

## Online Appendix

Table A1 – Summary of OLS regression results

Outcome	Expected relation	Effect of holding a referendum			
		Baseline model	With country dummies	Cases above threshold domestic conflict	Cases in EU member states only
Politicization index	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.59	✓	✓	✓
Salience	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.46	✓	✓	✓
Polarization	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.16	✓	✓	✓
Actor expansion	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.25	✓	✓	✓
Political parties	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.10	✓	✓	✓
Radical parties	+	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Civil society	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.13	✓	✓	✓
Intra-party dissent	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.41	✓	✓	✓
Issue diversity	–	n.s.	n.s.	✓	✓
Frame diversity	+	r <sup>2</sup> =.09	✓	✓	n.s.
Cultural frames	+	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Note: This table presents a summary of simple OLS regressions with the outcome variables listed in the first column. The full models are reported on the following pages. The base model reports the r<sup>2</sup> for the simple model including as IV the referendum dummy variable only. The additional models include country dummies or are conducted with a sub-sample of the data only: either with cases for which there are more than 20 core sentences coded for domestic actors (N=69) or for debates in EU member states only (N=57).

Table A2 - OLS Regression of the level of politicization indicators in public integration debates

	Politicization index				Salience			
Referendum	0.94*** (0.084)	0.97*** (0.078)	0.89*** (0.092)	1.19*** (0.121)	1.01*** (0.116)	1.08*** (0.105)	0.93*** (0.124)	1.07*** (0.169)
Germany		-0.09 (0.097)				0.04 (0.130)		
Austria		0.06 (0.093)				0.16 (0.125)		
Sweden		-0.23** (0.093)				-0.28** (0.124)		
Britain		0.00 (0.094)				0.16 (0.126)		
Switzerland		-0.27*** (0.090)				-0.31** (0.120)		
Constant	0.15*** (0.031)	0.24*** (0.070)	0.20*** (0.038)	0.19*** (0.037)	0.27*** (0.043)	0.31*** (0.094)	0.36*** (0.052)	0.36*** (0.051)
N	87	87	69	54	87	87	69	54
Adj. R-squared	0.593	0.665	0.578	0.641	0.464	0.589	0.446	0.426

  

	Polarization				Actor expansion			
Referendum	0.14*** (0.034)	0.15*** (0.033)	0.11*** (0.036)	0.18*** (0.055)	0.14*** (0.034)	0.15*** (0.033)	0.11*** (0.036)	0.18*** (0.055)
Germany		-0.05 (0.041)				-0.05 (0.041)		
Austria		-0.07* (0.039)				-0.07* (0.039)		
Sweden		-0.10** (0.039)				-0.10** (0.039)		
Britain		-0.11*** (0.040)				-0.11*** (0.040)		
Switzerland		-0.15*** (0.038)				-0.15*** (0.038)		
Constant	0.08*** (0.013)	0.17*** (0.029)	0.11*** (0.015)	0.11*** (0.017)	0.35*** (0.027)	0.48*** (0.063)	0.43*** (0.021)	0.41*** (0.025)
N	87	87	69	54	87	87	69	54
Adj. R-squared	0.158	0.269	0.119	0.148	0.174	0.245	0.213	0.216

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1; referendum dummy (referendum=1); reference category country=France

Table A3 - OLS Regression of actor visibility and intra-party dissent in public integration debates

	Share of political parties				Share of radical parties			
Referendum	0.18*** (0.056)	0.19*** (0.051)	0.11** (0.045)	0.15** (0.072)	0.05 (0.043)	0.05 (0.043)	0.04 (0.033)	0.05 (0.047)
Germany		-0.14** (0.063)				-0.05 (0.054)		
Austria		-0.16** (0.061)				0.05 (0.052)		
Sweden		-0.14** (0.060)				-0.03 (0.051)		
Britain		-0.13** (0.061)				-0.11** (0.052)		
Switzerland		-0.32*** (0.058)				-0.01 (0.050)		
Constant	0.25*** (0.021)	0.41*** (0.045)	0.32*** (0.019)	0.33*** (0.022)	0.09*** (0.016)	0.11*** (0.039)	0.09*** (0.014)	0.09*** (0.014)
N	87	87	69	54	87	87	69	54
Adj. R-squared	0.103	0.309	0.070	0.060	0.002	0.068	0.007	-0.001

  

	Share of civil society actors				Intra-party dissent			
Referendum	0.14*** (0.039)	0.16*** (0.038)	0.12*** (0.040)	0.18*** (0.055)	0.26*** (0.061)	0.28*** (0.053)	0.19*** (0.055)	0.24*** (0.087)
Germany		0.02 (0.047)				-0.13* (0.066)		
Austria		0.07 (0.045)				-0.02 (0.063)		
Sweden		0.10** (0.045)				-0.15** (0.063)		
Britain		-0.03 (0.046)				0.06 (0.064)		
Switzerland		-0.03 (0.044)				-0.27*** (0.061)		
Constant	0.09*** (0.014)	0.06* (0.034)	0.11*** (0.017)	0.09*** (0.017)	0.23*** (0.023)	0.32*** (0.047)	0.30*** (0.023)	0.31*** (0.026)
N	87	87	69	54	87	87	69	54
Adj. R-squared	0.125	0.218	0.111	0.148	0.169	0.414	0.137	0.111

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1; referendum dummy (referendum=1); reference category country=France

Table A4 - OLS Regression of issue competition indicators in public integration debates

	Issue diversity				Frame diversity			
Referendum	-0.01 (0.148)	0.03 (0.139)	-0.20** (0.094)	-0.33** (0.137)	0.60*** (0.199)	0.72*** (0.178)	0.30*** (0.110)	0.25 (0.181)
Germany		-0.02 (0.174)				0.16 (0.222)		
Austria		-0.34** (0.166)				-0.30 (0.213)		
Sweden		-0.18 (0.165)				-0.50** (0.212)		
Britain		0.16 (0.168)				0.07 (0.215)		
Switzerland		-0.47*** (0.160)				-0.78*** (0.205)		
Constant	1.02*** (0.055)	1.17*** (0.125)	1.21*** (0.039)	1.25*** (0.042)	1.27*** (0.074)	1.51*** (0.160)	1.57*** (0.046)	1.61*** (0.055)
N	87	87	69	54	87	87	69	54
Adj. R-squared	-0.012	0.155	0.051	0.083	0.086	0.310	0.084	0.016

	Share of cultural frames			
Referendum	0.08 (0.055)	0.08 (0.054)	0.02 (0.047)	0.06 (0.070)
Germany		-0.07 (0.067)		
Austria		-0.14** (0.065)		
Sweden		-0.04 (0.064)		
Britain		-0.04 (0.065)		
Switzerland		-0.20*** (0.062)		
Constant	0.25*** (0.021)	0.34*** (0.049)	0.31*** (0.019)	0.32*** (0.021)
N	87	87	69	54
Adj. R-squared	0.012	0.109	-0.011	-0.006

Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1; referendum dummy (referendum=1); reference category country=France