

ARTICLE

The Use of Sovereignist Claims in Election Campaigns in France and Italy: Different Twins?

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Authors:

Luca Carrieri and Nicolò Conti

Department of Political Science, Unitelma Sapienza, Università degli Studi di Roma, Rome, Italy

Appendix 1: Presidential Candidates/Parties Positions on the Left-Right, GAL-TAN, and Pro-/Anti-EU Dimensions.

Tables A1.1 and A1.2 report the positions of presidential candidates/parties on the Left-Right, GAL-TAN and Pro-/Anti-EU dimensions in France and Italy. We have relied on the 2017 Chapel Hill Expert Flash Survey, which provides with the information on the party positions on these dimensions, based on expert evaluations. Experts were asked to assess party positions in terms of their overall ideological left-right stance, ordered from 0 (Extreme Left) to 10 (Extreme Right). Furthermore, they were asked to evaluate the positions of parties in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights labelled as GAL-TAN dimension, varying from 0 (GAL) to 10 (TAN). Finally, the experts have located party positions on European integration along a 7-point scale, varying from 1 (Strongly opposed) to 7 (Strongly in favour). As our Twitter dataset collected data only from the personal accounts of the presidential candidates in France, to match the data we have used the positions of the parties that these candidates were respectively leading on the occasion of the 2017 French elections.

Table A1.1 French Presidential Candidates/Parties Positions on the Left-Right Left-Right, GAL-TAN, Pro-/Anti-EU Dimensions.

Presidential Candidate/Party	Left-Right Position	GAL-TAN Position	Pro-/Anti-EU Position
Hamon/Socialist Party (PS)	3.4	2	6.1
Fillon/The Republicans (LR)	7.7	7.4	4.7
Mélenchon/The France Unbowed (FI)	1	2.3	2.3
Macron/On the Marche (EM)	5.5	2.5	7
Le Pen/National Front (FN)	9.7	8.7	1.1
Dupont-Aignan/France Arise (DLF)	8.6	8.5	1.2

Table A1.1 Italian Leaders/Parties Positions on the Left-Right, GAL-TAN, Pro-/Anti-EU Dimensions.

Frontrunner/Party	Left-Right Position	GAL-TAN Position	Pro-/Anti-EU Position
Renzi/Democratic Party (PD)	3.8	2.6	6.5
Berlusconi/Go Italy (FI)	6.5	6.8	4.7
Meloni/Brothers of Italy (FdI)	8.4	9.2	1.9
Di Maio/Five Star Movements (M5S)	5.2	4.9	2.6
Salvini/League (Lega)	8.3	9	1.5
Grasso/Free and Equals (LeU) ¹	1.8	1.5	5

¹ Free and Equals (LeU) positions are estimated by calculating the arithmetic mean positions of two parties in this electoral coalition: the Italian Left (SI) and the Democratic and Progressive Movement (MdP).

Appendix 2: Party/Presidential Candidates Sovereignist Scores in France and Italy

As mentioned in the main text, we have developed a Sovereignism index by assigning a score of 1 to each sovereignist policy objective pursued by a party and 0 to each cosmopolitan one. Therefore, the index varies from 0 (fully cosmopolitan) to 6 (fully sovereignist). Tables A2.1 and A2.2 reports the party/Presidential candidates scores for each policy objective under analysis and the scores in the Sovereignism index.

Table A2.1 Presidential Candidates Sovereignist Scores in France

<i>Presidential Candidate</i>	Policy Objectives						Sovereignism Index
	<i>Stay/Leave the EU</i>	<i>Stay/Leave the Euro</i>	<i>Maintaining/ Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants</i>	<i>Accepting/ Limiting the number of refugees</i>	<i>Limiting/ Encouraging the economic globalisation</i>	<i>Keeping current asylum rules versus making asylum rules more restrictive.</i>	
Hamon	<i>Stay in the EU (0)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Maintaining the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (0)</i>	<i>Accepting more refugees (0)</i>	<i>Encouraging the economic globalisation (0)</i>	<i>Keeping current asylum rules (0)</i>	0
Fillon	<i>Stay in the EU (0)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the number of refugees (1)</i>	<i>Encouraging the economic globalisation (0)</i>	<i>Making asylum rules more restrictive (1)</i>	3
Mélenchon	<i>Stay in the EU (0)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Maintaining the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (0)</i>	<i>Accepting more refugees (0)</i>	<i>Limiting the economic globalisation (1)</i>	<i>Keeping current asylum rules (0)</i>	1
Macron	<i>Stay in the EU (0)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Maintaining the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (0)</i>	<i>Accepting more refugees (0)</i>	<i>Encouraging the economic globalisation (0)</i>	<i>Keeping current asylum rules (0)</i>	0
Le Pen	<i>Leave the EU (1)</i>	<i>Leave the Euro (1)</i>	<i>Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the number of refugees (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the economic globalisation (1)</i>	<i>Making asylum rules more restrictive (1)</i>	6
Dupont-Aignan	<i>Leave the EU (1)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the number of refugees (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the economic globalisation (1)</i>	<i>Making asylum rules more restrictive (1)</i>	5

Table A2.2 Party Sovereignist Scores in Italy

<i>Party</i>	Policy Objectives						
	<i>Stay/Leave the EU</i>	<i>Stay/Leave the Euro</i>	<i>Maintaining/Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants</i>	<i>Accepting/limiting the number of refugees</i>	<i>Limiting/Encouraging the economic globalisation</i>	<i>Keeping current asylum rules versus making asylum rules more restrictive.</i>	<i>Sovereignist/Cosmopolitan Index</i>
Democratic Party (PD)	<i>Stay in the EU (0)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Maintaining the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (0)</i>	<i>Accepting more refugees (0)</i>	<i>Encouraging the economic globalisation (0)</i>	<i>Keeping current asylum rules (0)</i>	0
Go Italy (FI)	<i>Stay in the EU (0)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the number of refugees (1)</i>	<i>Encouraging the economic globalisation (0)</i>	<i>Making asylum rules more restrictive (1)</i>	3
Brothers of Italy (FdI)	<i>Leave the EU (1)</i>	<i>Leave the Euro (1)</i>	<i>Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the number of refugees (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the economic globalisation (1)</i>	<i>Making asylum rules more restrictive (1)</i>	6
Free and Equals (LeU)	<i>Stay in the EU (0)</i>	<i>Stay in the Euro (0)</i>	<i>Maintaining the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (0)</i>	<i>Accepting more refugees (0)</i>	<i>Encouraging the economic globalisation (0)</i>	<i>Keeping current asylum rules (0)</i>	0
League (Lega)	<i>Leave the EU (1)</i>	<i>Leave the Euro (1)</i>	<i>Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the number of refugees (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the economic globalisation (1)</i>	<i>Making asylum rules more restrictive (1)</i>	6
Five Star Movement (M5S)	<i>Stay in EU (0)</i>	<i>Leave the Euro (1)</i>	<i>Reducing the access to welfare benefits for immigrants (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the number of refugees (1)</i>	<i>Limiting the economic globalisation (1)</i>	<i>Making asylum rules more restrictive (1)</i>	5

Appendix 3: Regression Models with Party/Candidate Dummies

We performed regression models only including party/candidate dummies (the effects of these are plotted in Figure 1 and 2 of the main text), separately for France (Table A3.1) and Italy (A3.2).

Table A3.1 The impact of the candidate dummies on the Twitter salience of the sovereignist issue dimension in France (Linear Regression Models, OLS)

	Model A1.1	
Fillon	0	(.)
Hamon	-0.0134***	(0.000711)
Le Pen	0.0544***	(0.000711)
Macron	-0.0199***	(0.000711)
Mélenchon	-0.0123***	(0.000711)
Dupont-Aignan	0.0204***	(0.000711)
Constant	0.0365***	(0.000503)
<i>N</i>	43452	
<i>R</i> ²	0.265	

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A3.1 The impact of the party dummies on the Twitter salience of the sovereignist issue dimension in Italy (Linear Regression Models, OLS)

Model A1.1		
Go Italy (FI)	0	(.)
Free and Equals (LeU)	-0.00246*	(0.00103)
League (Lega)	0.0354***	(0.00103)
Five Star Movement (M5S)	-0.0263***	(0.00103)
Democratic Party (PD)	-0.0163***	(0.00103)
Brothers of Italy	0.0209***	(0.00103)
Constant	0.0263***	(0.000727)
<i>N</i>	36000	
<i>R</i> ²	0.122	

Standard errors in parentheses
 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix 4: Structure of the Stacked Data Matrix

In this section, we present the structure of the original ICCP Individual-level dataset, then the structure of the stacked individual-level data matrix and, finally, the stacked and merged data matrix

Table A4.1 Original ICCP Individual-Level Data Matrix

Resp-Id	Credibility- Le Pen Leave/Stay in the EU	Credibility- Macron Leave/Stay in the EU	Credibility- Le Pen Economic Globalisation	Credibility- Macron Economic Globalisation	Priority - Leave/Stay in the EU	Priority - Economic Globalisation
1	0	1	0	1	1	1
2	0	1	1	0	2	2
3	1	0	1	0	2	3

Table A4.1 shows the structure of the individual-level dataset where every respondent assigned a credibility score to every candidate on each issue. Respondents have also scored every issue in terms of priority. In the stacked data matrix (A4.2), we multiplied the individual-level scores of credibility by as many parties/candidates and issues as those available in the analysis, creating as a result individual-issue-party triads. As Table A4.2 shows, the credibility variable varies by individual, issue and party. Similarly, the public priority variable (1 for ‘low priority’, 2 for ‘average’ priority and 3 for ‘high priority’) was multiplied by as many individuals and issues as those under study. In this case, public priority varies by individual and issue (individual-issue dyad) and it measures the level of importance assigned by each respondent to each issue.

Table A4.2 Stacked Individual-Level Data Matrix

Resp-id	Candidate/Party	Issue	Credibility	Issue Priority
1	Le Pen	Leave/Stay in the EU	0	1
2	Le Pen	Leave/Stay in the EU	0	2
3	Le Pen	Leave/Stay in the EU	1	2
1	Le Pen	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	0	1
2	Le Pen	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	1	2
3	Le Pen	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	1	3
1	Macron	Leave/Stay in the EU	1	1
2	Macron	Leave/Stay in the EU	1	2
3	Macron	Leave/Stay in the EU	0	2
1	Macron	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	1	1
2	Macron	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	0	2
3	Macron	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	0	3

In the following step, we combined the Intra-party support variable and Twitter saliency (the dependent variable) by merging the Stacked individual-level dataset with the ICCP Twitter dataset (see: Table A4.3). The ICCP Twitter dataset provides with measures of intra-party support by calculating the proportion of the party constituents (those declaring their vote intention for a given party) supporting the issue at stake. In this case, the unit of analysis becomes the party-issue dyad, gauging the overall level of constituency support over each issue (it varies by party and by issue). Finally, the ICCP Twitter dataset provides the saliency assigned by parties/candidates via Twitter measured as the proportion of their tweets dedicated to each sovereignist-cosmopolitan issue over the total of issue-related tweets in their platforms, a continuous variable varying from 0 to 1.

Table A4.3 Stacked and Merged Dataset Matrix

Resp-id	Candidate/Party	Issue	Credibility	Issue Priority	Intra-Party Support	Twitter Saliency
1	Le Pen	Leave/Stay in the EU	0	1	0.74	0.12
2	Le Pen	Leave/Stay in the EU	0	2	0.74	0.12
3	Le Pen	Leave/Stay in the EU	1	2	0.74	0.12
1	Le Pen	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	0	1	0.78	0.14
2	Le Pen	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	1	2	0.78	0.14
3	Le Pen	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	1	3	0.78	0.14
1	Macron	Leave/Stay in the EU	1	1	0.87	0.08
2	Macron	Leave/Stay in the EU	1	2	0.87	0.08
3	Macron	Leave/Stay in the EU	0	2	0.87	0.08
1	Macron	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	1	1	0.46	0.01
2	Macron	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	0	2	0.46	0.01
3	Macron	Limit/Encourage the Economic Globalisation	0	3	0.46	0.01