*
	(0.52)	(0.55)	(0.57)	(0.63)
<i>N</i>	1420	1313	1313	1313
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.12

The dependent variable *Extremism (Median)* is measured as the absolute distance between a party's policy position and the median party's policy. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors, which are clustered by country in Models 1, 2, and 3 and by election in Model 4. All models include country fixed effects, decade fixed effects, and the *Disproportionality* variable which are not reported here. \* denotes statistical significance at the ten per cent level, \*\* at the five per cent level, and \*\*\* at the one per cent level.

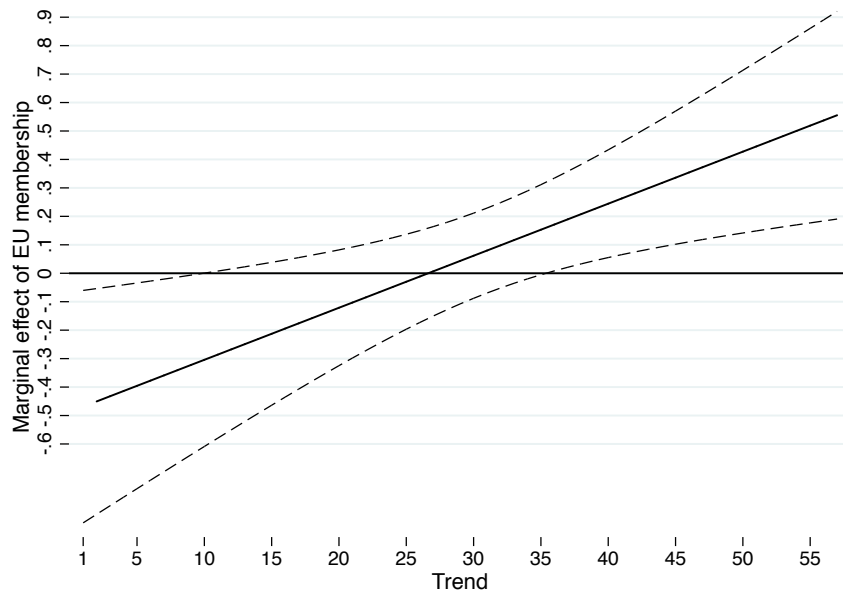


Fig. A.1: Average marginal effect of EC/EU membership (binary) on party-level extremism from the weighted mean party position over time (for non-centrist parties only)

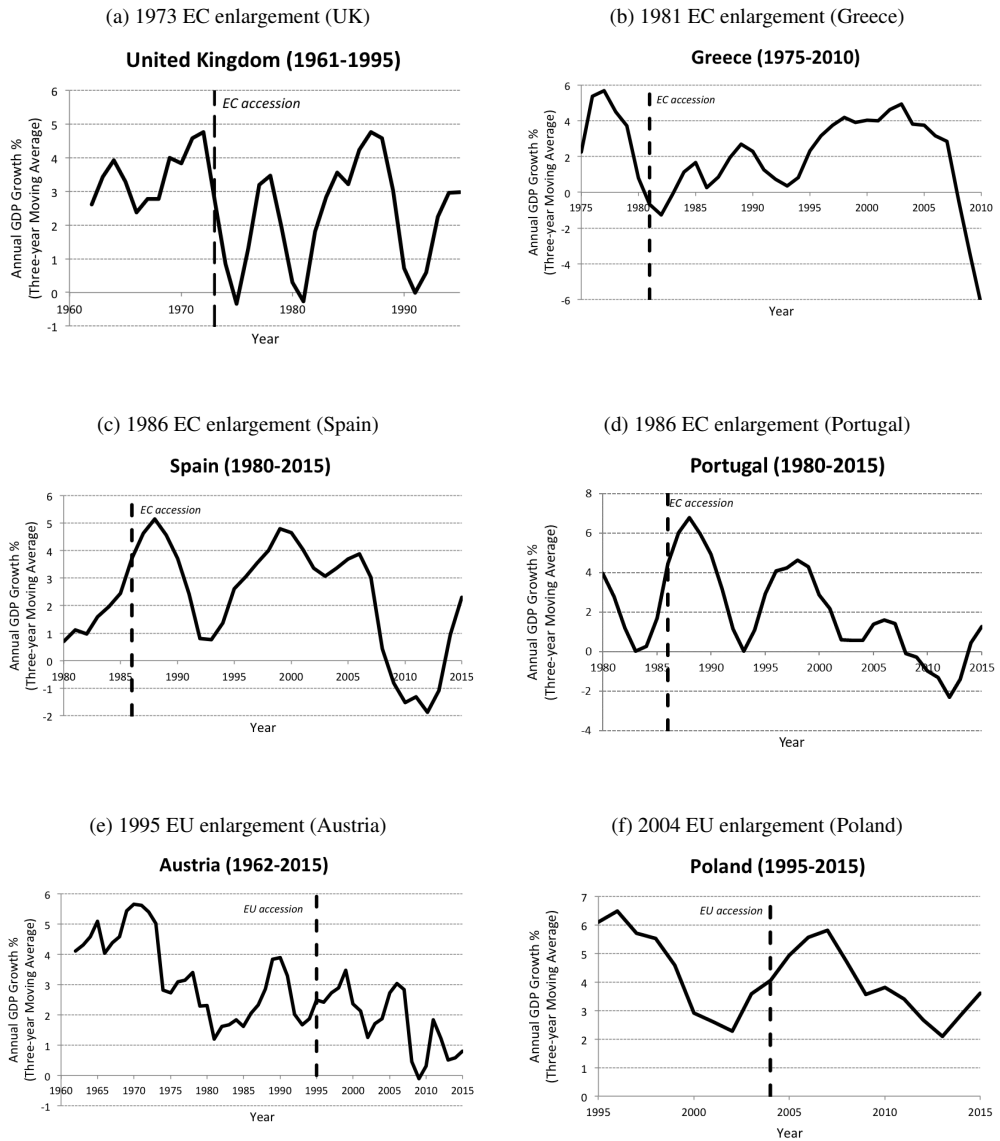


Fig. A.2: Annual GDP growth rates (three-year moving average) *before* and *after* EC/EU accession as a proxy for output legitimacy (Source: World Development Indicators 2015, World Bank)

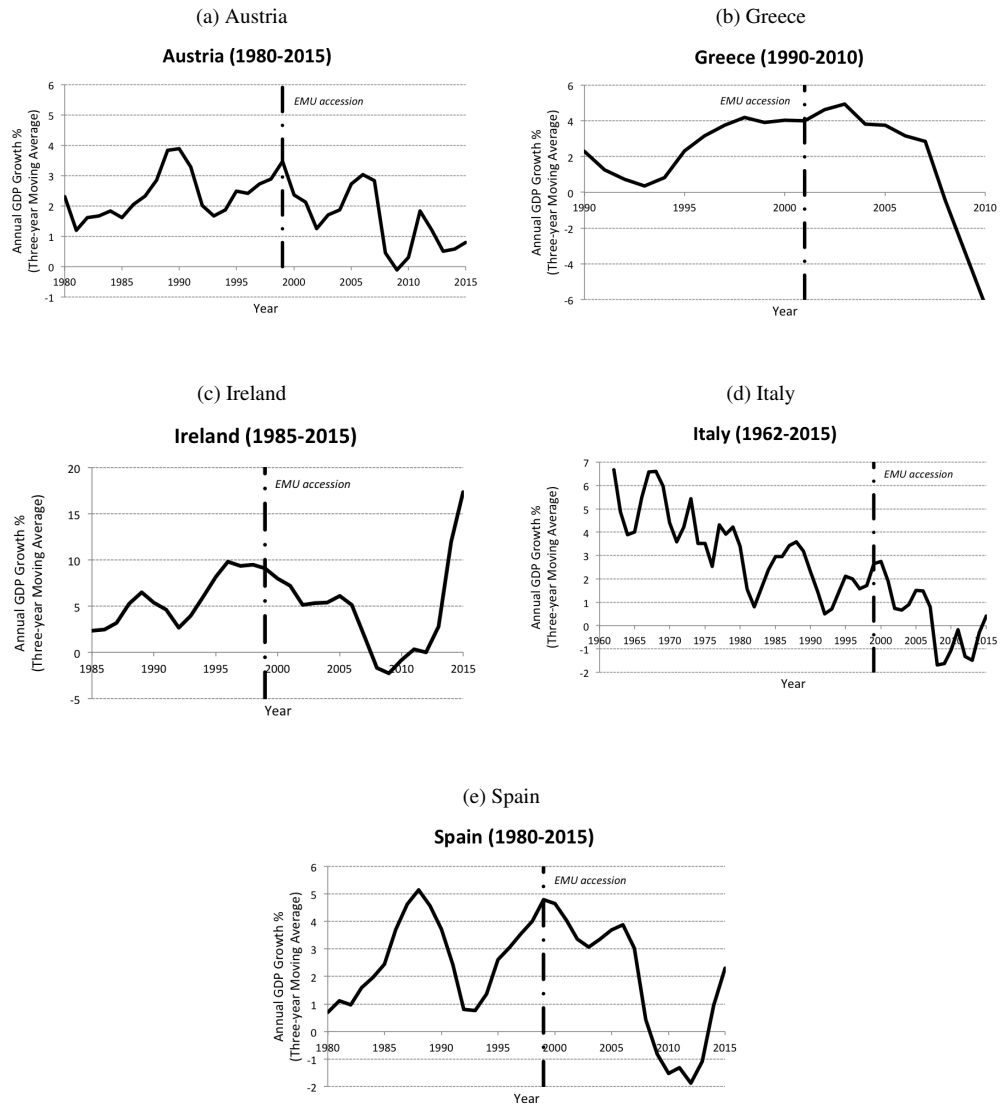


Fig. A.3: Annual GDP growth rates (three-year moving average) *before* and *after* EMU accession as a proxy for output legitimacy (Source: World Development Indicators 2015, World Bank)