**Online appendix**

**Appendix A**

**Supplementary information on the cross-validation procedure**

**Table A1.** Degrees of party cooperation in the 2009, 2014 and 2019 euandi dataset, by country

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **2009** | | | **2014** | | | **2019** | | |
|  | N Parties | N Experts | % Cooperated | N Parties | N Experts | % Cooperated | N Parties | N Experts | % Cooperated |
| Austria | 6 | 7 | 66.7% | 6 | 5 | 100.0% | 6 | 5 | 100.0% |
| Belgium | 13 | 8 | 76.9% | 12 | 8 | 91.7% | 14 | 4 | 57.1% |
| Cyprus | 6 | 4 | 100.0% | 8 | 6 | 62.5% | 9 | 4 | 100.0% |
| Denmark | 9 | 5 | 66.7% | 8 | 4 | 50.0% | 10 | 4 | 90.0% |
| Finland | 12 | 2 | 83.3% | 10 | 4 | 70.0% | 12 | 5 | 83.3% |
| France | 16 | 4 | 12.5% | 10 | 5 | 30.0% | 12 | 4 | 8.3% |
| Germany | 10 | 6 | 50.0% | 13 | 6 | 61.5% | 15 | 6 | 100.0% |
| Greece | 7 | 4 | 42.9% | 12 | 5 | 33.3% | 12 | 5 | 8.3% |
| Ireland | 7 | 4 | 14.3% | 6 | 5 | 66.7% | 10 | 17 | 50.0% |
| Italy | 8 | 4 | 12.5% | 11 | 6 | 63.6% | 7 | 6 | 14.3% |
| Luxemburg | 8 | 4 | 37.5% | 8 | 3 | 87.5% | 10 | 4 | 100.0% |
| Malta | 4 | 2 | 50.0% | 3 | 4 | 33.3% | 3 | 1 | 0.0% |
| Netherlands | 11 | 3 | 81.8% | 12 | 5 | 91.7% | 12 | 5 | 83.3% |
| Portugal | 12 | 4 | 8.3% | 8 | 5 | 12.5% | 12 | 5 | 25.0% |
| Spain | 11 | 5 | 63.6% | 4 | 5 | 75.0% | 8 | 5 | 25.0% |
| Sweden | 11 | 3 | 72.7% | 10 | 6 | 90.0% | 9 | 4 | 88.9% |
| UK | 24 | 3 | 8.3% | 13 | 5 | 23.1% | 14 | 2 | n/a |
| **Total West** | **175** | **72** | **49.9%** | **154** | **85** | **61.3%** | **175** | **86** | **60.4%** |
| Bulgaria | 8 | 3 | 37.5% | 8 | 4 | 25.0% | 9 | 3 | 0.0% |
| Croatia | 7 | 3 | 14.3% | 7 | 5 | 57.1% | 12 | 5 | 50.0% |
| Czech Rep. | 9 | 4 | 22.2% | 10 | 5 | 50.0% | 8 | 5 | 87.5% |
| Estonia | 8 | 5 | 50.0% | 7 | 6 | 85.7% | 8 | 5 | 50.0% |
| Hungary | 6 | 2 | 66.7% | 6 | 6 | 83.3% | 7 | 4 | 14.3% |
| Latvia | 9 | 3 | 0.0% | 7 | 3 | 14.3% | 10 | 4 | 90.0% |
| Lithuania | 9 | 3 | 0.0% | 7 | 4 | 57.1% | 7 | 5 | 14.3% |
| Poland | 9 | 4 | 22.2% | 8 | 5 | 37.5% | 6 | 5 | 16.7% |
| Romania | 5 | 4 | 0.0% | 9 | 4 | 0.0% | 7 | 5 | 14.3% |
| Slovakia | 6 | 3 | 0.0% | 10 | 4 | 30.0% | 10 | 5 | 30.0% |
| Slovenia | 9 | 4 | 44.4% | 9 | 6 | 66.7% | 15 | 5 | 73.3% |
| **Total CEE** | **85** | **38** | **23.4%** | **88** | **52** | **46.1%** | **99** | **51** | **44.4%** |
| **Total EU28** | **260** | **110** | **39.5%** | **242** | **137** | **55.0%** | **274** | **137** | **54.3%** |

**Table A2.** Matching time-series across data sources

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **euandi** | **CHES** | **CMP** |
| Austria | 2009 | 2010 | 2008 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2013 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2017 |
| Belgium | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2014 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Bulgaria | 2009 | 2010 | 2007 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2014 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2017 |
| Croatia | 2009 | – | 2011 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2015 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Cyprus | 2009 | – | 2011 |
| 2014 | 2011 | 2016 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Czech Rep. | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2013 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2017 |
| Denmark | 2009 | 2010 | 2007 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2011 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Estonia | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2015 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Finland | 2009 | 2010 | 2007 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2011 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| France | 2009 | 2010 | 2007 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2012 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2017 |
| Germany | 2009 | 2009 | 2009 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2013 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2017 |
| Greece | 2009 | 2010 | 2009 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2015 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Hungary | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2014 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Ireland | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2016 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Italy | 2009 | 2010 | 2008 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2013 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2018 |
| Latvia | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2014 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Lithuania | 2009 | 2010 | 2008 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2016 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Luxembourg | 2009 | – | 2009 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2013 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Malta | 2009 | – | – |
| 2014 | 2014 | – |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Netherlands | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2012 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2017 |
| Poland | 2009 | 2010 | 2007 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2011 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Portugal | 2009 | 2010 | 2005 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2015 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Romania | 2009 | 2010 | 2008 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2016 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Slovakia | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2016 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Slovenia | 2009 | 2010 | 2008 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2014 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Spain | 2009 | 2010 | 2008 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2015 |
| 2019 | 2019 | – |
| Sweden | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2014 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2018 |
| United Kingdom | 2009 | 2010 | 2010 |
| 2014 | 2014 | 2015 |
| 2019 | 2019 | 2017 |

**Table A3.** CHES and CMP variables used to create analytical dimensions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Dataset** | **Dimension** | **Variable name** | **Variable description** |
| CHES | Left-Right | *lrecon* | Position of the party in YEAR in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues |
| Pro-Anti EU integration | *position* | Overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration in YEAR |
| GALTAN | *galtan* | Position of the party in YEAR in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights |
| CMP | Left-Right | *Per505* | Limiting state expenditures on social services or social security. Favourable mentions of the social subsidiary principle (i.e. private care before state care) |
| *Per504* | Favourable mentions of need to introduce, maintain or expand any public social service or social security scheme |
| *Per401* | Favourable mentions of the free market and free market capitalism as an economic model. May include favourable references to: laissez-faire economy; superiority of individual enterprise over state and control systems; private property rights; personal enterprise and initiative; need for unhampered individual enterprises. |
| *Per402* | Favourable mentions of supply side oriented economic policies (assistance to businesses rather than consumers) |
| *Per403* | Support for policies designed to create a fair and open economic market. May include: calls for increased consumer protection; increasing economic competition by preventing monopolies and  other actions disrupting the functioning of the market; defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses; social market economy |
| *Per409* | Favourable mentions of demand side oriented economic policies (assistance to consumers rather than businesses) |
| Pro-Anti EU integration | *Per108* | European Community/Union: Positive. Favourable mentions of European Community/Union in general. May include the: Desirability of the manifesto country joining (or remaining a member); Desirability of expanding the European Community/Union; Desirability of increasing the ECs/EUs competences; Desirability of expanding the competences of the European Parliament. |
| *Per110* | European Community/Union: Negative. Negative references to the European Community/Union. May include: Opposition to specific European policies which are preferred by European authorities; Opposition to the net-contribution of the manifesto country to the EU budget |
| GALTAN | *Per410* | Economic Growth: Positive. The paradigm of economic growth. Includes: General need to encourage or facilitate greater production; Need for the government to take measures to aid economic growth. |
| *Per416* | Anti-Growth Economy: Positive. Favourable mentions of anti-growth politics. Rejection of the idea that all growth is good growth. Opposition to growth that causes environmental or societal harm. Call for sustainable economic development. |
| *Per601* | National Way of Life: Positive. Favourable mentions of the manifesto country’s nation, history, and general appeals. |
| *Per602* | National Way of Life: Negative. Unfavourable mentions of the manifesto country’s nation and history. |
| *Per603* | Traditional Morality: Positive. Favourable mentions of traditional and/or religious moral values. |
| *Per604* | Traditional Morality: Negative. Opposition to traditional and/or religious moral values. |
| *Per605* | Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions  against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status  quo of the manifesto country’s law code. May include increasing support and resources for the police; tougher attitudes in courts; importance of internal security. |
| *Per605\_1* | Law and Order: Positive. Favourable mentions of strict law enforcement, and tougher actions against domestic crime. Only refers to the enforcement of the status quo of the manifesto country’s law code. |
| *Per605\_2* | Law and Order: Negative. Favourable mentions of less law enforcement or rejection of plans for stronger law enforcement. Only refers to the enforcement of the status  quo of the manifesto country’s law code. |
| *Per607* | Multiculturalism: Positive. Favourable mentions of cultural diversity and cultural plurality within domestic societies. May include the preservation of autonomy of religious,  linguistic heritages within the country including special educational provisions. |
| *Per608* | Multiculturalism: Negative. The enforcement or encouragement of cultural integration. Appeals for cultural homogeneity in society. |

**Table A4.** Correlation matrix including the concordance correlation coefficient and bias correction factor: euandi, CHES, CMP

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **euandi – CHES** | | | |  | **euandi – CMP** | | | |  | **CHES – CMP** | | | |
|  | N | *r* | *ρc* | *Cb* |  | N | *r* | *ρc* | *Cb* |  | N | *r* | *ρc* | *Cb* |
| **Left-Right** | 560 | .75 | .75 | 1.00 |  | 386 | .47 | .47 | .99 |  | 348 | .53 | .53 | .99 |
| 2009 | 169 | .74 | .74 | .99 |  | 158 | .46 | .45 | .98 |  | 140 | .51 | .50 | .98 |
| 2014 | 191 | .74 | .74 | .99 |  | 163 | .51 | .50 | .98 |  | 150 | .57 | .56 | .99 |
| 2019 | 200 | .77 | .77 | 1.00 |  | 65 | .44 | .43 | .98 |  | 58 | .52 | .51 | .98 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **GALTAN** | 560 | .75 | .74 | .99 |  | 386 | .58 | .58 | .99 |  | 348 | .66 | .66 | 1.00 |
| 2009 | 169 | .78 | .77 | .99 |  | 158 | .53 | .53 | .99 |  | 140 | .64 | .64 | .99 |
| 2014 | 191 | .68 | .68 | .99 |  | 163 | .54 | .54 | .99 |  | 150 | .66 | .66 | .99 |
| 2019 | 200 | .78 | .77 | .99 |  | 65 | .73 | .76 | .97 |  | 58 | .72 | .72 | .98 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Pro-Anti EU integration** | 560 | .76 | .76 | .99 |  | 386 | .54 | .53 | .99 |  | 348 | .65 | .65 | 1.00 |
| 2009 | 169 | .75 | .74 | .99 |  | 158 | .41 | .40 | .96 |  | 140 | .60 | .59 | .98 |
| 2014 | 191 | .76 | .75 | .99 |  | 163 | .56 | .55 | .98 |  | 150 | .63 | .62 | .99 |
| 2019 | 200 | .79 | .79 | .99 |  | 65 | .67 | .66 | .99 |  | 58 | .80 | .80 | .99 |

Note: concordance correlation coefficient (ρc) ; bias correction factor (Cb) ; N=768

**Table A5.** Sources of convergence/divergence between methods: OLS regression

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | euandi vs. CHES | euandi vs. CMP |
|  |  |  |
| Party vote share | 0.001 | -0.008 |
|  | (0.005) | (0.006) |
| New party | 0.136 | 0.367\* |
|  | (0.132) | (0.180) |
| SD | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| LEFT | 0.191 | -0.259 |
|  | (0.173) | (0.205) |
| ECO | -0.108 | -0.183 |
|  | (0.187) | (0.212) |
| CD | -0.102 | 0.215 |
|  | (0.179) | (0.206) |
| CON | 0.129 | 0.122 |
|  | (0.145) | (0.174) |
| LIB | 0.288 | -0.070 |
|  | (0.147) | (0.178) |
| NAT | 0.304 | 0.284 |
|  | (0.167) | (0.198) |
| OTH | 0.307 | 0.016 |
|  | (0.162) | (0.213) |
| East | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| South | 0.012 | 0.367\*\* |
|  | (0.131) | (0.157) |
| West | 0.003 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.097) | (0.118) |
|  |  |  |
| EP election year |  |  |
| 2009 | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| 2014 | 0.115 | -0.008 |
|  | (0.112) | (0.119) |
| 2019 | -0.087 | -0.131 |
|  | (0.108) | (0.153) |
| Selfplacement | -0.248\*\* | -0.119 |
|  | (0.089) | (0.108) |
|  |  |  |
| Team/parties | 0.032 | 0.025 |
|  | (0.179) | (0.268) |
| Constant | -0.184 | 0.059 |
|  | (0.202) | (0.215) |
| N | 560 | 386 |
| r2 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
|  |  |  |

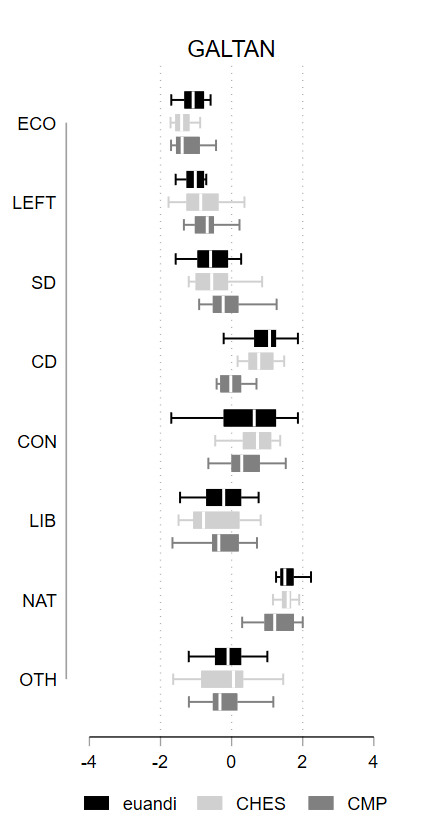
Standard errors between parenthesis

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

**Appendix B**

**Replication analysis using *per605\_1-per605\_2* instead of *per605***

**Figure B1.** Replication of Figure 1 using *per605\_1-per605\_2*

****

**Table B1.** Replication of Table 3 using *per605\_1-per605\_2*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **euandi – CMP** | | | |  | **CHES – CMP** | | | |
|  | N | *r* | *ρc* | *Cb* |  | N | *r* | *ρc* | *Cb* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **GALTAN** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2009 | 14 | .17 | .12 | .73 |  | 7 | .50 | .42 | .93 |
| 2014 | 88 | .43 | .42 | .99 |  | 81 | .62 | .61 | .99 |
| 2019 | 65 | .76 | .73 | .95 |  | 58 | .72 | .72 | .99 |

**Table B2.** Replication the analysis from Figure 2 using *per605\_1-per605\_2*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | euandi vs. CHES | euandi vs. CMP |
|  |  |  |
| Party vote share | 0.001 | -0.014 |
|  | (0.005) | (0.009) |
| New party | 0.136 | 0.373 |
|  | (0.132) | (0.215) |
| ECO | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| LEFT | 0.299 | -0.048 |
|  | (0.204) | (0.358) |
| SD | 0.108 | 0.110 |
|  | (0.187) | (0.320) |
| CD | 0.006 | 0.752 |
|  | (0.211) | (0.404) |
| CON | 0.237 | 0.427 |
|  | (0.194) | (0.337) |
| LIB | 0.396\* | 0.054 |
|  | (0.184) | (0.333) |
| NAT | 0.412\* | 0.079 |
|  | (0.202) | (0.340) |
| OTH | 0.415\* | -0.111 |
|  | (0.194) | (0.351) |
| East | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| South | 0.012 | 0.183 |
|  | (0.131) | (0.227) |
| West | 0.003 | -0.118 |
|  | (0.097) | (0.207) |
|  |  |  |
| EP election year |  |  |
| 2009 | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| 2014 | 0.115 | -0.226 |
|  | (0.112) | (0.314) |
| 2019 | -0.087 | -0.402 |
|  | (0.108) | (0.333) |
| Selfplacement | -0.248\*\* | -0.271 |
|  | (0.089) | (0.185) |
|  |  |  |
| Team/parties | 0.032 | -0.094 |
|  | (0.179) | (0.455) |
| Constant | -0.184 | 0.474 |
|  | (0.202) | (0.461) |
| N | 560 | 167 |
| r2 | 0.05 | 0.14 |
|  |  |  |

Standard errors in parenthesis

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

**Appendix C**

**Replication analysis using all available euandi policy items**

**Table C1.** List of euandi policy items by EP election year and across dimensions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| [[1]](#footnote-1) | **2009** | **2014** | **2019** | **LR** | **EU** | **GALTAN** |
| Social programs should be maintained even at the cost of higher taxes. | X | X | X | X |  |  |
| Government spending should be reduced in order to lower taxes | X | X | X | X |  |  |
| Immigration into [your country] should be made more restrictive | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| Immigrants from outside Europe should be required to accept our culture and values | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| The legalisation of same sex marriage is a good thing | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| The decriminalisation of the personal use of soft drugs is to be welcomed | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| Euthanasia should be legalised | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| The EU should acquire its own tax raising powers | X | X | X |  | X |  |
| Renewable sources of energy (e.g., solar or wind energy) should be supported even if this means higher energy costs | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| The promotion of public transport should be fostered through green taxes (e.g., road taxing) | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| Criminals should be punished more severely | X | X | X |  |  | X |
| On foreign policy issues, such as relationships with Russia, the EU should speak with one voice | X | X | X |  | X |  |
| The European Union should strengthen its security and defence policy | X | X | X |  | X |  |
| European integration is a good thing | X | X | X |  | X |  |
| Individual member states of the EU should have less veto power | X | X | X |  | X |  |
| Governments should reduce workers’ protection regulations in order to fight unemployment | X | X |  | X |  |  |
| Any new European Treaty should be subject to approval in referendum in [your country] | X | X |  |  | X |  |
| Greater efforts should be made to privatise healthcare in <country> | X |  |  | X |  |  |
| State subsidies for creches and childcare should be increased substantially | X |  |  | X |  |  |
| Immigration policies oriented towards skilled workers should be encouraged as a means of fostering economic growth | X |  |  |  |  | X |
| Religious values and principles should be shown greater respect in politics | X |  |  |  |  | X |
| Governments should bail out failing banks with public money | X |  |  | [[2]](#footnote-2) |  |  |
| The EU should drastically reduce its subsidies to Europe’s farmers | X |  |  | X |  |  |
| Policies to fight global warming should be encouraged even if it hampers economic growth or employment | X |  |  |  |  | X |
| Restrictions of civil liberties should be accepted in the fight against terrorism | X |  |  |  |  | X |
| [Your country] is much better off in the EU than outside it | X |  |  |  | X |  |
| The European Union should be enlarged to include Turkey | X |  |  |  | [[3]](#footnote-3) |  |
| The European Parliament should be given more powers | X |  |  |  | X |  |
| It should be harder for EU immigrants working or staying in [your country] to get access to social assistance benefits than it is for [your country’s] citizens |  | X |  |  |  | X |
| Pension benefits should be reduced to limit the state debt in [your country] |  | X |  | X |  |  |
| To fight the problem of illegal immigration, the European Union should take responsibility for patrolling its borders |  | X |  |  | X |  |
| Embryonic stem cell research should be stopped |  | X |  |  |  | X |
| Access to abortion should become more restricted |  | X |  |  |  | X |
| To tackle the sovereign debt crisis, the member states of the Eurozone should be allowed to issue common bonds (Eurobonds) |  | X |  | X |  |  |
| The EU should relax its austerity policy in order to foster economic growth |  | X |  | X |  |  |
| Bank and stock market gains should be taxed more heavily |  | X | X | X |  |  |
| The state should provide stronger financial support to unemployed workers |  | X | X | X |  |  |
| Restrictions of personal privacy on the Internet should be accepted for public security reasons |  | X | X |  |  | X |
| The single European currency (Euro) is a bad thing |  | X | X |  | X |  |
| Asylum seekers should be distributed proportionally among EU Member States through a mandatory relocation system |  |  | X |  | X |  |
| The EU should rigorously punish Member States that violate the EU deficit rules |  |  | X | X |  |  |
| In the European Parliament elections, EU citizens should be allowed to cast a vote for a party or candidate from any other Member State |  |  | X |  | X |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Total* | 28 | 28 | 22 | 12 | 12 | 16 |

**Figure C1.** Replication of Figure 1 using all available euandi policy items



**Table C2.** Replication of Table 3 using all available euandi policy items

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **euandi – CHES** | | | |  | **euandi – CMP** | | | |  |
|  | N | *r* | *ρc* | *Cb* |  | N | *r* | *ρc* | *Cb* |  |
| **Left-Right** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2009 | 168 | .70 | .70 | .99 |  | 158 | .53 | .52 | .98 |  |
| 2014 | 191 | .75 | .75 | 1.00 |  | 163 | .58 | .57 | .98 |  |
| 2019 | 200 | .81 | .81 | 1.00 |  | 65 | .47 | .46 | .97 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **GALTAN** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2009 | 168 | .84 | .84 | 1.00 |  | 158 | .65 | .65 | .99 |  |
| 2014 | 189 | .86 | .86 | .99 |  | 162 | .68 | .68 | .99 |  |
| 2019 | 200 | .86 | .86 | .99 |  | 65 | .76 | .75 | .99 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Pro-Anti EU integration** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2009 | 168 | .84 | .83 | .99 |  | 157 | .50 | .49 | .98 |  |
| 2014 | 191 | .84 | .84 | .99 |  | 163 | .60 | .60 | .98 |  |
| 2019 | 199 | .85 | .85 | .99 |  | 65 | .72 | .71 | .99 |  |

**Table C3.** Replication of the analysis of section 4 using all available euandi policy items

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | euandi vs. CHES | euandi vs. CMP |
|  |  |  |
| Party vote share | -0.003 | -0.004 |
|  | (0.005) | (0.009) |
| New party | 0.048 | 0.397 |
|  | (0.1323 | (0.211) |
| ECO | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| LEFT | 0.872\*\*\* | -0.052 |
|  | (0.203) | (0.348) |
| SD | 0.298 | -0.154 |
|  | (0.186) | (0.311) |
| CD | 0.464\* | 0.650 |
|  | (0.210) | (0.393) |
| CON | 0.697\*\*\* | -0.065 |
|  | (0.193) | (0.330) |
| LIB | 0.557\*\* | -0.318 |
|  | (0.183) | (0.324) |
| NAT | 0.690\*\* | 0.003 |
|  | (0.200) | (0.331) |
| OTH | 0.691\*\*\* | 0.010 |
|  | (0.194) | (0.342) |
| East | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| South | 0.008 | -0.101 |
|  | (0.130) | (0.222) |
| West | 0.085 | -0.527\* |
|  | (0.097) | (0.202) |
|  |  |  |
| EP election year |  |  |
| 2009 | (base) | (base) |
|  |  |  |
| 2014 | -0.100 | -0.575 |
|  | (0.111) | (0.305) |
| 2019 | -0.077 | -0.415 |
|  | (0.108) | (0.324) |
| Selfplacement | -0.158 | -0.214 |
|  | (0.089) | (0.180) |
|  |  |  |
| Team/parties | 0.060 | -0.494 |
|  | (0.182) | (0.443) |
| Constant | -0.449\* | 1.155\* |
|  | (0.201) | (0.449) |
| N | 555 | 386 |
| r2 | 0.07 | 0.19 |
|  |  |  |

Standard errors between parenthesis

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

**Appendix D**

**Partial replication analysis using Euromanifesto 2009 and 2014**

Since the euandi data collection is collected in the context of EP election campaigns, we have also replicated the analysis using a manifesto data source focused on EP elections: the euromanifesto. However, the current releases of the euromanifesto are limited to the 2009 and 2014 elections, so our analysis is restricted to those two data points.

The construction of the analytical dimensions with the euromanifesto data tried to mimic, as much as possible, the procedure adopted for the CMP data. Namely, we have attempted to include the same policy items to measure the corresponding dimensions. For example, we have relied on the *planeco*, *markeco*, and *welfare* sub-dimensions instead of the general *rile* which captures a more encompassing conceptualization of left-right. The dimensions were constructed as follows for 2009 and 2014, respectively[[4]](#footnote-4)[[5]](#footnote-5):

Again, the variables were standardized to facilitate comparability with the other data sources. To analyze the correspondence of Euromanifesto party positions with the euandi, CHES and CMP, we have replicated Table 3, and present a simplified version below.

**Table D1**. Partial replication analysis of Table 3 using Euromanifesto data from 2009 and 2014

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **euandi – euromanifesto** | | **CHES – euromanifesto** | | **CMP – euromanifesto** | |
|  | 2009 | 2014 | 2009 | 2014 | 2009 | 2014 |
| **Left-Right** | .27 | .37 | .36 | .38 | .73 | .79 |
| **GALTAN** | .52 | .52 | .54 | .62 | .62 | .60 |
| **Pro-Anti EU** | .65 | .68 | .78 | .77 | .54 | .53 |
| *N* | 162 | 144 | 139 | 144 | 130 | 123 |

The results are generally in line with the correlations originally presented in Table 3. The correlation between both the euandi and CHES datasets with the euromanifesto are substantially lower on the left-right dimension. Again, the comparability issues of the left-right positions stemming from CMP manifesto data with estimates from different methods could apply to other sources using the same methodology (Gemenis, 2013b; Laver, 2003; Laver and Garry, 2000). The correlations are significantly higher on the GALTAN and, especially, on the pro-anti EU dimension. Noticeably, on the latter dimension the euandi and CHES even correlate at a higher level than the other data source using manifesto data (CMP). As expected, on the two remaining dimensions, CMP correlates the highest with euromanifesto estimates. The fact that the Euromanifesto uses EP election manifestos, more likely to prime EU-related issues over left-right and galtan – which are arguably more discussed in domestic election campaigns –, could help explain the greater convergence on this dimension with the two other data sources (as well as the weaker convergence with CMP, which declaredly focuses on national election manifestos).

**Appendix E**

**Partial replication analysis using CHES sub-dimensional policy positions**

Beyond the overarching policy dimensions used in the main text, the CHES contains a number of sub-dimensional policy measures (named policy dimensions in the codebook). These items are arguably better equiped to capture parties positions on specific policies, and could therefore be used in the triangulation instead of the more general dimensions. However, note that no policy items fit on the pro-anti EU integration dimension, so the analysis only comprises the Left-Right and GALTAN dimensions.

The dimensions for comparison were constructed as follows:

Table E1 presents the correlations between euandi and CHES using these sub-dimensional policy measures rather than relying on pre-constructed dimensions. The differences between these and the original measures used in the main text is negligible, as expected given the high correlation between CHESLR and *lrecon* (*r=*.93) and CHESGALTAN and *galtan* (*r=*.92).

**Table E1**. Correlation between euandi and CHES sub-dimensional policy measures

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **euandi – CHES** | | | |
|  | 2009 | 2014 | 2019 | **All years** |
| **Left-Right** | .76 | .75 | .75 | **.75** |
| **GALTAN** | .82 | .71 | .81 | **.77** |
| *N* | 169 | 191 | 200 | 146 |

**Appendix F**

**Partial replication analysis using mass public opinion data from the EES**

Public opinion surveys offer a different method to derive parties’ positions – one that is based on the public’s perceptions of political parties and where they stand on the different dimensions. While it is not our intention to thoroughly discuss the virtues and limitations of this method, we should nonetheless note that this approach is not without problems: for example, individual perceptions of party positions may be biased by numerous reasons (partisanship, media reporting, etc.), or individuals may have insufficient knowledge or information about smaller parties. Nevertheless, in the spirit of triangulation through a maximization of data types and sources, we also considered it as a potential party placement method. For those purposes, we have relied on the Voter Study from the European Election Studies (EES) data from 2009, 2014, and 2019. The selection of this mass public opinion resource was guided by two criteria. First, like the euandi data, it is fielded in the context of European Parliament elections. Second, it includes voters’ perceptions of parties’ positions on two dimensions of political competition, thus going beyond most comparative survey datasets which only capture the left-right dimension. However, it should be highlighted that this implies that we can only triangulate on the left-right and pro/anti EU integration dimensions, as party positions on the GALTAN dimension were not asked.

Since this constitutes an additional method (and not merely a robustness check of a previously considered method), Table F1 presents the correlations between EES, euandi, CHES, and CMP data.

**Table F1**. Correlations between EES, euandi, CHES, and CMP on the left-right and EU dimensions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **EES – euandi** | | | | **EES – CHES** | | | | | | **EES – CMP** | | | |
|  | 2009 | 2014 | 2019 | **All years** | | 2009 | 2014 | 2019 | **All years** | 2009 | | 2014 | 2019 | **All years** |
| **Left-Right** | .60 (154) | .69 (157) | .66 (160) | **.65 (471)** | | .73 (154) | .74 (157) | .77 (160) | **.74 (471)** | .29 (149) | | .46 (134) | .39 (56) | **.39 (339)** |
| **Pro-Anti EU** | .59 (183) | .45 (151) | .67 (173) | **.58 (507)** | | .74 (154) | .57 (143) | .79 (159) | **.70 (456)** | .49 (149) | | .48 (121) | .72 (56) | **.53 (326)** |

Note: *N* between parentheses

The results show that the EES public opinion data correlates the highest with the CHES, followed by the euandi, and the CMP data. The correlations tend to be higher on the Left-Right dimension, apart from the CMP case which, again, can likely be explained by the limitations of the manifesto data on this dimension, as previously discussed. Noticeably, on the Pro-Anti EU integration dimension there are significant drops in the correlation coefficients in 2014. Due to an EES data collection issue, these items were not asked on the original survey but only later in a subsequent second post-electoral survey fielded in March 2015. The nearly .15 points drop in 2014 on the correlations with both VAA and expert survey data appear to suggest that data quality on the pro-anti EU integration dimension may have been affected by this incident.

Overall, this additional triangulation effort confirms that VAA data also correlates relatively high with yet another method of estimating parties positions, reinforcing the conclusions with regard to its validity as a party placement method.

**Appendix G**

**Details on the disagreement dependent variables used in section 5**

**Figure G1**. Divergence between euandi and CHES estimates, by country



**Figure G2**. Divergence between euandi and CMP estimates, by country



**Table G1**. Bottom 5% and top 5% diverging parties: euandi and CHES

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Div. euandi vs. CHES** | **Party name** | **Country** | **Year** |
|  |  |  |  |
| 0.134778 | Party for the Animals | Netherlands | 2009 |
| 0.142013 | For Real | Slovenia | 2009 |
| 0.176198 | New Slovenia -- Christian People's Party | Slovenia | 2014 |
| 0.223965 | Christian Union | Netherlands | 2019 |
| 0.288672 | United Left | Spain | 2014 |
| 0.29764 | CDS-People's Party | Portugal | 2009 |
| 0.341624 | Democratic Left Alliance | Poland | 2009 |
| 0.397306 | Christian Democratic Union -- People's Party | Czech Republic | 2014 |
| 0.419524 | Alternative for Germany | Germany | 2019 |
| 0.420314 | Conservatives | Denmark | 2014 |
| 0.464571 | Citizens | Spain | 2019 |
| 0.466999 | Christian Democrats | Sweden | 2014 |
| 0.467631 | Coalition of the Radical Left | Greece | 2014 |
| 0.468706 | Greater Romania Party | Romania | 2009 |
| 0.481134 | Democratic Party | Luxembourg | 2019 |
| 0.487289 | Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania | Lithuania | 2019 |
| 0.497506 | Social Democrats | Denmark | 2009 |
| 0.498309 | Human Shield | Croatia | 2019 |
| 0.510385 | Civic Democratic Party | Czech Republic | 2019 |
| 0.513609 | Spanish Socialist Workers Party | Spain | 2019 |
| 0.516375 | The Left | Germany | 2019 |
| 0.51726 | Labour Party | Netherlands | 2019 |
| 0.53509 | Plaid Cymru | United Kingdom | 2019 |
| 0.550917 | Basque Nationalist Party | Spain | 2009 |
| 0.554641 | Sustainable Development of Croatia | Croatia | 2014 |
| 0.55585 | Social Democrats | Denmark | 2014 |
| 0.560442 | Social Democratic Party | Estonia | 2014 |
| 0.560571 | Socialist Peoples Party | Denmark | 2014 |
|  |  |  |  |
| 3.063467 | Lithuanian Peasant Union | Lithuania | 2009 |
| 3.067473 | Slovenian National Party | Slovenia | 2009 |
| 3.072621 | Workers' Party of Belgium | Belgium | 2009 |
| 3.104446 | Forza Italia | Italy | 2014 |
| 3.113013 | Progressive Party of Working People | Cyprus | 2019 |
| 3.124949 | Harmony Centre | Latvia | 2009 |
| 3.153988 | National Rally | France | 2019 |
| 3.175186 | Brothers of Italy-National Alliance | Italy | 2014 |
| 3.1763 | Union for a Popular Movement | France | 2014 |
| 3.250365 | Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia | Slovenia | 2019 |
| 3.262205 | Pirate Party | Sweden | 2009 |
| 3.36018 | Nationalist Party | Malta | 2014 |
| 3.392862 | Alliance of Alenka Bratusek | Slovenia | 2019 |
| 3.405032 | New Slovakia | Slovakia | 2014 |
| 3.405537 | Reformist Movement | Belgium | 2014 |
| 3.409245 | Hungarian Coalition | Slovakia | 2014 |
| 3.411063 | Law and Justice | Poland | 2009 |
| 3.452082 | National Liberal Party | Romania | 2014 |
| 3.473468 | Liberal Party | Denmark | 2019 |
| 3.621029 | British National Party | United Kingdom | 2009 |
| 3.666368 | Movement for Rights and Freedoms | Bulgaria | 2009 |
| 3.668482 | Bulgaria Without Censorship | Bulgaria | 2014 |
| 3.687912 | Attack | Bulgaria | 2009 |
| 3.690843 | Malta Labour Party | Malta | 2014 |
| 3.902107 | Homeland Union | Lithuania | 2019 |
| 4.217577 | Canary Coalition | Spain | 2009 |
| 4.469059 | The Left | Luxembourg | 2014 |
| 4.615137 | European Party | Cyprus | 2014 |

**Table G2**. Bottom 5% and top 5% diverging parties: euandi and CMP

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Div. euandi vs. CMP** | **Party name** | **Country** | **Year** |
|  |  |  |  |
| 0.251519 | Lithuanian Social Democratic Party | Lithuania | 2014 |
| 0.34583 | Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria | Bulgaria | 2019 |
| 0.388719 | Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia | Czech Republic | 2009 |
| 0.47367 | Alternative Democratic Reform Party | Luxembourg | 2009 |
| 0.479886 | Green Party | United Kingdom | 2014 |
| 0.501817 | Union of Greens and Farmers | Latvia | 2014 |
| 0.522603 | Social Democratic and Labour Party | United Kingdom | 2014 |
| 0.533396 | Labour Party | Netherlands | 2014 |
| 0.583367 | Slovenian People's Party | Slovenia | 2009 |
| 0.62957 | Democrats 66 | Netherlands | 2014 |
| 0.629738 | Socialist Peoples Party | Denmark | 2014 |
| 0.709465 | People's Party for Freedom and Democracy | Netherlands | 2019 |
| 0.717695 | Plaid Cymru | United Kingdom | 2019 |
| 0.719121 | Christian Democrats | Finland | 2014 |
| 0.723869 | Law and Justice | Poland | 2009 |
| 0.775492 | The Greens | Luxembourg | 2014 |
| 0.79116 | Dawn – National Coalition | Czech Republic | 2014 |
| 0.798234 | Action of Dissatisfied Citizens | Czech Republic | 2014 |
| 0.802621 | People's Party for Freedom and Democracy | Netherlands | 2014 |
|  |  |  |  |
| 4.181243 | National Liberal Party | Romania | 2014 |
| 4.226139 | Christian Democratic Movement | Slovakia | 2009 |
| 4.234524 | 50PLUS | Netherlands | 2019 |
| 4.332255 | Movement for Social Democracy EDEK | Cyprus | 2014 |
| 4.359632 | Party for Freedom | Netherlands | 2019 |
| 4.631783 | Union of Democrats and Independents | France | 2019 |
| 4.711628 | Harmony | Latvia | 2014 |
| 4.905708 | Five Star Movement | Italy | 2014 |
| 4.916337 | Latvia's First Party/Latvian Way | Latvia | 2009 |
| 5.001485 | Sinn Fein | United Kingdom | 2019 |
| 5.082282 | Attack | Bulgaria | 2014 |
| 5.240398 | Sinn Fein | United Kingdom | 2014 |
| 5.592578 | Freedom and Direct Democracy Tomio Okamura | Czech Republic | 2019 |
| 5.607806 | Christian Democrats | Sweden | 2019 |
| 5.615515 | Bulgaria Without Censorship | Bulgaria | 2014 |
| 5.875796 | National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria | Bulgaria | 2014 |
| 6.220132 | Party for Freedom | Netherlands | 2014 |
| 6.266396 | Danish Social Liberal Party | Denmark | 2014 |
| 6.388523 | United Kingdom Independence Party | United Kingdom | 2014 |
| 7.596727 | Independent Greeks | Greece | 2014 |

1. Does not include 2 country-specific statements included in the EU Profiler 2009 and the euandi2014 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Excluded because it did not load into any dimension and has no clearly discernible ideological direction (Trechsel and Mair, 2011) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Excluded because it did not load into any dimension and has no clearly discernible ideological direction (Trechsel and Mair, 2011) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *Planeco* and *welfare* were rotated to ensure coherence in the direction of the correlations with *markeco* (i.e., higher values on all items indicate right-wing positions). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. In the galtan dimension, we have included all levels available for each Euromanifesto release. Thus, although not specificied in the equations, we have used *per\_v1\_\*, per\_v2\_\*, per\_v3\_\**, and *per\_v4\_\** in 2009, and *per\_v1\_\*, per\_v2\_\*,* and *per\_v3\_\** in 2014. For this reason, the denominator is four-times as large as the pairs of items on the numerator in 2009, and three-times in 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)