

APPENDIX

Table A1. Determinants of Italian voting choices during the 2024 EP Elections (without Eurosceptic/pro-European).

	Model 1.1 FDI	Model 1.2 Lega	Model 1.3 FI	Model 1.4 PD	Model 1.5 AVS	Model 1.6 M5S
Female	-0.335** (0.126)	0.158 (0.176)	-0.0166 (0.191)	0.120 (0.0918)	0.232 (0.133)	-0.0135 (0.124)
Age (18-34)						
35 – 44	0.539* (0.255)	-0.695 (0.357)	0.462 (0.371)	0.520** (0.170)	-0.509* (0.214)	-0.0295 (0.202)
45 – 54	0.920*** (0.229)	-0.254 (0.293)	-0.0492 (0.379)	0.679*** (0.162)	-0.634** (0.215)	-0.167 (0.197)
55 – 64	0.703** (0.234)	-0.123 (0.289)	0.381 (0.353)	0.694*** (0.159)	-0.450* (0.200)	-0.455* (0.204)
Over 64	1.164*** (0.215)	-0.161 (0.268)	0.784* (0.317)	0.842*** (0.144)	-0.973*** (0.189)	-0.559** (0.182)
Education	0.0140 (0.0264)	-0.0609 (0.0381)	0.0349 (0.0404)	0.0366 (0.0195)	0.0856** (0.0292)	-0.0702** (0.0271)
Zone (Northwest)						
Northeast	-0.0226 (0.178)	0.335 (0.212)	0.266 (0.273)	-0.0436 (0.132)	0.0906 (0.194)	-0.395 (0.224)
Center	0.164 (0.184)	-0.552* (0.269)	0.0311 (0.300)	-0.210 (0.132)	0.0789 (0.187)	0.485** (0.181)
South	0.218 (0.178)	-1.187*** (0.297)	0.310 (0.272)	-0.103 (0.132)	-0.219 (0.200)	0.595*** (0.178)
Islands	-0.000393 (0.234)	-0.845* (0.384)	0.480 (0.331)	-0.580** (0.179)	0.186 (0.237)	0.931*** (0.203)
Left/Right	6.740*** (0.325)	6.130*** (0.449)	3.765*** (0.413)	-3.835*** (0.220)	-5.398*** (0.380)	-1.593*** (0.266)
_cons	-6.063***	-5.918***	-6.007***	-0.258	-0.645	-0.966**
N	2780	2780	2780	2780	2780	2780
Pseudo R ²	0.3024	0.2585	0.1068	0.1297	0.1812	0.0521

Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A2. Determinants of Italian voting choices during the 2024 EP Elections (without Left/Right).

	Model 1.1 FDI	Model 1.2 Lega	Model 1.3 FI	Model 1.4 PD	Model 1.5 AVS	Model 1.6 M5S
Female	-0.297** (0.104)	-0.0540 (0.163)	-0.140 (0.183)	0.173* (0.0875)	0.290* (0.123)	0.0138 (0.112)
Age (18-34)						
35 – 44	0.444* (0.213)	-0.335 (0.324)	0.398 (0.360)	0.448** (0.162)	-0.426* (0.198)	-0.0727 (0.192)
45 – 54	0.721*** (0.191)	-0.0819 (0.273)	0.130 (0.356)	0.399** (0.153)	-0.718*** (0.199)	-0.118 (0.177)
55 – 64	0.558** (0.195)	-0.0247 (0.270)	0.439 (0.335)	0.526*** (0.150)	-0.447* (0.185)	-0.376* (0.184)
Over 64	0.830*** (0.180)	-0.00870 (0.253)	0.735* (0.304)	0.771*** (0.137)	-0.730*** (0.175)	-0.382* (0.167)
Education	-0.00675 (0.0219)	-0.0405 (0.0342)	0.00232 (0.0386)	0.0420* (0.0187)	0.0891** (0.0271)	-0.0641** (0.0245)
Zone (Northwest)						
Northeast	0.0193 (0.150)	0.310 (0.194)	0.232 (0.262)	-0.0781 (0.125)	0.0429 (0.181)	-0.506* (0.206)
Center	-0.0387 (0.153)	-0.772** (0.255)	-0.0976 (0.286)	-0.141 (0.126)	0.263 (0.173)	0.416* (0.166)
South	0.0767 (0.147)	-1.149*** (0.283)	0.224 (0.260)	-0.116 (0.124)	-0.121 (0.185)	0.673*** (0.157)
Islands	0.0438 (0.188)	-0.747* (0.340)	0.252 (0.321)	-0.544** (0.168)	0.108 (0.224)	0.851*** (0.183)
Eurosceptic/pro-European	-1.611*** (0.154)	-2.599*** (0.238)	-0.299 (0.282)	2.754*** (0.180)	1.898*** (0.252)	-0.283 (0.178)
_cons	-0.940** (0.292)	-0.796 (0.423)	-3.331*** (0.525)	-3.979*** (0.274)	-4.236*** (0.373)	-1.525*** (0.306)
N	3187	3187	3187	3187	3187	3187
Pseudo R ²	0.0567	0.1346	0.0117	0.1020	0.0621	0.0337

Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A3. Determinants of Italian voting choices during the 2024 EP Elections (including Immigration).

	Vote FDI	Vote Lega	Vote FI	Vote PD	Vote AVS	Vote M5S
Female	-0.238 (0.132)	0.0946 (0.189)	-0.0421 (0.199)	0.196* (0.0976)	0.263 (0.139)	-0.0262 (0.130)
Age (18-34)						
35 – 44	0.648* (0.269)	-0.715 (0.370)	0.408 (0.384)	0.499** (0.180)	-0.485* (0.228)	-0.0327 (0.213)
45 – 54	1.016*** (0.243)	-0.544 (0.313)	-0.148 (0.393)	0.713*** (0.171)	-0.550* (0.224)	-0.157 (0.206)
55 – 64	0.712** (0.248)	-0.448 (0.308)	0.411 (0.360)	0.631*** (0.166)	-0.495* (0.210)	-0.400 (0.211)
Over 64	1.176*** (0.229)	-0.572* (0.289)	0.769* (0.323)	0.797*** (0.151)	-0.982*** (0.199)	-0.526** (0.190)
Education	0.0434 (0.0279)	-0.0431 (0.0404)	0.0234 (0.0427)	-0.0112 (0.0211)	0.0673* (0.0306)	-0.0746** (0.0283)
Northwest						
Northeast	0.00891 (0.188)	0.529* (0.229)	0.168 (0.286)	-0.0531 (0.140)	0.0615 (0.204)	-0.476* (0.238)
Center	0.163 (0.193)	-0.522 (0.289)	-0.00604 (0.305)	-0.258 (0.140)	0.185 (0.193)	0.513** (0.188)
South	0.256 (0.187)	-1.018** (0.313)	0.161 (0.284)	-0.0826 (0.140)	-0.0922 (0.208)	0.583** (0.186)
Islands	0.0654 (0.245)	-0.594 (0.408)	0.297 (0.346)	-0.450* (0.185)	0.279 (0.251)	0.904*** (0.212)
Left/Right	6.151*** (0.372)	5.144*** (0.548)	4.151*** (0.465)	-2.824*** (0.252)	-4.985*** (0.431)	-1.951*** (0.290)
EU Distance FDI	-1.275*** (0.365)					
Immigration FDI	-1.538*** (0.280)					
EU Distance Lega		-1.797** (0.555)				
Immigration Lega		-1.942*** (0.428)				
EU Distance FI			-2.144*** (0.543)			
Immigration FI			-1.113 (0.594)			
EU Distance PD				-2.091*** (0.270)		
Immigration PD				-1.489*** (0.250)		
EU Distance AVS					0.983* (0.452)	
Immigration AVS					-1.433*** (0.315)	

(Continued)

Table A3. (Continued).

	Vote FDI	Vote Lega	Vote FI	Vote PD	Vote AVS	Vote M5S
EU Distance M5S						-1.782*** (0.418)
Immigration M5S						-0.433 (0.562)
Constant	-5.190*** (0.476)	-3.930*** (0.674)	-5.234*** (0.650)	0.454 (0.279)	-0.693 (0.412)	-0.210 (0.392)
<i>N</i>	2597	2597	2597	2597	2597	2597
<i>R</i> ²						

Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.**Table A4.** Determinants of Italian voting choices in the 2024 EP Elections (including an interaction between EU Distance and EU Salience).

	Vote
Gender	14.19** (4.491)
Age	10.72*** (1.222)
Education	7.046*** (1.406)
Zone	10.42*** (1.491)
Left/Right	0.102* (0.049)
EU Distance	7.287*** (0.833)
EU Salience	0.474*** (0.044)
EU Distance* EU Salience	-1.342*** (0.122)
Constant	-4.748*** (0.309)
<i>N</i>	16110
<i>Pseudo-R</i>	0.054

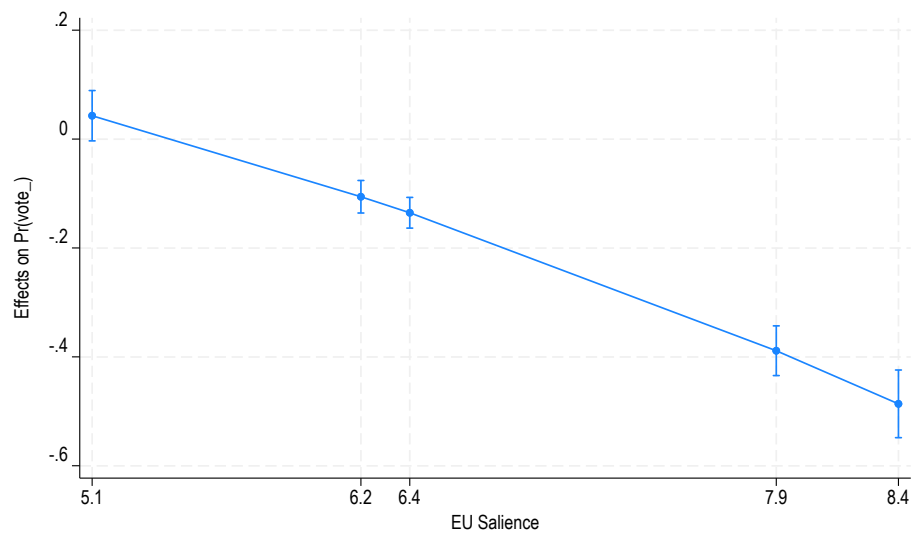
**Figure A1.** Average marginal effects of EU distance on PTVs by EU salience. Note: AME's with 95% CIs.

Table A5. Variable operationalisation.

Variable	Question wording	Coding
Vote choice	Can you tell us which of the following parties you voted for in the 2022 House of Representatives election?	0 to 1
EU integration individual attitudes	Some people say that the process of European integration should be further developed. Others say that it has already gone too far. Using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that 'European integration has already gone too far' and 10 means that 'European integration should be further developed', where would you place yourself?	0 = European integration has already gone too far 10 = European integration should be further developed
EU integration Distance	Individual-level Positions: Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further'. What number on this scale best describes your position? Party-level positions (CHES): What is the overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration, where 1 means "strongly opposed" and 7 "strongly in favour"?	Party Position = (CHES Position - 1) / 6 Distance = abs(Respondent position - Party position) / 10
Left-right	Individual-level Positions: When talking about politics, many people use the terms "left" and "right." Thinking about your political views, where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "far left" and 10 means "far right"? Party-level Positions: position of the party in YEAR in terms of its overall ideological stance.	Extreme Left = 0 Extreme Right = 10
Gender	Are you?	Female = 1 Male = 2 Other = 3
Age	What is your year of birth?	1 = 18 - 34 2 = 35 - 44 3 = 45 - 54 4 = 55 - 64 5 = Over 65
Education	What is your educational qualification?	1 = Elementary/no qualification 2 = Lower secondary 3 = Vocational school diploma/vocational training (3-5 years) 4 = High school diploma (5 years) 5 = Currently enrolled in university/no degree yet 6 = University diploma/short degree 7 = Three-year bachelor's degree 8 = Master's degree or 4-5 year degree 9 = Master's degree/postgraduate specialization school 10 = PhD
Zone	Where is your municipality of residence?	1 = northwest 2 = northeast 3 = center 4 = south 5 = islands