

## Supplement

Table 1 – Expected coefficient signs in payer and receiver countries

Variables	Instrumental Euroscepticism		Political Euroscepticism		Dissatisfaction EU		Opposition EU	
	Payer	Receiver	Payer	Receiver	Payer	Receiver	Payer	Receiver
Left/right	-	-	+	-	0	-	+	-
Left/right <sup>2</sup>	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+
Redistribution	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
Immigration	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Economic anxiety	+	+	0/+	+	+	+	0/+	+
Unemployment	+	+	0/+	+	+	+	0/+	+
National econ. perception	+	+	0/+	+	+	+	0/+	+
Attachment nation			+	+			+	+
Attachment EU	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Exclusive identity	+	+			+	+		
Party cue integration	+/0	+/0	0	0	+/0	+/0	+	+
Party cue instrumental	+	+	0	0	+	+	+/0	+/0

Table 2 - Variance components in net-payer countries

Variables	Instrumental Eurocepticism	Political Eurocepticism	Dissatisfaction EU	Opposition EU
Constant	-1.726*** (0.162)	0.18 (0.117)	2.580*** (0.065)	5.879*** (0.198)
Variance(country)	0.225* (0.110)	0.122* (0.061)	0.036*** (0.019)	0.322* (0.164)
Variance(region)	0.082** (0.029)	0.025* (0.012)	0.017*** (0.005)	0.177*** (0.054)
Variance(residual)			0.526*** (0.007)	7.713*** (0.109)
Model	ME logistic	ME logistic	ME ML	ME ML
N(respondents)	10147	10147	10147	10147
N(regions)	56	56	56	56
N(countries)	10	10	10	10
Log-Likelihood	-4268.675	-6842.302	-11199.344	-24811.386

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

Table 3 - Variance components for net-receiver countries

Variables	Instrumental Eurocepticism	Political Eurocepticism	Dissatisfactio n EU	Opposition EU
Constant	-2.003*** (0.128)	0.241* (0.102)	2.535*** (0.058)	4.992*** (0.229)
Variance(country)	0.226* (0.104)	0.062 (0.070)	0.055*** (0.020)	0.854 (0.311)
Variance(region)	0.076 (0.044)	0.178** (0.068)	0.007*** (0.004)	0.103*** (0.054)
Variance(residual)			0.583*** (0.007)	9.464*** (0.109)
Model	ME logistic	ME logistic	ME ML	ME ML
N(respondents)	15075	15075	15075	15075
N(regions)	38	38	38	38
N(countries)	18	18	18	18
Log-Likelihood	-5715.041	-10054.558	-17374.594	-38381.098

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001