

The European Trust Crisis and the Rise of Populism

Supplementary Online Appendix

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Abstract

The Supplementary Online Appendix consists of three parts. First, we provide details and sources on the data covering regional output and unemployment, trust, beliefs, attitudes and in particular the voting statistics and the classification of political parties' political orientation. Second, we provide summary statistics, additional sensitivity checks and further evidence.

Data Appendix

For our analysis we combine three main sets of data:

- (i) Regional unemployment, output statistics by industry and variables measuring regional population demographics, migration flows and education from Eurostat;
- (ii) Voting data from country-specific electoral archives that are matched to political parties' political orientation using political science and other online resources (Chapel Hill Expert Survey) between 2000 and June 2017;
- (iii) Individual-level data on trust and beliefs from the European Social Survey (ESS), conducted biennially, from 2000 till 2014.

In this section we discuss the data, give variable definitions, and present further summary statistics and descriptive evidence.

1. Regional Unemployment and Value Added Statistics and Controls. Eurostat

Regional unemployment

We use total unemployment rate for individuals aged between 15 and 74 years from the regional labour market statistics database of Eurostat (LFS annual series, *lfst_r_lfu3rt*), matching the 234 NUTS2 European regions of the electoral data and the (mostly overlapping) 218 European regions of the ESS data for a period ranging between 2000 and 2016.¹

In the specifications linking trust, norms, and beliefs with unemployment we use mean unemployment over the two-year period that corresponds to each ESS round. For instance, observations from ESS round 1, that took place in 2002 and 2003 is matched with mean unemployment rate of 2002 and 2003 per European region.

We focus on unemployment rather than on output as the latter is conceptually a less clean measure of the social costs of the crisis. Moreover regional GDP contain non-negligible measurement error. Appendix Figures A1a-A1b reveal the significant negative relationship between percentage unemployment and log GDP per capita at the NUTS 2 level of geographical aggregation (*nama_10_pc* series at current prices, PPS per capita) in levels, controlling for region and time fixed effects, and differences respectively. Regional GDP per capita and regional unemployment are highly correlated both in levels and in differences. The few outliers

¹ For Cyprus we managed to get regional unemployment data from the statistical service of Cyprus (CYSTAT) for five macro-regions that match election data at five out of the six Cypriot districts (we do not have macro data for Kyrenia District, the smallest of Cyprus' districts, and the only one controlled by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in its entirety). This is why we have five observations for Cyprus. We consider working at district level an improvement over carrying the analysis at the country level (Cyprus does not have a subdivision at either NUTS 2 or NUTS 3 level).

correspond to regions of former transition economies.

As the In the mapping process of the regional unemployment data with the ESS database we account for the fact the ESS is normally conducted over two years; the year corresponding to the ESS round and the year after. Therefore, in the mapping process we match the ESS data of each round with the average unemployment rate of the year corresponding to this particular round and that of the year after.

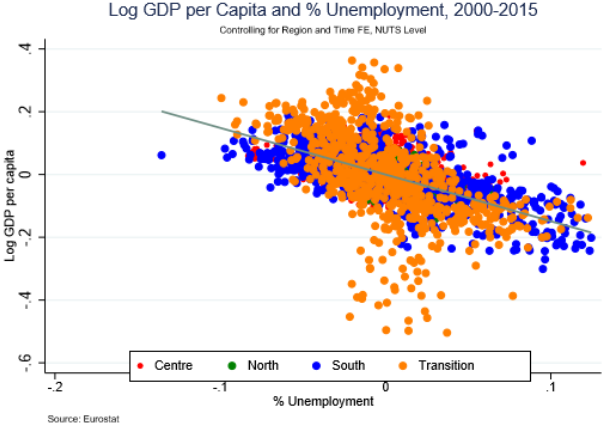


Figure A1a

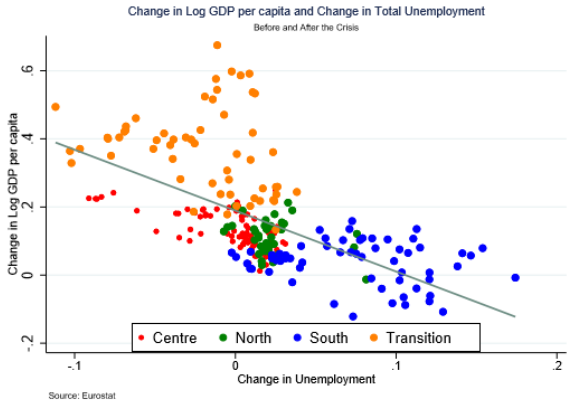


Figure A1b

Gross value added by industry

For the purposes of the instrument construction, we further collect European regional data for gross value added at basic prices, by industry from Eurostat, for the following six broad industries: agriculture, construction, finance, industry, trade (wholesale and retail) and government (classification of economic activities: NACE Rev.2). Data cover 215 regions in 25 countries (we do not have information about Switzerland), over the period 2000-2015 (though there are gaps in the initial years and in 2015). The Data Appendix Table: A.III below provides details on coverage.

Net Migration Flows

Net migration flow data are retrieved from Eurostat database, series CNMIGRAT. Net migration is defined as the difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants from a given region during the year. So, net migration takes negative values when the number of emigrants exceeds the number of immigrants. Net migration including statistical adjustments is a general estimation of the net migration based on the difference between population change and natural change between two dates (in the Eurostat database it is called net migration plus statistical adjustment). In different countries net migration including statistical adjustment may, besides the difference between inward and outward migration, cover other changes in the

population figures between 1 January for two consecutive years which cannot be attributed to births, deaths, immigration or emigration.

Educational Attainment Statistics

We obtain regional educational statistics from Eurostat. The classification of educational activities is based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). There are eight ISCED 2011 categories. Level 0 – Less than primary education; Level 1 – Primary education; Level 2 – Lower secondary education; Level 3 – Upper secondary education; Level 4 – Post-secondary non-tertiary education; Level 5 – Short-cycle tertiary education; Level 6 – Bachelor’s or equivalent level; Level 7 – Master’s or equivalent level; Level 8 – Doctoral or equivalent level. We extract the following series.

- Less than secondary. Series ED0-2. It is the share of the population with less than primary, primary and lower secondary education.
- Secondary. Series ED3-4. It is the share of population that has completed upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education
- Secondary and tertiary. Series ED3-8. It is the share of population with upper secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary and tertiary education;
- Tertiary. Series ED5-8. It is the share of the population percentage that has successfully completed tertiary education.

2. Voting Statistics. Country-Specific Databases

We collect voting data from country-specific electoral archives for all general and parliamentary elections between 2000 and June 2017. For France we compile the presidential election results instead, given the increased importance of the presidential over the legislative elections for the country. Appendix Table IV gives a complete list of national elections by country. Data cover Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

We obtain information on political parties’ orientation mainly relying on the Chapel Hill expert surveys, which provide parties’ main political positions (family name) as the basis for our classification. We use the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) trend file as the basis for our classification. The Chapel Hill expert surveys also report additional party-orientation and position measures, such as party positioning on European integration, ideology and various policy issues. The first survey was conducted in 1999, with subsequent waves in 2002, 2006,

2010, and 2014. The number of countries increased from 14 Western European countries in 1999 to 24 current or prospective EU members in 2006 to 31 countries in 2014, followed by a notable increase in the number of national parties from 143 to 268. Iceland is not covered, while Norway and Switzerland were very recent additions, meaning that although we can observe the corresponding parties' general stance on European integration, EU policies, general left/right, economic left/right, and social left/right, we lack information on their main political position. CHES databases is incomplete, as it does not report information of mostly small and new parties. We thus complement the characterization of CHES with online resources that include membership or affiliation with international and EU party associations and self-identification. Using the CHES dataset and web resources we distinguish between the following party features. (i) far right, often nationalistic, parties; (ii) radical left parties; (iii) populist parties, and (iv) Eurosceptic and separatist parties. The Data Appendix Table AVa-I below provides the list of all parties that we identify as anti-establishment, along with their classification as far right, radical left, populist and Eurosceptic/ separatist for ten countries from our sample.

After matching the electoral data with the parties' political orientation we calculate the percentage of votes to parties with anti-establishment orientation over the total valid votes at each election for each NUTS 2- level region.

Turnout is defined as the percentage of voters over the registered electorate as well as the percentage of blank and invalid votes over the total votes at each election round.

Overall the analysis is accrued out across 234 European regions (Data Appendix Table: A.I).

3. Trust, Attitudes and Beliefs. European Social Surveys.

Data on trust, beliefs and attitudes are retrieved from the European Social Surveys (ESS). The ESS consists of biennial cross-sectional surveys, covering a total 32 nations. We exclude Israel, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine. We also drop Croatia and Lithuania, for which no surveys have been carried before the crisis; and Luxembourg given that no survey has taken place in the country in the post-crisis period. Ultimately, the available sample from the ESS amounts to 183 NUTS 2- level regions in 24 countries (as at the regional level we have to also omit Finland due to a change in the classification of the NUTS 2-level regions). The Data Appendix Table AII gives details. There have been seven ESS rounds, in 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014. The (pseudo)-panel is not balanced, as the ESS has not been carried in all countries for all waves. We tabulate regional averages for each ESS round of the following variables.

General trust. This is the response to the following question: 'Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a scale of zero to ten how much you trust people. Zero means you can't be too

careful, and ten means that most people can be trusted.’

People are fair. This is the response to the following question: ‘Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair? Please tell me on a scale of zero to ten whether you think people are fair. Zero means that most people try to take advantage of you if they get the chance, and ten means that most people try to be fair.’

People are helpful. This is the response to the following question: ‘Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves? Please tell me on a scale of zero to ten whether you think people are helpful. Zero means that people are mostly looking out for themselves and ten means that people try to be helpful most of the time.’

Trust in country’s parliament/legal system/police/politicians/political parties, the European Parliament/the United Nations. This is the response to the following question: ‘Please tell me on a scale of zero to ten how much you personally trust each of the following institutions. Zero means you do not trust an institution at all, and ten means you have complete trust. How much do you personally trust []?’

Satisfaction with democracy. This is the response to the following question: ‘And on the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]? Zero means you are extremely dissatisfied, and ten means you are extremely satisfied.’

Placement in the left-right scale. This is a response to the following question: ‘In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where zero means the left and ten means the right?’

Feeling close to a particular party. This is a response to the following question: ‘Is there a particular political party you feel closer to than all the other parties? One means “Yes” and two means “No”.’

Future of European unification. This is a response to the following question: ‘Now thinking about the European Union, some say European unification should go further. Others say it has already gone too far. Please tell me on a scale of zero to ten what number on that scale best describes your position? Zero means unification has already gone too far, and ten means unification should go further.’

Allow people of the same race or ethnic group as majority/ a different race or ethnic group from majority / from the poorer countries outside Europe, to come and live here. This is a response to the following question: ‘Would you allow many/few immigrants from the following groups to come and live in the country? One means that you would allow many to come and live here and four means that you would allow none.’

Immigration good/bad for economy. This is a response to the following question: ‘Would you say it is generally bad or good for [a country’s] economy that people come to live here from other

countries? Zero means that it is bad for the economy and ten means it is good for the economy.’
Immigration undermines/enriches cultural life. This is a response to the following question: ‘Would you say that [a country’s] cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Zero means that the cultural life undermined and ten means that cultural life enriched.’

Immigration makes country worse/better place to live. This is a response to the following question: ‘Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries? Zero means it is made a worse place to live and ten means it is made a better place to live.’

In addition, we collect answers to questions relevant to the socio-demographic profile of the respondents that we subsequently use as controls for the analysis at the individual level. These include: **gender**; **age**; **marital status** (legally married, in a legally registered civil union, cohabiting legally recognised, cohabiting not legally recognised and legally separated); **religion** (Roman Catholic, Protestant, Eastern Orthodox, Other Christian denomination, Jewish, Islamic, Eastern religions and Other non-Christian religions), **education** (different education levels in accordance with the ISCED classification system), and **occupation** (51 occupation types following the International Standard Classification of Occupations: ISCO-88 and ISCO-08).

We also tabulate the following variables that are available only for the 2004 ESS round.

Frequency of public official asking for a bribe. This is a response to the following question: ‘How often, if ever, has a public official asked you for a favour or a bribe in return for a service? One means never and five means five times or more’

Severity a public official asking for a bribe. This is a response to the following question: ‘How wrong, if at all, do you consider the following ways of behaving to be? How wrong is a public official asking someone for a favour or bribe in return for their services? One means not wrong at all and four means seriously wrong.’

Frequency of offering a bribe to public official. This is a response to the following question: ‘How often, if ever, have you offered a favour or bribe to a public official in return for their services? One means never and five means five times or more’

A4. Data Appendix Tables

Data Appendix Table I. Number of Regions by Country: Electoral Data

COUNTRIES AND NUMBER OF AVAILABLE NUTS REGIONS BY ELECTION YEAR (VOTING)

Country	Number of NUTS1	Number of NUTS2 regions	Number of NUTS3 regions or finer
Austria	1	9	35
Belgium	1	11	gaps for certain years
Bulgaria	1	6	28
Cyprus	1	1	5
Czech Republic	1	8	14
Denmark	1	*classification changes after 2005 elections, not possible to match NUTS across election years	
Estonia	1	1	*Availability of 11 or 12 regions depending on election year
Finland	1	5	13
France	1	27	104
Germany	(1) 16		192 to 429 districts depending on the election
Greece	1	13	52
Hungary	1	7	20
Ireland	1	2	*More regions but change in classification across years
Iceland	1	1	6
Italy	1	20	finer data by municipality
Netherlands	1	12	40
Norway	1	7	19
Poland	1	16	gaps for certain years
Portugal	1	7	20
Romania	1	8	42
Spain	1	19	52
Sweden	1	8	21
Switzerland	1	7	26
Slovakia	1	4	8
Slovenia	1	2	12
United Kingdom	12		finer data by constituency

Data Appendix Table I. details the number of available NUTS regions per country by election year. As a general rule, the analysis is carried at the NUTS2 level, with the exception of Germany, UK and Cyprus, for the analysis of which we employ 16, 12 and 5 NUTS regions (at NUTS1, NUTS1, and NUTS3 level respectively).

Data Appendix Table II. Number of Regions by Country: ESS Data

COUNTRIES AND NUMBER OF NUTS REGIONS BY WAVE (ESS)						
Country	Waves	No of NUTS: Matched ESS with Unemployment data	Revision	Total No of NUTS (ESS) in all waves	No of NUTS (ESS) used	
Austria	1,2,3,7	6,6,6,6	ok	24	6	
Belgium	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	3,3,3,3,3,3,3	ok	21	3	
Bulgaria	3,4,5,6	6,6,6,6	ok	24	6	
Cyprus	3,4,5,6	1,1,1,1	ok	4	1	
Czech Republic	1,2,4,5,6,7	8,8,8,8,8,8	ok	48	8	
Denmark	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	5,5,5,5,5,5,5	ok	35	5	
Estonia	2,3,4,5,6,7	1,1,1,1,1,1	ok	6	1	
Finland	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	0,0,0,0,0,0,0	dropped all waves, NUTS classification issue	0	0	
France	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	8,8,8,8,8,8,8	ok	56	8	
Germany	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	16,16,16,16,16,16,16	ok	112	16	
Greece	1,2,4,5	13,13,(8),13	dropped wave 4	39	13	
Hungary	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	6,6,6,6,6,6,6	ok	42	6	
Ireland	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	2,2,2,2,2,2,2	ok	14	2	
Iceland	2,6	1,1	ok	2	1	
Italy	1,6	17, 17	dropped ITC2, ITD1, ITD2	34	17	
Netherlands	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	12,12,12,12,12,12,12	ok	72	12	
Norway	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	7,7,7,7,7,7,7	ok	49	7	
Poland	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	16,16,16,16,16,16,16	ok	112	16	
Portugal	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	5,5,5,5,5,5,5	ok	35	5	
Romania	-	-	-	-	-	
Spain	1,2,3,4,5,6	17,17,17,17,17,17,17	dropped ES53, ES63, ES64	102	17	
Sweden	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	8,8,8,8,8,8,8	ok	56	8	
Switzerland	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	(5),7,7,7,7,7,7	dropped wave 1	42	7	
Slovakia	2,3,4,5,6	4,4,4,4,4	ok	20	4	
Slovenia	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	2,2,2,2,2,2,2	ok	14	2	
United Kingdom	1,2,3,4,5,6,7	12,12,12,12,12,12,12	ok	72	12	
Sum				1035	183	

Data Appendix Table II. details the number of available NUTS regions per country by ESS Round. The analysis is carried at the NUTS2 level. The mapping of the regions with Total Unemployment data from Eurostat yields 183 NUTS regions in 24 countries (Romania is absent in ESS Rounds 1-7 while Finland cannot be consistently mapped having undergone a change in the country's regional classification during our sample period). For the purposes of the analysis we drop ESS Round 4 for Greece, ESS Round 1 for Switzerland and three NUTS regions of Italy ITC2 (Valle d'Aosta), ITD1 (South Tyrol) and ITD2 (Trento) in order to keep the number of regions constant per country.

**Data Appendix Table III. Number of Regions by Country:
Gross Value Added Shares from Eurostat**

COUNTRIES AND NUMBER OF NUTS REGIONS (GVA SHARES)			
Country	Number of NUTS1	Number of NUTS2 regions	Number of NUTS3
Austria	1	9	35
Belgium	1	12	44
Bulgaria	1	6	28
Cyprus	1	1	1
Czech Republic	1	8	14
Denmark	1	1	11
Estonia	1	1	5
Finland	1	1	19
France	1	27	101
Germany	1	16	402
Greece	1	12	52
Hungary	1	7	20
Ireland	1	2	8
Iceland	1	1	-
Italy	1	19	110
Netherlands	1	12	40
Norway	1	7	19
Poland	1	16	72
Portugal	1	6	25
Romania	1	8	42
Spain	1	19	59
Sweden	1	8	21
Switzerland	-	-	-
Slovakia	1	4	8
Slovenia	1	2	12
United Kingdom	1	12	173
Sum		215	1321

Data Appendix Table III. details the number of NUTS regions per country for which there is availability of Gross Value Added (GVA) by Industry, sourced from Eurostat.

Data Appendix Table IV. List of National Elections

NATIONAL ELECTIONS BY COUNTRY

Country	Elections
Austria	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2002, 2006, 2008 and 2013.
Belgium	General/federal elections that took place in 2003, 2007, 2010 and 2014.
Bulgaria	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2014 and 2017.
Cyprus	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016.
Czech Republic	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2013.
Denmark	Parliamentary (Folketing) elections that took place in 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011 and 2015.
Estonia	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015.
Finland	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015.
France	Presidential elections that took place in 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017.
Germany	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2002, 2005, 2009 and 2013.
Greece	Parliamentary election that took place in 2000, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2012 (May), 2012 (Jun), 2015 (Jan) and 2015 (Sep).
Hungary	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014.
Ireland	General elections that took place in 2002, 2007, 2011 and 2016.
Iceland	Parliamentary (Upper House) elections that took place in 2003, 2007, 2009, 2013 and 2016.
Italy	General elections that took place in 2001, 2006, 2008 and 2013.
Netherlands	General elections that took place in 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2012 and 2017
Norway	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2001, 2005, 2009 and 2013.
Poland	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011 and 2015.
Portugal	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2002, 2005, 2009, 2011 and 2015.
Romania	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016.
Spain	General elections that took place in 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2015 and 2016.
Sweden	General elections that took place in 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014.
Switzerland	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015.
Slovakia	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2002, 2006, 2010, 2012 and 2016.
Slovenia	Parliamentary elections that took place in 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011 and 2014.
United Kingdom	General Election that took place in 2001, 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2017.

Data Appendix Table IV., details the year and the type of National Elections, by country, that we take into account for the purposes of the analysis.

Data Appendix Table V.a Classification of anti-establishment parties: Austria

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in Austria

Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist	Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
Freedom Party of Austria	FPO	1	1	0	1	1	Right-wing populism; National conservatism; Anti-immigration; Euroscepticism; German nationalism; National liberalism; Right-wing to Far-right	rad right
Alliance for the Future of Austria	BZO	1	1	0	1	1	Economic liberalism; Social conservatism; Right-wing populism; Euroscepticism; Center-right to Right-wing	rad right
Communist Party of Austria	KPO	1	0	1	0	0	Communism; Eurocommunism; Left-wing to Far-left	-
Hans-Peter Martin's List	MARTIN	1	0	0	0	1	Anti-corruption politics; Pro-transparency; Euroscepticism	no family
Team Stronach	FRANK	1	0	0	0	1	Euroscepticism; Economic liberalism	no family

Data Appendix Table V.a, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in Austria, between 2000 and 2013, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.b Classification of anti-establishment parties: Bulgaria

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in Bulgaria								
Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist	Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
Attack	ATAKA	1	1	0	1	1	Bulgarian nationalism; Right-wing populism; Russophilia; Anti-globalism; Euroscepticism; Islamophobia; Far-right	rad right
Patriotic Front	IMRO_NFSB	1	0	0	1	1	Bulgarian nationalism; National conservatism; Social conservatism; Euroscepticism; Russophilia; Right-wing; Populism	-
Volya	WILL	1	0	0	1	1	Right-wing populism; Russophilia; Anti-corruption; Patriotism; Liberal democracy; Euroscepticism; Centre-right	-
United Patriots	UNITED_PATRIOTS	1	1	0	1	1	Bulgarian nationalism; National conservatism; Social conservatism; Right-wing populism; Protectionism; Euroscepticism; Anti-Islam; Right-wing to Far-right	-

Data Appendix Table V.b, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in Bulgaria, between 2000 and 2017, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.c Classification of anti-establishment parties: France

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in France							Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist		
National Front	FN	1	1	0	1	1	French nationalism; National conservatism; Souverainism; Protectionism; Right-wing populism; Anti-immigration; Hard Euroscepticism	rad right
Unbowed France	LFI	1	0	0	1	1	Democratic socialism; Eco-socialism; Left-wing populism; Environmentalism; Alter-globalization; Soft Euroscepticism	not available
France Arise	DLR (DLF)	1	1	0	0	1	French nationalism; National conservatism; Gaullism; Republicanism; Souverainism; Social conservatism; Euroscepticism	rad right
Popular Republican Union	UPR	1	1	0	0	1	French nationalism; Gaullism; Hard Euroscepticism; Souverainism; Right-wing to Far-right	not available
Workers' Struggle	LO	1	0	1	0	1	Trotskyism; Marxism; Leninism; Internationalism; Feminism	rad left
Solidarity and Progress	SP	1	0	0	1	1	Protectionism; Euroscepticism; Colbertism; Anti-imperialism; Conspirationism	not available
New Anticapitalist Party	LCR	1	0	1	0	1	Anti-capitalism; Democratic socialism; Eco-socialism; Alter-globalization; Anti-nationalism; Anti-racism; Progressivism; Feminism; Neo-communism; Far-left	rad left
Left Front	FG	1	0	1	1	1	Socialism; Communism. Left-wing to Far-left	not available
Workers' Party	LPT	1	0	1	0	1	Internationalism; Trotskism; Socialism; Communism; Anarcho-syndicalism; Euroscepticism	rad left
National Republican Movement	MNR	1	1	0	1	1	French nationalism; Neoconservatism; National conservatism; Social conservatism; Anti-immigration; Right-wing populism; Euroscepticism; Far-right	not available
Movement for France	MPF	1	1	0	1	1	National conservatism; Social conservatism; Souverainism; Soft euroscepticism; Right-wing	rad right
French Communist Party	PCF	1	0	1	0	1	Communism; Marxism. Far-left	rad left
Independent Workers' Party	POI	1	0	1	0	1	Trotskyism; Marxism; Communism; Proletarian internationalism	red left

Data Appendix Table V.c, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in France, between 2000 and 2017, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.d Classification of anti-establishment parties: Germany

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in Germany								
Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist	Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
The Republicans	REP	1	1	0	1	1	German nationalism; National conservatism; Euroscepticism; Social conservatism; Populism; Right-wing	rad right
Party of Democratic Socialism	PDS	1	0	1	1	0	Democratic socialism; Left-wing populism; Left-wing to Far-left	rad left
German People's Union	DVU	1	1	0	1	1	German nationalism; Pan-Germanism; Right-wing populism; Far-right	rad right
Party of Democratic Socialism	Linkspartei/PDS	1	0	1	1	0	Democratic socialism; Left-wing populism; Left-wing to Far-left	rad left
The Left	LINKE	1	0	1	1	0	Democratic socialism; Left-wing populism; Anti-capitalism; Antimilitarism	rad left
National Democratic Party of Germany	NPD	1	1	0	1	1	Neo-Nazism; Ultranationalism; Pan-Germanism; Anti-immigration;	rad right
Alternative for Germany	AfD	1	1	0	1	1	Anti-globalism; Far-right populism German nationalism; Right-wing populism;	no family
Free Voters	FREIE	1	0	0	1	1	Euroscepticism Populism; Euroscepticism	-

Data Appendix Table V.d, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in Germany, between 2000 and 2013, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.e Classification of anti-establishment parties: Greece

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in Greece								
Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist	Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
Coalition of the Left, of Movements and Ecology	SYN	1	0	1	0	1	Democratic socialism; Eco-socialism; Eurocommunism; Environmentalism; Feminism; Pacifism; Left wing	rad left
Communist Party of Greece	KKE	1	0	1	0	1	Communism; Marxism–Leninism; Far-left	rad left
Democratic Social Movement	DIKKI	1	0	1	0	1	Socialism; Social democracy; Soft Euroscepticism; Left-wing nationalism	rad left
Coalition of the Radical Left	SYRIZA	1	0	1	1	1	Democratic socialism; Left-wing populism; Eco-socialism; Anti-capitalism; Alter-globalisation; Secularism; Soft euroscepticism	rad left
Popular Orthodox Rally	LAOS	1	1	0	1	1	Greek nationalism; Right-wing populism; Religious conservatism; Euroscepticism; Right-wing to Far-right	rad right
Independent Greeks	ANEL	1	1	0	1	1	Greek nationalism; National conservatism; Social conservatism; Right-wing populism; Euroscepticism	rad right
Popular Association – Golden Dawn	XA	1	1	0	1	1	Neo-Nazism; Ultranationalism; Metaxism; Euroscepticism; Anti-globalism; Anti-communism; Far-right	rad right
Popular Unity	LAE	1	0	1	1	1	Socialism; Euroscepticism; Left-wing populism; Left-wing to Far-left	-

Data Appendix Table V.e, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in Greece, between 2000 and 2015, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.f Classification of anti-establishment parties: Netherlands

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in the Netherlands								
Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Euroseptic/Separatist	Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
Party for Freedom	PVV	1	1	0	1	1	Dutch nationalism; National conservatism; National liberalism; Right-wing populism; Anti-Islam; Anti-immigration; Hard Eurosepticism; Right-wing to Far-right[rad right
Socialist Party	SP	1	0	1	1	1	Democratic socialism; Left-wing populism; Social democracy; Soft Eurosepticism; Left-wing	rad left
Christian Union	CU	1	0	0	0	1	Christian democracy; Social conservatism; Soft eurosepticism; Confessionalism; Centre to Centre-right	confessional
50 PLUS	50PLUS	1	0	0	1	0	Populism	
Reformed Political Party	SGP	1	0	0	0	1	Christian right; Social conservatism; Theocracy; Soft Eurosepticism	confessional
Forum voor Democratie	FvP	1	0	0	0	1	National conservatism; Fiscal conservatism; Souverainism; Hard Eurosepticism; Direct democracy; E-governance; E-democracy; Right-wing	-

Data Appendix Table V.f, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in the Netherlands, between 2000 and 2017, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or euroseptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.g Classification of anti-establishment parties: Slovakia

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in Slovakia							Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist		
Communist Party of Slovakia	KSS	1	0	1	0	1	Communism; Marxism–Leninism; Left-wing to Far-left	rad left
True Slovak National Party	PSNS	1	1	0	1	1	Extreme; far-right; party of SNS splinters	rad right
Slovak National Party	SNS	1	1	0	1	1	Slovak nationalism; National conservatism; Social conservatism; Economic nationalism; Right-wing populism; Euroscepticism; Right-wing to Far-right	rad right
Movement for Democracy	HZD	1	0	0	0	1	Euroscepticism	no family
People's Party – Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	LS_HZDS	1	0	0	1	0	National conservatism; Social conservatism; Populism; Centre	populism
Kotleba – People's Party Our Slovakia	L'SNS	1	1	0	1	1	Slovak nationalism; Authoritarianism; Neo-Fascism; Reactionarism; Right-wing populism; Neo-Nazism; National conservatism; Social conservatism; Economic nationalism; Anti-globalism; Anti-immigration; Hard Euroscepticism	-
99 Percent – Civic Voice	NNPercent	1	0	0	1	0	Populism	-
Ordinary People and Independent Personalities	OLANO	1	0	0	0	1	Conservatism; Christian democracy; Centre-right; Euroscepticism	cons
Ordinary People and Independent Personalities- New Majority	OEANO–NOVA	1	0	0	0	1	Conservatism; Christian democracy; Centre-right; Euroscepticism; Liberal conservatism	cons
We Are Family	Sme Rodina	1	0	0	1	1	Slovak nationalism; Conservatism National conservatism; Economic liberalism; Right-wing populism; Anti-immigration; Euroscepticism; Centre-right to Right-wing	-
Freedom and Solidarity	SaS	1	0	0	0	1	Liberalism; Libertarianism; Soft Euroscepticism; Centre-right	liberal

Data Appendix Table V.g, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in Slovakia, between 2000 and 2016, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.h Classification of anti-establishment parties: Slovenia

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in Slovenia

Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist	Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
Slovenian National Party	SNS	1	1	0	1	1	Slovenian nationalism; Populism; Euroscepticism; Far-right	rad right
Party Lime Tree	LIPA	1	1	0	0	1	Nationalism; Euroscepticism	-

Data Appendix Table V.h, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in Slovenia, between 2000 and 2014, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table V.i Classification of anti-establishment parties: UK

Classification of Anti-Establishment Parties in the UK								
Party	Party Abbrev.	Anti-Establishment	Far Right	Rad. Left	Populist	Eurosceptic/Separatist	Internet Resources	Chapel Hill
British National Party	BNP	1	1	0	1	1	British Fascism; Right-wing populism; White nationalism; Ethnic nationalism; Ultranationalism; Euroscepticism; Far-right to extreme-right	rad right
Democratic Unionist Party	DUP	1	0	0	1	1	British nationalism; Conservatism; National conservatism; Social conservatism; British unionism; Euroscepticism; Right-wing populism	-
Plaid Cymru	PC	1	0	0	0	1	Welsh nationalism; Civic nationalism; Regionalism; Democratic socialism; Social democracy; Environmentalism; Pro-Europeanism	-
Sinn Féin	SF	1	0	0	1	1	Irish republicanism; Left-wing nationalism; Democratic socialism; Centre-left to Left-wing; Populism	-
Scottish National Party	SNP	1	0	0	0	1	Scottish nationalism; Civic nationalism; Regionalism; Social democracy; Pro-Europeanism; Centre-left	regionalist
UK Independence Party	UKIP	1	1	0	1	1	Hard Euroscepticism; Right-wing populism; Economic liberalism; British nationalism	rad right

Data Appendix Table V.i, details the classification of the anti-establishment parties that were politically active in the UK, between 2000 and 2017, as well as their further characterisation as far right, radical left, populist and/or eurosceptic/separatist. Information regarding the parties' ideology and mandate comes from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and various online resources.

Data Appendix Table VI:

Correlation of Extremist Characteristics Controlling for Time and Region Fixed Effects

	Far Right	Radical Left	Populist	Eurosceptic / Separatist
Far Right	1			
Radical Left	0.175	1		
Populist	0.527	0.614	1	
Eurosceptic / Separatist	0.451	0.525	0.718	1

Data Appendix Table A.VI displays the correlation coefficients between the various extremist characteristics of the political parties in our sample partialling out for time (year) and region (NUTS 2 regions) fixed effects.

List of NUTS Regions:

Abruzzo, Agderog Rogaland, Åland, Alentejo, Algarve, Alsace, Ammochostos, Anatoliki Makedonia-Thraki, Andalucía, Aquitaine, Aragón, Área Metropolitana de Lisboa, Attiki, Auvergne, Baden-Württemberg, Basilicata, Basse-Normandie, Bassin Parisien, Bayern, Berlin, Border-Midlandand Western, Bourgogne, Brandenburg, Bratislavskýkraj, Bremen, Bretagne, Bucuresti-Ilfov, Burgenland (AT), Calabria, Campania, Canarias (ES), Cantabria, Castillay León, Castilla-la Mancha, Cataluña, Centre(FR), Centre-Est (FR), Centro (PT), Centru, Ceuta, Champagne-Ardenne, Ciudad Autónoma de Ceuta (ES), Ciudad Autónoma de Melilla (ES), Comunidad Foral de Navarra, Comunidad Valenciana, Comunidad de Madrid, Corse, Dolnoslaskie, Drenthe, Dytiki Ellada, Dytiki Makedonia, Dél-Alföld, Dél-Dunántúl, East Midlands (UK), East of England, Emilia-Romagna, Espace Mittelland, Est(FR), Észak-Alföld, Észak-Magyarország, Extremadura, Flevoland, Franche-Comté, Friesland (NL), Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Galicia, Gelderland, Groningen, Guadeloupe, Guyane, Hamburg, Haute-Normandie, Hedmarkog Oppland, Helsinki-Uusimaa, Hessen, Hovedstaden, Iceland, Île de France, Illes Balears, Ionia Nisia, Ipeiros, Jihovýchod, Jihozápad, Kentriki Makedonia, Kriti, Kujawsko-Pomorskie, Kärnten, Közép-Dunántúl, Közép-Magyarország, La Rioja, La Réunion, Languedoc-Roussillon, Larnaka, Lazio, Lefkosia, Lemesos, Liguria, Limburg (NL), Limousin, Lombardia, London, Lorraine, Lubelskie, Lubuskie, Luxembourg, Łódzkie, Malopolskie, Marche, Martinique, Mayotte, Mazowieckie, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Melilla, Mellersta Norrland, Midi-Pyrénées, Midtjylland, Molise, Moravskoslezsko, Méditerranée, Niedersachsen, Niederösterreich, Noord-Brabant, Noord-Holland, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Nord-Est (RO), Nord-Norge, Nord-Vest, Nordjylland, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Nordwestschweiz, Norra Mellansverige, Norte, North East (UK), North West (UK), Northern Ireland (UK), Northern and Eastern Finland, Notio Aigaio, Nyugat-Dunántúl, Oberösterreich, Opolskie, Osloog Akershus, Östra Mellansverige, Ostschweiz, Ouest (FR), Overijssel, Övre Norrland, Pafos, Pays de la Loire, País Vasco, Peloponnisos, Picardie, Piemonte, Podkarpackie, Podlaskie, Poitou-Charentes, Pomorskie, Praha, Principado de Asturias, Prov. Antwerpen, Prov. Brabant Wallon, Prov. Hainaut, Prov. Limburg (BE), Prov. Luxembourg (BE), Prov. Namur, Prov. Oost-Vlaanderen, Prov. Vlaams-Brabant, Prov. West-Vlaanderen, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Puglia, Região Autónoma da Madeira (PT), Región de Murcia, Rheinland-Pfalz, Rhône-Alpes, Région de Bruxelles, Région Lémanique, Région Wallonne, Saarland, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Salzburg, Sardegna, Schleswig-Holstein, Scotland, Severantsentralen, Severoiztochen, Severovýchod, Severozapaden, Severozápad, Sicilia, Sjælland, Slaskie, Smålandmedöarna, South East (UK), South West (UK), Southern Finland, Southern and Eastern, Steiermark, Sterea Ellada, Stockholm, Stredné Slovensko, Strední Čechy, Strední Morava, Sud-Munténia, Sud-Est, Sud-Ouest (FR),

Sud-Vest Oltenia, Swietokrzyskie, Syddanmark, Sydsverige, Sør-Østlandet, Thessalia, Thüringen, Ticino, Tirol, Toscana, Trøndelag, Umbria, Utrecht, Veneto, Vest, Vestlandet, Vlaams Gewest, Vorarlberg, Voreio Aigaio, Vzhodna Slovenija, Västsverige, Východné Slovensko, Wales, Warminsko-Mazurskie, West Midlands (UK), Western Finland, Wielkopolskie, Wien, Yorkshire and The Humber, Yugoiztochen, Yugozapaden, Yuzhentsentralen, Zachodniopomorskie, Zahodna Slovenija, Zeeland, Zentralschweiz, Zuid-Holland, Západné Slovensko, Zürich.

Appendix Table 1: Summary Statistics at the Individual Level

	Pre Crisis Period (2000-2008)				Post Crisis Period (2008-2015)			
	Obs. (1)	mean (2)	median (3)	St. Dev. (4)	Obs. (5)	mean (6)	median (7)	St. Dev. (8)
Panel A. General and Political Trust and Political Attitudes. European								
Trust Other People	109634	0.50	0.50	0.246	143730	0.50	0.50	0.243
People Fair	109053	0.56	0.60	0.234	143221	0.56	0.60	0.228
People Helpful	109484	0.48	0.50	0.237	143519	0.49	0.50	0.230
Trust Country's Parliament	106620	0.46	0.50	0.246	140419	0.42	0.50	0.259
Trust Politicians	107759	0.37	0.40	0.232	141659	0.34	0.30	0.240
Trust Legal System	107032	0.51	0.50	0.257	140653	0.50	0.00	0.267
Trust Police	108616	0.60	0.60	0.249	142665	0.59	0.60	0.251
Satisfaction with Working of Democracy	105420	0.53	0.50	0.241	139406	0.52	0.50	0.254
Trust in European Parliament	95655	0.46	0.50	0.239	131235	0.44	0.50	0.245
Trust in the United Nations	98472	0.53	0.50	0.249	130485	0.51	0.50	0.250
Placement on Left-Right Scale	95379	0.50	0.50	0.214	126153	0.51	0.50	0.219
Feel Close to a Particular Party	107671	0.51	-	0.500	141401	0.49	-	0.500
European Unification Go Further	68404	0.53	0.50	0.263	95769	0.51	0.50	0.261
Panel B. Beliefs on Immigration. European Social Survey								
Homosexuals Should Live Free	105790	0.69	0.75	0.283	138858	0.72	0.75	0.286
Allow Immigrants of Same Race	106293	0.59	0.67	0.283	140015	0.61	0.67	0.290
Allow Immigrants of Different Race	106139	0.50	0.67	0.290	139884	0.51	0.67	0.299
Allow Immigrants from Poorer Countries	105902	0.49	0.33	0.293	139569	0.48	0.33	0.306
Immigrants are Good for Economy	104186	0.49	0.50	0.241	138451	0.49	0.50	0.243
Immigrants Improve Cultural Life	104429	0.55	0.50	0.248	138383	0.55	0.50	0.250
Immigrants Make Country a Better Place	104515	0.48	0.50	0.225	137942	0.49	0.50	0.229

The Table reports summary statistics (mean, median, and standard deviation) for the main trust-related, political beliefs, and attitudes towards immigration variables employed in the empirical analysis distinguishing between the pre-crisis period (2000-2007) and the post-crisis period (2008-2017) at the individual level. Data come from the European Social Surveys (2000-2014). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable sources and definitions.

**Appendix Table 2: Construction Share and Unemployment
Panel Region Fixed-Effects OLS Estimates**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Lagged Share of Construction	-1.5384*** (0.2656)	-1.0500*** (0.2109)	-0.7931*** (0.2799)	-0.6853** (0.2452)
adj. R square	0.383	0.528	0.574	0.632
within R-square	0.386	0.531	0.582	0.639
Countries	22	22	22	22
Regions	228	227	228	227
Observations	3278	3268	3278	3268
Region Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	No	No
Country-Group Year Fixed-Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Other Industrial Shares	No	Yes	No	Yes

The table reports panel (region) fixed-effects OLS examining the within-region correlation between unemployment and the one-year lagged share of construction in regional value added. The dependent variable is regional unemployment. The main independent variable is the lagged share of construction in regional value added. Columns (1)-(2) include year fixed-effects and columns (3)-(4) include country-group year fixed-effects (constants not reported). Columns (2) and (4) include as controls the lagged share in regional value added of agriculture (incl. fishing, forestry and mining), trade, finance, and government services (coefficients not reported). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.

Appendix Table 3. Pre-Crisis Construction Share and Unemployment Dynamics during the Crisis

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A. Industrial Share in 2007				
Pre-Crisis Share of Construction [2007]	0.9575** (0.4184)	1.0776** (0.4598)	0.5678** (0.2641)	0.5460** (0.2607)
adj. R square	0.169	0.237	0.585	0.608
Panel B. Industrial Share in 2003				
Pre-Crisis Share of Construction [2003]	1.3973*** (0.3238)	1.6984*** (0.3269)	0.6475** (0.3037)	0.6362** (0.2264)
adj. R square	0.313	0.384	0.581	0.626
Countries	23	23	23	23
Observations/Regions	240	239	240	239
Country-Group Constants	No	No	Yes	Yes
Other Industrial Shares	No	Yes	No	Yes

The table reports cross-sectional OLS estimates. In both panels the dependent variable is the change in regional unemployment before and after the crisis across EU NUTS-2 regions. We first take mean values over the period 2009-2017 [post-crisis] and over the period 2000-2008 [pre-crisis] and then take the difference. The main independent variable is the share of construction in regional value added before the crisis. In Panel A we use the 2007 shares. In Panel B we use the 2003 shares. Columns (3)-(4) include country-group constants (not reported). Columns (2) and (4) include as controls the pre-crisis (in Panel A in 2007 and in Panel B in 2003) share in regional value added of agriculture (incl. fishing, forestry and mining), trade, finance, and government services (coefficients not reported). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.

Appendix Table 4. Pre-Crisis Construction and Unemployment Dynamics during the Crisis
OLS specifications

Difference	<u>2016-2008</u>	<u>2015-2008</u>	<u>2014-2008</u>	<u>2013-2008</u>	<u>2012-2008</u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A. Industrial Share in 2007					
Pre-Crisis Share of Construction [2007]	0.2744 (0.1806)	0.4134** (0.1833)	0.4790** (0.2035)	0.6299** (0.2587)	0.6611** (0.2599)
adj. R square	0.610	0.647	0.691	0.686	0.642
Panel B. Industrial Share in 2004-2007					
Pre-Crisis Share of Construction [2004-2007]	0.2504 (0.1698)	0.4222** (0.1771)	0.5300** (0.1882)	0.7315*** (0.2376)	0.7852*** (0.2317)
adj. R square	0.612	0.649	0.693	0.693	0.654
Countries	20	20	20	20	20
Observations/Regions	217	217	217	217	217
Country-Group Constants	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other Industrial Shares	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The table reports cross-sectional OLS estimates. In both panels the dependent variable is the change in regional unemployment before and after the crisis across EU NUTS-2 regions. In column (1) we take the difference in regional unemployment over the period 2016-2008; in column (2) over 2015-2008; in column (3) over 2014-2008; in column (4) over 2013-2008; and in column (5) over 2012-2008. The main independent variable is the share of construction in regional value added before the crisis. In Panel A we use the 2007 shares. In Panel B we use the average over 2004-2007. All specifications (in both panels) include country-group constants (not reported) and the pre-crisis (in Panel A in 2007 and in Panel B the mean 2004-2007) share in regional value added of agriculture (incl. fishing, forestry and mining), trade, finance, and government services (coefficients not reported). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.

**Appendix Table 5: Industrial Regional Composition and Voting for Extremist Parties
"Reduced-Form" Estimates, 2000-2017**

	Anti-Establishment Parties (All Types)	Radical Left Parties	Far-Right Parties	Populist Parties	Anti-European Parties	Participation Rate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A. General Year Fixed-Effects						
Construction Share	-3.5103*** (0.7636)	-0.9121*** (0.3052)	-1.0598* (0.5921)	-3.1623*** (0.7068)	-2.2755*** (0.7347)	0.6726 (0.6514)
Agriculture (Forestry & Mining) Sha	0.061 (0.5427)	0.2141 (0.2266)	0.7446* (0.405)	0.337 (0.6332)	0.3752 (0.6388)	1.0667*** (0.3049)
Trade and Commerce Share	-0.7934* (0.4036)	-0.3883* (0.2071)	-0.1659 (0.2661)	-1.0173*** (0.3252)	0.0322 (0.4908)	-0.2512 (0.3147)
Government Services Share	-0.8154 (0.6321)	-0.2624 (0.4152)	0.1715 (0.4505)	-0.4605 (0.5361)	-0.0737 (0.5124)	0.6462 (0.386)
Finance Share	-0.107 (0.797)	-0.1175 (0.4946)	0.2156 (0.3841)	0.214 (0.6252)	0.7556 (0.5864)	0.5015 (0.3045)
adj. R square	0.436	0.427	0.258	0.518	0.455	0.397
within R-square	0.450	0.441	0.276	0.530	0.468	0.412
Panel B. General Period (4-year) Time Fixed-Effects						
Construction Share	-3.2661*** (0.8)	-1.4832*** (0.4987)	-0.6637 (0.6054)	-2.7518*** (0.6416)	-2.0703** (0.754)	0.6634 (0.6715)
Agriculture (Forestry & Mining) Sha	0.3083 (0.7649)	-0.3526 (0.3918)	1.0520* (0.5765)	0.7765 (0.641)	0.9612* (0.5085)	1.5646** (0.662)
Trade and Commerce Share	-0.4639 (0.7484)	-0.419 (0.3786)	-0.1643 (0.5137)	-0.7903 (0.6774)	-0.166 (0.7625)	0.0226 (0.4272)
Government Services Share	-0.4982 (0.5787)	0.0434 (0.4006)	0.1937 (0.5574)	-0.1792 (0.4927)	0.2431 (0.4763)	0.2862 (0.3371)
Finance Share	0.1746 (0.7547)	0.0713 (0.5205)	0.2247 (0.5014)	0.4497 (0.6532)	0.6298 (0.8069)	0.3985 (0.4048)
adj. R square	0.297	0.193	0.143	0.361	0.366	0.223
within R-square	0.304	0.200	0.151	0.367	0.372	0.230

Panel C. Country-Group Period (4-year) Time Fixed-Effects

Construction Share	-3.9309*** (1.1223)	-1.9366** (0.828)	-1.1548** (0.4516)	-3.0837*** (0.8622)	-1.8405** (0.7366)	0.2727 (0.6088)
Agriculture (Forestry & Mining) Sha	-0.3059 (1.1305)	-1.0044* (0.4892)	0.699 (0.5763)	0.7031 (0.9237)	0.7041 (0.6295)	1.2466** (0.4483)
Trade and Commerce Share	-0.982 (0.6717)	-0.7125* (0.3489)	-0.2965 (0.4206)	-1.0423 (0.7073)	-0.7769 (0.7341)	-0.1365 (0.3793)
Government Services Share	-0.3949 (0.3472)	-0.131 (0.2397)	0.1002 (0.2466)	0.1683 (0.3589)	-0.3343 (0.3743)	0.2156 (0.3237)
Finance Share	0.7303 (0.6961)	0.3362 (0.4861)	0.5609 (0.3854)	0.7269 (0.7055)	0.1794 (0.7823)	0.1906 (0.3739)
adj. R square	0.348	0.296	0.295	0.396	0.453	0.326
within R-square	0.361	0.310	0.310	0.409	0.464	0.340
Countries	21	21	21	21	21	20
Regions	213	213	213	213	213	211
Observations	834	834	834	834	834	791

The table reports panel (region) fixed-effects OLS estimates, associating voting for non-mainstream parties (and electoral turnout) with the share of the main sectors in regional value added. All specifications include NUTS2 constants (coefficients not reported). Panel A includes year constants (not reported). Panel B includes four period constants (not reported), corresponding to 2000-2003 (period 1), 2004-2008 (period 2), 2009-2012 (period 3), and 2013-2017 (period 4). Panel C includes country-group specific period effects (constants not reported), allowing the four period constants to differ across for main European regions (North, South, East, and Centre). Industrial share data come from Eurostat. Information on voting comes from various country-specific databases and the classification of parties' orientation is mostly based on the Chappell Hill Expert Survey. The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.

Appendix Table 6. Unemployment and Voting for Anti-Establishment Parties Before and After the Crisis
2SLS Difference Specifications.

	Anti-Establishment Parties (All Types)	Radical Left Parties	Far-Right Parties	Populist Parties	Anti-European Parties	Participation Rate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A. General Constant						
Difference Unemployment	1.8490*** (0.3597)	2.0153*** (0.4608)	-0.4745 (0.3981)	1.8271*** (0.5409)	1.2220*** (0.4348)	-0.3609** (0.1804)
Cragg Donald F-Stat	111.36	111.36	111.36	111.36	111.36	115.66
Kleibergen-Paap F-Stat	20.07	20.07	20.07	20.07	20.07	29.46
Panel B. Country-Group Constants						
Difference Unemployment	3.2389*** (0.908)	1.7859* (0.939)	0.3898 (0.743)	3.3766*** (1.2133)	0.9403 (0.9394)	-0.178 (0.4072)
Cragg Donald F-Stat	38.65	38.65	38.65	38.65	38.65	42.04
Kleibergen-Paap F-Stat	11.98	11.98	11.98	11.98	11.98	16.53
Countries	224	224	224	224	224	193
Regions	23	23	23	23	23	20

The table reports cross-sectional 2SLS (two-stage-least-squares) estimates. The first-stage associates changes in regional unemployment before and after the crisis with the pre-crisis share of construction in regional value added. The second-stage associates changes in voting for anti-establishment political parties (and turnout) to “instrumented” by the pre-crisis construction share changes in regional unemployment. The post-crisis values for voting and unemployment are averages over 2013-2017 and the pre-crisis values are averages over 2004-2008. Panel A includes also a constant term (not reported). Panel B includes four macro-region constants for the North, South, Centre and East (not reported). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.

**Appendix Table 7. Precrisis Construction and General and Political Trust, and Political Beliefs before and after the Economic Crisis
"Reduced-Form" Estimates in Differences**

	General Trust	People Fair	People Helpful	Trust Parliamen	Trust Politicians	Trust Legal	Trust Police	Trust Eur. Parliamen	Trust UN	Satisf. Democ	Left-Right	Feel Close to a Party	Further Unification
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Panel A. 2012-2008													
Construction Share	-0.195 (0.2416)	0.1895 (0.2717)	-0.0887 (0.2032)	-1.2306*** (0.3704)	-1.3186*** (0.3666)	-0.8679** (0.3192)	-0.3604 (0.2546)	-0.5120* (0.2737)	-0.0341 (0.3068)	-1.2669* (0.6545)	0.1684 (0.1507)	0.1448 (0.3053)	0.3793 (0.6849)
adj. R square	-0.01	-0.02	0.00	0.44	0.45	0.25	0.11	0.25	0.03	0.49	0.02	0.069	0.214
Countries	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Observations	130	130	130	130	130	130	130	130	130	130	130	130	130
Panel B. 2014-2008													
Construction Share	-0.5580*** (0.1585)	-0.5557*** (0.1617)	-0.6514** (0.2929)	-1.6592*** (0.4497)	-1.5432*** (0.4420)	-0.8225** (0.3020)	-0.366 (0.2827)	-1.2462** (0.4487)	-0.8849** (0.3445)	-1.4133*** (0.4590)	0.5137** (0.2002)	-0.9576 (0.6619)	-0.299 (0.4700)
adj. R square	0.11	0.05	0.09	0.37	0.31	0.13	0.05	0.27	0.03	0.42	0.05	0.039	0.129
Countries	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Observations	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120

The table reports cross-sectional OLS estimates, illustrating the “reduced-form” association between changes in general trust, trust towards institutions, and political beliefs during the crisis and the pre-crisis share of construction in regional value added. The dependent variable is the change in the various trust-beliefs measures over the period 2012-2008 in Panel A and over the period 2014-2008 in Panel B. The independent variable is the share of construction in regional value added before the crisis, averaged over 2004-2007. All specifications (in both panels) include four macro-region constants for the North, South, Centre and East (not reported). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.

**Appendix Table 8. Unemployment, General and Political Trust, and Political Beliefs
Panel Fixed-Effects 2SLS Estimates. 2000-2014**

	General Trust	People Fair	People Helpful	Trust Parliamen	Trust Politicians	Trust Legal	Trust Police	Trust Eur. Parliamen	Trust UN	Satisf. Democ	Left- Right	Feel Close to a Party	Further Unification
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Panel A. General ESS Round (Time) Fixed-Effects													
Unemployment	-0.2682** (0.1329)	-0.0964 (0.0623)	-0.1257 (0.0911)	-1.1592*** (0.3651)	-0.9850*** (0.2682)	-0.5675** (0.2520)	-0.0024 (0.2043)	-1.4186*** (0.3803)	-0.9430*** (0.3516)	-0.3939 (0.2400)	-0.1214 (0.1462)	-0.9935 (0.6604)	0.0729 (0.2373)
F-Stat	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	46.07
Panel B. Country-Group ESS Round (Time) Fixed-Effects													
Unemployment	-0.1866 (0.1882)	-0.1624 (0.1547)	-0.054 (0.1501)	-0.5731 (0.3749)	-0.4578* (0.2671)	-0.1644 (0.2601)	0.0696 (0.2430)	-0.7954** (0.4029)	-0.3249 (0.2634)	-1.0374*** (0.3471)	-0.0367 (0.1243)	-1.3229** (0.5361)	0.0027 (0.2591)
F-Stat	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	22.16
Industrial Shares	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Countries	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	18
Observations	965	965	965	965	965	965	965	965	965	965	965	965	648

The table reports panel (region) fixed-effects 2SLS (two-stage-least-squares) estimates. The first-stage associates regional unemployment with the share of construction in regional value added. The second-stage associates general trust, trust towards institutions, and political attitudes to “instrumented” by the construction share regional unemployment. All specifications include NUTS2 constants (coefficients not reported). All specifications condition on the share in regional value added of agriculture, trade, finance, and government services. Panel A includes year constants (not reported). Panel B includes country-group year fixed effects (constants not reported), allowing the year constants to differ across for main European regions (North, South, East, and Centre). Regional unemployment data and data on sectoral shares come from Eurostat. Information on trust and beliefs come from the European Social Surveys (ESS). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.

**Appendix Table 9. Unemployment and Beliefs on Immigration
Panel Fixed-Effects 2SLS Estimates. 2000-2014**

	Allow Immigrants			Immigrants' Role		
	Majority Race/Ethnic Group	Different Race/Ethnic Group	Poor Non- EU Countries	Economy	Cultural Life	Country Better/Worse
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A. General ESS Round (Time) Fixed-Effects						
Unemployment	-0.0228 (0.3263)	-0.2866 (0.3309)	-0.336 (0.3788)	-0.6041** (0.2563)	-0.0927 (0.1886)	-0.1076 (0.1919)
Kleiberger-Paap F-Sta	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89	19.89
Panel B. Country-Group ESS Round (Time) Fixed-Effects						
Unemployment	-0.1556 (0.4017)	-0.3497 (0.3666)	-0.5052 (0.3983)	-0.5214 (0.3562)	-0.2768 (0.2682)	-0.0559 (0.2412)
Kleiberger-Paap F-Sta	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91	17.91
Industrial Shares Contrc Countries	Yes 20	Yes 20	Yes 20	Yes 20	Yes 20	Yes 20
Regions	173	173	173	173	173	173
Observations	965	965	965	965	965	965

The table reports panel (region) fixed-effects 2SLS (two-stage-least-squares) estimates. The first-stage associates regional unemployment with the share of construction in regional value added. The second-stage associates beliefs towards immigration to “instrumented” by the construction share regional unemployment. All specifications include NUTS2 constants (coefficients not reported). All specifications condition on the share in regional value added of agriculture, trade, finance, and government services. Panel A includes year constants (not reported). Panel B includes country-group year fixed effects (constants not reported), allowing the year constants to differ across for main European regions (North, South, East, and Centre). Regional unemployment data and data on sectoral shares come from Eurostat. Information on attitudes and beliefs towards immigration come from the European Social Surveys (ESS). The Data Appendix gives detailed variable definitions and sources. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the country-level. *, **, and *** indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% confidence level.