Issue yield, campaign communication, and electoral performance: a six-country comparative analysis

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Online Appendix

(1) Issue areas for the multilevel model

Abortion
Corruption
Crime
Defence
Democracy
Drugs
Economy
Education
Energy
Environment
Europe
Euthanasia
Health
Housing
Immigration
Inequality
Integration
Labour
Marriage
Pensions
Regionalism
Socialization
Taxes
Terrorism
Trade
Women

(2) Descriptive statistics for the variables used in the analyses

Variable	N	Mean	Std. dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Issue emphasis	1,206	0.038	0.072	0.000	0.816
Issue yield	1,206	0.176	0.129	-0.004	0.706
Issue salience	1,206	0.692	0.119	0.404	0.933
Electoral performance	40	0.032	0.785	-2.062	1.595
Strategicness	40	0.736	0.328	-0.458	1.512
Riding-the-wave	40	0.342	0.410	-0.470	2.120

(3) Positional and valence goals tested in the six countries (English translations)

Austria

Type	Goal A	Goal B
Positional	Require foreigners in Austria to fully adapt to Austrian culture	Allow foreigners in Austria to preserve their own culture
Positional	Make asylum rules more restrictive	Keep current asylum rules
Positional	Diesel cars should be banned	No cars should be banned
Positional	Introduce stronger direct democracy measures	Keep current level of direct democracy measures
Positional	Stay in the EU	Leave the EU
Positional	End freedom of movement of people from the EU into Austria	Allow freedom of movement of people from the EU into Austria
Positional	Allow gay marriages	Do not allow gay marriages
Positional	Politics should implement gender quotas	Politics should not enforce gender quotas
Positional	Reduce income differences	Do not reduce income differences
Positional	Deregulate the job market	Keep current regulations in the job market
Positional	Increase the minimum wage above 1500 euros	Do not increase the minimum wage above 1500 euros
Positional	Keep current pension age	Increase pension age
Positional	Austria should have a property tax on inheritance	Austria should not have a property tax on inheritance
Positional	The EU has to enforce refugee quotas in all member states	Each member state of the EU should decide by its own on refugee quotas
Positional	Austria should introduce a comprehensive school for all children until 14	Austria should not introduce a comprehensive school for all children until 14
Positional	Raise taxes and spend more on health and social services	Cut taxes and spend less on health and social services
Positional	Surveillance measures should be extended	Surveillance measures should not be extended
Positional	Promoting the production of sustainable energy	Maintaining the current mix of sustainable and fossil energy
Positional	Austria should abolish the obligatory membership in trade associations	Austria should not abolish the obligatory membership in trade associations
Positional	Fight unemployment even at the expense of high national debt	Don't decrease unemployment if it means higher national debt
Positional	Restrict access to welfare benefits for immigrants	Mantain current levels of access to welfare benefits for immigrants
Valence	Fight corruption	
Valence	Fight crime and keep our communities safe	
Valence	Support economic growth	
Valence	Protect the environment	
Valence	Providing affordable homes	
Valence	Control immigration	
Valence	Fighting poverty of Elderly People	
Valence	Providing Social Justice	
Valence	Protect Austria against terrorist attacks	
Valence	Fight unemployment	

Germany

Type	Goal A	Goal B
Positional	The current budget surplus should be used for reducing taxes	The current budget surplus should be used in infrastructure and education
Positional	Diesel cars should be banned	No cars should be banned
Positional	Keep the decision of nuclear power phase-out	Withdraw the decision of nuclear power phase-out
Positional	Building more wind turbines	Stop building wind turbines
Positional	Stay in the EU	Leave the EU
Positional	The EU has to enforce refugee quotas in all member states	Each member state of the EU should decide by its own on refugee quotas
Positional	In order to maintain the EURO, Germany should transfer money to poorer countries	Germany should not pay any money to poorer countries within the EURO zone
Positional	Repeal gay marriages	Keep gay marriages
Positional	Make immigration rules more restrictive	Keep current immigration rules
Positional	Reduce income differences	Do not reduce income differences
Positional	Require foreigners in Germany to fully adapt to national culture	Allow foreigners in Germany to preserve their own culture
Positional	Deregulate the job market	Keep current regulations in the job market
Positional	Increase pension age	Keep current pension age
Positional	Politics should implement gender quotas	Politics should not enforce gender quotas
Positional	Introduce possibilities for binding referenda	Don't introduce binding referenda
Positional	Limit the number of refugees	Accept more refugees
Positional	Minimal wages should be increased to a minimum of 10 EUR	Minimal wages should be abolished
Valence	Fighting crime	
Valence	Protect the environment	
Valence	Support for families and children	
Valence	Support the economic growth	
Valence	Providing affordable homes	
Valence	Maintaining infrastructure	
Valence	Fighting poverty of elderly	
Valence	Providing social justice	
Valence	Protect from terrorism	
Valence	Fight unemployment	

France

Type	Goal A	Goal B
Positional	Deregulate the job market	Keep current regulations in the job market
Positional	Repeal gay marriages	Keep gay marriages
Positional	Legalise soft drugs	Keep soft drugs illegal
Positional	Keep current immigration rules	Make immigration rules more restrictive
Positional	Restrict welfare for immigrants	Keep welfare for immigrants
Positional	Accept more refugees	Limit the number of refugees
Positional	Forbid Islamic veil in public spaces	Authorise Islamic veil in public spaces
Positional	Lower pension age	Increase pension age
Positional	Reduce income differences	Don't reduce income differences
Positional	Limit economic globalisation	Encourage economic globalisation
Positional	Stay in the EU	Leave the EU
Positional	Leave the Euro	Stay in the Euro
Positional	Abandon nuclear energy	Keep using nuclear energy
Positional	Restrict access to abortion	Keep access to abortion
Positional	Legalise euthanasia	Keep euthanasia illegal
Valence	Make France count more in Europe	
Valence	Make EU more democratic	
Valence	Support economic growth	
Valence	Fight corruption	
Valence	Protect the environment	
Valence	Protect France from the terrorist threat	
Valence	Make women's role in society more important	
Valence	Fight unemployment	
Valence	Improve the quality of education	

Italy

Type	Goal A	Goal B
Positional	Leave the European Union	Keep Italy in the European Union
Positional	Make the EU economic policies more flexible	Maintain the EU economic austerity
Positional	Keep soft drugs illegal	Legalize soft drugs
Positional	Stay in the Euro	Leave the Euro
Positional	Intensify the fight against tax evasion	Do not intensify the fight against tax evasion
Positional	Increase economic bonuses to families with children	Do not increase economic bonuses to families with children
Positional	Maintain progressive taxation on income (who earns more has a higher tax burden)	Introduce a flat tax (pre-fixed % of income tax, regardless of the income)
Positional	Maintain same-sex unions	Abolish same-sex unions
Positional	Limit economic globalization	Promote economic globalization
Positional	Make the citizenship to regular immigrants' sons easier	Maintain the current legislation on immigrants' citizenship
Positional	Decriminalize the excess of legitimate defens	Maintain the current legislation on the excess of legitimate defense
Positional	Deregulate the job market, making firing workers less costly for firms	Keep current regulations in the job market, making more difficult for firms to f
Positional	Keep current pension age	Reduce pension age
Positional	Legalise and regulate prostitution	Keep the current norms on prostitution
Positional	Introduce a basic income for those living under the poverty line	Do not introduce a basic income for those living under the poverty line
Positional	Reduce income differences	Do not reduce income differences
Positional	Limit the number of refugees	Keep accepting refugees like now
Positional	Do not introduce the hourly minimum wage	Introduce the hourly minimum wage
Positional	Scrap the cost of university tuition fees	Maintain the present cost of university tuition fees
Positional	Abolish the current legislation on the End-of-life	Keep the current legislation on the End-of-life
Positional	Maintain mandatory requirements for vaccines	Abolish mandatory requirements for vaccines
Positional	Maintain the current levels of access to welfare benefits for immigrants	Reduce access to welfare benefits for immigrants
Valence	Make Italy count more in Europe	
Valence	Fight corruption	
Valence	Reduce the costs of politics	
Valence	Boost economic growth	
Valence	Make citizens safer from crime	
Valence	Fight unemployment	
Valence	Fight pollution and land disruption	
Valence	Fight poverty	
Valence	Renew Italian politics	
Valence	Ensure a weel-functioning healthcare	
Valence	Improve the education system	
Valence	Protect Italy from the terrorist threat	

Netherlands

Type	Goal A	Goal B
Positional	Require employees to give employers a fixed term contract after two years	Do not require employees to give employers a fixed term contract after two years
Positional	Allow foreigners in The Netherlands to preserve their own culture	Require foreigners in The Netherlands to fully adapt to Dutch culture
Positional	Abolish the deductible in health insurance, even if this means higher fees	Do not abolish the deductible in health insurance
Positional	Increase defense spending, to come closer to the NATO norm	Do not increase defense spending
Positional	The Netherlands should leave the EU	The Netherlands should stay in the EU
Positional	Completely close the Dutch borders to immigrants	Do not completely close the Dutch borders to immigrants
Positional	Reduce income differences	Do not reduce income differences
Positional	Allow elderly to be assisted in ending their life	Do not allow elderly to be assisted in ending their life
Positional	Increase the tax on meat to the 21% tariff	Do not increase the tax on meat
Positional	Reduce the pension age to 65	Keep the pension age at 67
Positional	Introduce possibilities for binding referenda	Only keep the current possibilities for non binding referenda
Positional	Maintain the current refugee policy in The Netherlands	Take in less refugees in The Netherlands
Positional	Abolish the student loans and bring back the student scholarship	Maintain the student loans and do not bring back the student scholarship
Positional	Maintain the current weed policy	Legalise the selling and growing of weed
Positional	Maintain the right to social provisions for Dutch residents without citizenship	Restrict the right to social provisions to Dutch nationals only
Valence	Improve care for the elderly and the disabled	
Valence	Maintain the current economic growth	
Valence	Fight environmental pollution	
Valence	Protect the Netherlands against terrorist attacks	
Valence	Further reduce unemployment	

United Kingdom

Type	Goal A	Goal B
Positional	Keep Britain in the European Single Market	Leave the European Single Market
Positional	Keep Britain in the European Union	Leave the European Union
Positional	Allow Scotland to vote in another referendum on independence	Do not allow Scotland to vote in another referendum on independence
Positional	Maintain Britain's nuclear weapons (Trident)	Dismantle Britain's nuclear weapons (Trident)
Positional	Invest more public money to build affordable homes	Rely on the private sector to build affordable homes
Positional	Require foreigners in Britain to fully adapt to British culture	Allow foreigners in Britain to preserve their own culture
Positional	Allow the expansion of fracking to produce more oil and gas	Prohibit the use of fracking to produce more oil and gas
Positional	End freedom of movement of people from the EU into Britain	Allow freedom of movement of people from the EU into Britain
Positional	Keep the law that allows gay marriages	Repeal the law that allows gay marriages
Positional	Expand the provision of grammar schools	Limit the provision of grammar schools
Positional	Reduce income differences	Do not reduce income differences
Positional	Increase the minimum wage	Do not increase the minimum wage
Positional	Nationalize Britain's railways	Keep Britain's railways in private
Positional	Cut taxes and spend less on health and social services	Raise taxes and spend more on health and social services
Positional	Scrap or reduce the cost of university tuition fees	Maintain the present cost of university tuition fees
Positional	Ban the Islamic veil in public spaces	Allow the Islamic veil in public spaces
Positional	Restrict access to welfare benefits for immigrants	Maintain current levels of access to welfare benefits for immigrants
Positional	Ban zero hours contracts for workers	
Valence	Improve the NHS	
Valence	Fight crime and keep our communities safe	
Valence	Protect the environment	
Valence	Boost economic growth	
Valence	Control immigration	
Valence	Provide leadership for the country	
Valence	Protect pensions	
Valence	Improve the quality of schools	
Valence	Protect the UK from terrorist attacks	
Valence	Reduce unemployment	