

Issue trade-offs and the politics of representation: Experimental evidence from four European democracies

ONLINE APPENDIX

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A1 Description of the sample

Table A1: Number of observations by country.

Country	Count	Percent
France	531	27.22
Germany	305	15.63
Italy	612	31.37
Spain	503	25.78
Total	1951	100.00

Table A2: Demographics by country (%).

Country	Gender	Age					Education			Income		
	Female	29/under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60/over	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
France	53.48	7.34	15.63	22.60	24.86	29.19	5.84	55.74	38.04	47.08	35.22	17.14
Germany	47.87	6.56	16.39	20.33	32.79	23.93	22.30	50.16	27.21	43.93	35.08	20.66
Italy	59.15	8.82	23.04	31.37	23.04	13.24	10.78	46.73	42.32	49.18	34.15	15.20
Spain	47.51	16.30	8.95	16.70	24.25	33.80	22.86	31.61	45.53	36.38	33.60	26.84

Note: Education levels were harmonized according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).

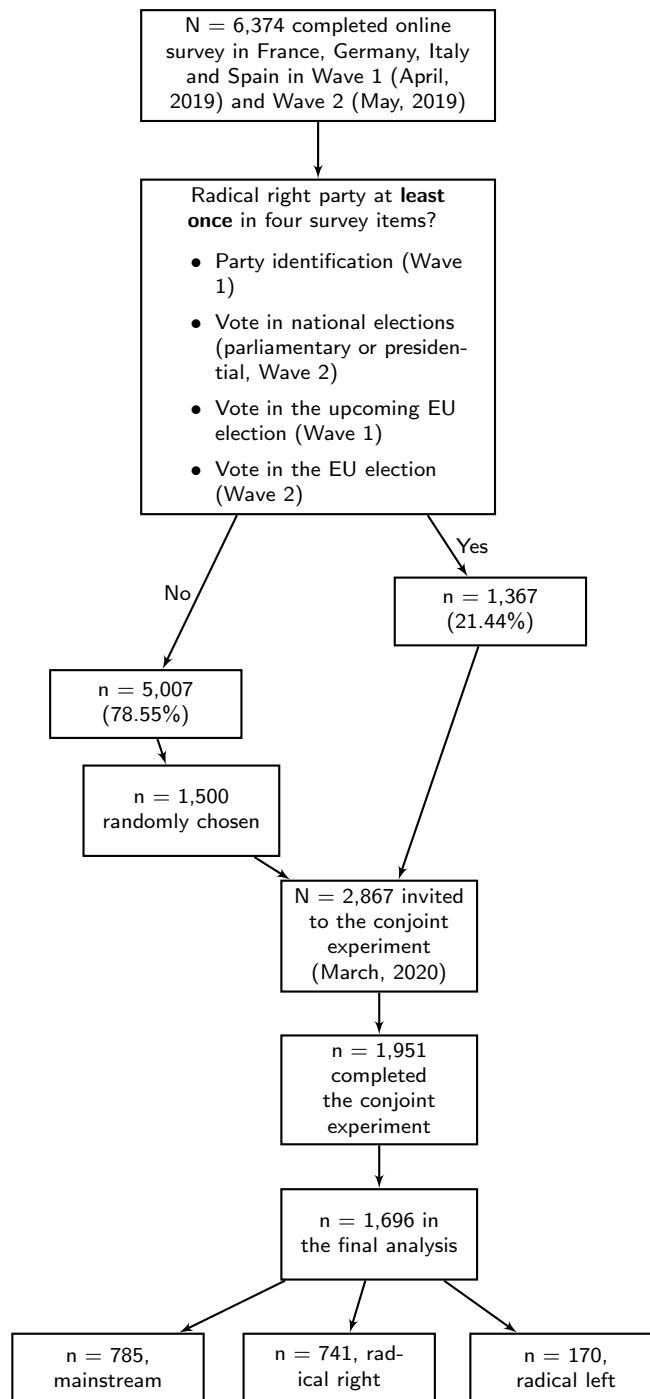


Figure A1: Flowchart of the sample for the conjoint experiment.

Table A3: Count and share of voters' party family by country.

Country	Count	Percent	Party family
France	1	0.19	Communist/Socialist
France	56	10.55	Conservative
France	61	11.49	Green/Ecologist
France	69	12.99	Liberal
France	21	3.95	Populist
France	45	8.47	Radical Left
France	224	42.18	Radical Right
France	54	10.17	Social Democracy
Germany	48	15.74	Christian Democracy
Germany	49	16.07	Green/Ecologist
Germany	21	6.89	Liberal
Germany	43	14.10	Radical Left
Germany	101	33.11	Radical Right
Germany	43	14.10	Social Democracy
Italy	7	1.14	Communist/Socialist
Italy	2	0.33	Conservative
Italy	164	26.80	Populist
Italy	11	1.80	Radical Left
Italy	327	53.43	Radical Right
Italy	101	16.50	Social Democracy
Spain	4	0.80	Christian Democracy
Spain	20	3.98	Communist/Socialist
Spain	76	15.11	Conservative
Spain	71	14.12	Liberal
Spain	71	14.12	Radical Left
Spain	89	17.69	Radical Right
Spain	130	25.84	Social Democracy
Spain	42	8.35	Special Issue

Note: See party classification in Table A5.

The party family was assigned based on the five survey questions on party identification or voting behavior explained in the main text. If responses were inconsistent across survey responses (i.e., party identification differs from voting behavior, or party identification and/or voting behavior have changed over time), the party family with the majority of responses was taken. If there was a tie (e.g., when a respondent has four valid responses and no majority party family), party identification (the strongest signal of a partisan identity) and as a second rule, the more recent survey responses were prioritized (e.g., voting in the 2019 EP election over the last national parliament election in 2017). Table A4 shows the share of voters by party family and country.

Table A4: Count and share of voters by party family.

Party family	Count	Percent
Christian Democracy	52	2.67
Communist/Socialist	28	1.44
Conservative	134	6.87
Green/Ecologist	110	5.64
Liberal	161	8.25
Populist	185	9.48
Radical Left	170	8.71
Radical Right	741	37.98
Social Democracy	328	16.81
Special Issue	42	2.15

Note: See party classification in Table A5.

A2 Classification of political parties

Parties were classified according to data taken from ParlGov (Döring and Manow 2019) and PopuList (Rooduijn et al. 2020). The latter data source was prioritized so that all parties classified as populist got assigned to the party family radical left, radical right or just populist (e.g., the Five Star Movement in Italy).

Table A5: Included political parties and their party family.

Country	Party	Communist/ Socialist	Conservative	Green/ Ecologist	Liberal	Populist	Radical Left	Radical Right	Social Democracy	Christian Democracy	Special Issue
France	Mouvement radical	✓									
	Union des démocrates et indépendants		✓								
	Les Républicains		✓								
	Mouvement démocrate		✓								
	Europe Écologie Les Verts			✓							
	La République En Marche!				✓						
	Agir, la droite constructive				✓						
	Gilets Jaunes					✓					
	La France Insoumise							✓			
	Rassemblement national								✓		
	Debout la France								✓		
	Parti socialiste									✓	
	Génération.s, le mouvement									✓	
	Place Publique									✓	
Germany	CDU/CSU										✓
	Grüne			✓							
	FDP				✓						
	Linke						✓				
	AfD							✓			
SPD								✓			

Table A5: Included political parties and their party family. *(continued)*

Country	Party	Communist/ Socialist	Conservative	Green/ Ecologist	Liberal	Populist	Radical Left	Radical Right	Social Democracy	Christian Democracy	Special Issue
Italy	Liberi e Uguali (LEU)	✓									
	La Destra		✓								
	Movimento 5 Stelle					✓					
	Forza Italia					✓					
	Potere al Popolo						✓				
	Liberi e Uguali						✓				
	Lega							✓			
	Fratelli d'Italia							✓			
	Partito Democratico (PD)								✓		
	+Europa / Radicali								✓		
	EAJ-PNV										✓
Spain	Compromís	✓									
	IU	✓									
	PP		✓								
	PDeCAT		✓								
	Ciudadanos				✓						
	Podemos						✓				
	En Comú Podem						✓				
	VOX							✓			
	PSOE								✓		
	ERC										✓
	PACMA										✓
EH Bildu										✓	

A3 Setup of the conjoint experiment

INVITATION

Dear participant, [Anonymized institute] conducts a survey on political preferences and how they relate to voting. The survey lasts approximately 5 minutes. The data will only be used for scientific purposes. We thank you very much for your participation and for your time!

INSTRUCTION

Now we would like to show you the profiles of potential candidates for entering the parliament in [country's] national parliamentary election. Please take your time when reading the descriptions of each candidate.

You will be shown eight screens with different candidates and their policy proposals. We would like to know, **based on your preferences**, which one of the two candidates you would vote for in the next [country's] national parliamentary election. People have different preferences on these issues, and there are no right or wrong answers.

QUESTIONS

If you had to choose between them **based on your preferences**, which of the two candidates would you vote for?

- Candidate 1
- Candidate 2

Independent of your choice, how would you rate each of the candidates described above? Please rank each candidate overall on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that you strongly disapprove of the candidate and 7 that you strongly approve of the candidate.

	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Climate change	There is no need to reduce CO2 emissions	There is no need to reduce CO2 emissions
Immigration	Introduce controls at [country's] border to prevent illegal immigration	Introduce controls at [country's] border to prevent illegal immigration
Reason for running	Because corrupt elites don't represent the real people	Because corrupt elites don't represent the real people
European Union	Leave the common currency Euro	Weaken the veto rights of EU member states to empower the EU
Living costs	Keep targeted state subsidies on staples and housing	The state should increase subsidies on staples and housing

If you had to choose between them based on your preferences, which of the two candidates would you vote for?

- Candidate 1
 Candidate 2

Independent of your choice, how would you rate each of the candidates described above? Please rank each candidate overall on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that you strongly disapprove of the candidate and 7 that you strongly approve of the candidate.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Candidate 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Candidate 2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Next

Figure A2: Screenshot of a conjoint task.

A4 Selection of issues for the conjoint experiment

A4.1 Most important issue perceptions

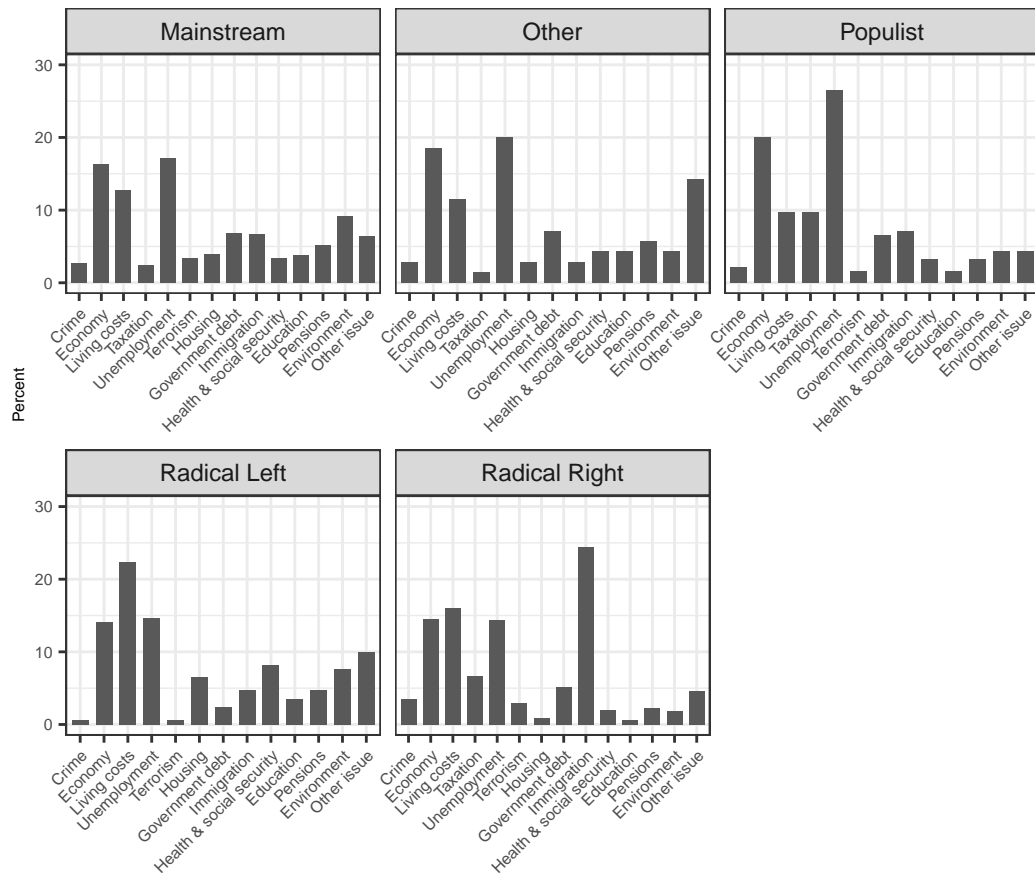


Figure A3: Most important issue perceptions by party family.

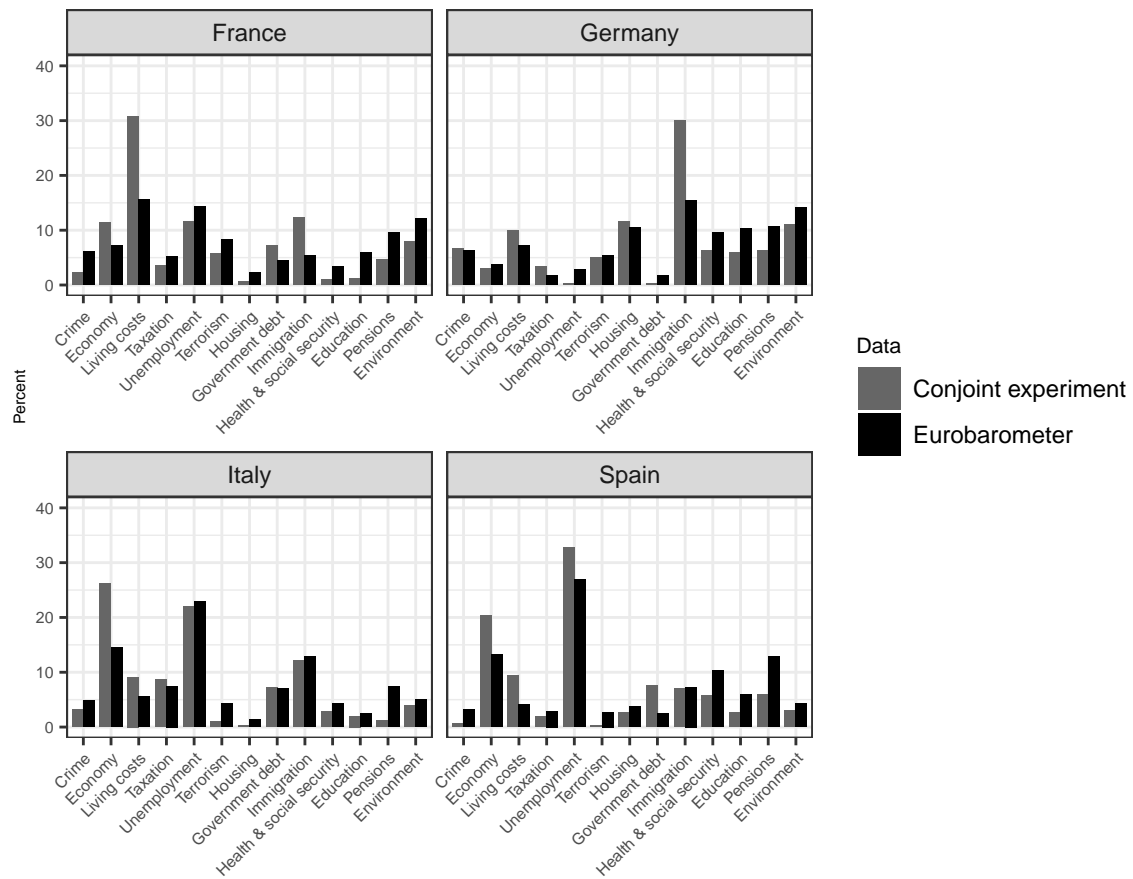


Figure A4: Most important issue perceptions by study participants compared to the same survey items in Eurobarometer, March 2019 (European Commission 2019).

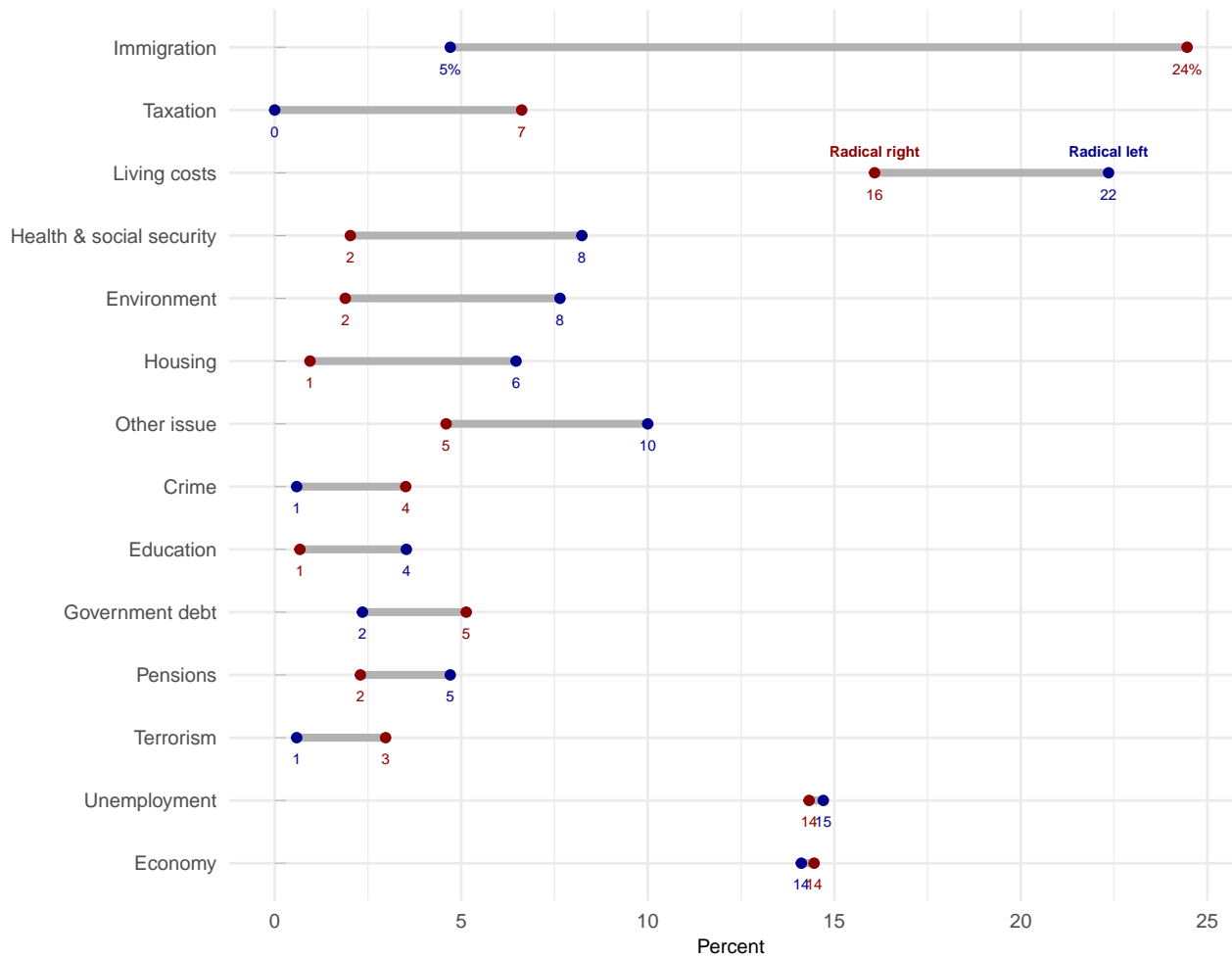


Figure A5: Gap in most important issue perceptions between radical left (blue) vs. radical right (red) voters. Sorted in decreasing order by the size of the gap between the groups.

A4.2 Issue positions in party programs

For identifying issue positions, the recent party programs either for national or European elections (depending on the availability per party and the level of detail of each program) were analyzed. Summaries of party positions related to the levels in the conjoint experiment are shown in Table A6. More detailed data including verbatim quotes from the party programs and English translations can be found on [OSF](#).

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs.

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Left	La France In- soumise (<i>Source</i>)	Give migrants the means for their integration and successful acculturation through a new policy for issuing residence permits and provide the recognition of their citizen participation by granting the right to vote in local elections.	Guarantee the effective right to housing. Prohibit rental evictions without rehousing. Build 200,000 public housing units per year for 5 years to ecological standards. Set up a universal rental guarantee. Impose large real estate transactions with a progressive tax.	Introduce a kilometer tax at the borders of France, eliminate polluting tax loopholes, favor short circuits in public procurement.	It is time to demand that states' sovereignty over their budgets and economic policies be restored and guaranteed. Requisition the Banque de France to transform the euro into a common currency and no longer a single one.	The collusion between private, financial or industrial interests, and the oligarchy that has taken over our institutions, is absolutely manifest under Emmanuel Macron. A privileged caste, linked to the richest, believes they can escape democratic rules and equality between citizens.
Radical Left	Die Linke (<i>Source</i>)	The party stands for "open borders for all people", Europe should not seal itself off. "Integration is not the responsibility of the individual", says the program, and there should be a "right to different life plans".	Due to the rising cost of living, especially energy costs, the Rent and the cost of public transport, DIE LINKE increases from the next nationwide election program their demand for a sanction-free minimum income of 150 euros to 1200 euros.	Start the democratization of the energy industry, promote the participation of citizens and contribute to reducing CO2.	We want a European Union with a strong European Parliament and transparent decision-making processes in all European institutions and more direct participation by citizens.	We are and will not be like those parties that submissively submit to the wishes of the economically powerful. That is precisely why parties can hardly be distinguished from one another. The current agenda is directed against the interests of the majority of the people.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Left	Potere al Popolo <i>(Source)</i>	We are moving to defend the rights of all challenged by the austerity processes, to defend the conditions of the rights and wages of the exploited, whether Italian or foreign.	We propose a "no tax area" up to 15,000 euros and a reduction in taxes for those who earn up to 35,000 euros per year and for workers forced to open VAT numbers!	With the money recovered, create 750,000 jobs to initiate an ecological transition, eliminate CO2 emissions, secure and reclaim territories, produce sustainable energy, enhance education, sport, research, culture and health.		The problem is that this wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few rich people who fill their pockets more and more every year. If we divided it for each citizen and each citizen, including infants, each of us would have € 161,416!
Radical Left	Liberi e Uguali <i>(Source)</i>		First the public, the common goods, the sociality, the collective interests; not the private sector, the market, individualism.		It is necessary to review the institutional framework to strengthen the political powers of the Union and reduce those that have coagulated around the intergovernmental method.	By spiking classes, centralizing wealth and power as never before... it is in the attempt by the ruling classes to undermine representative democracy and the social achievements achieved.
Radical Left	Podemos <i>(Source)</i>	It is necessary to give priority to the concept of citizenship and to move towards a practice of European citizenship. Access to rights and duties should not be based on nationality, but on the condition of person and their right to migrate; that is, to freely determine their place of residence.	Regular distribution of basic supplies when it is not possible to have a grocery store, for which public aid lines will be established; at least one ATM within a 20 kilometer radius, financed through a canon to the banking sector for financial inclusion and managed by Bankia.	We cannot allow the benefits of a minority to endanger our planet.	The institutions of the European Union with democratic legitimacy are the ones that should have the last word. That is why we have to strengthen Parliament vis-à-vis the Commission and the Council.	We have to turn the economy around and put it at the service of the interests of the social majority. Social protection for all, and fights for fiscal justice and against tax evasion by the rich.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Left	En Comú Podem <i>(Source)</i>	Guarantee the right to vote of migrants.	Benefit for unemployment and coverage of gaps in contribution. Reform the pension system by guarantee decent pensions for all.	Climate change can be seen as an example paradigm of distributive ecological conflict, in which a global minority appropriates a few common resources, in this case reserves of fossil fuels or the atmosphere of the our planet, benefiting economically its exploitation and leaving for a majority the environmental liabilities generated in the process.	Profoundly change the architecture institutional so that the EU and EMU have a non-subordinate democratic governance to intergovernmental logics. However, we do not understand by democratic economic government proposals to reduce the margin of maneuver (a neoliberal corset) of EU member states transferring sovereignty a devices not democratically legitimized by to govern the economy.	On the other hand, business profits, which they have not stopped growing during the years of crisis, are occurring on a cut unprecedented salary, passing on the cost of the crisis to people who have not been the responsible, making a reversal necessary of this process for reasons of social justice.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Right	Rassemblement national (<i>Source</i>)	Restore national borders and leave the Schengen area (a system especially for frontier workers will be set up to facilitate their border crossing) (point 24). Make it impossible to regularize or naturalize foreigners in a situation illegal. Simplify and automate their eviction.	Immediately reduce regulated gas and electricity prices by 5%. Ensure a fair tax contribution, by refusing any increase in VAT and the CSG and maintaining the ISF. Reduce household housing expenditure through a major plan to help build and rehabilitate housing, by lowering the housing tax for the poorest and freezing its increase, and by ensuring the sustainability of APLs.	Massively develop the French renewable energy sectors (solar, biogas, wood, etc.) thanks to intelligent protectionism and patriotism economy, public and private investment and at the helm of EDF.	The French have shown that they remain committed to the single currency. The absence of a national currency, the immediate control lever lies in monetary governance, which poses concretely the question of independence of the ECB.	The European elites have surrendered Europe to the forces of a fictitious world market, in which public or private powers, states or multinationals, use every means to make their power interests prevail, without adhering to any common principles, without sharing anything with peoples who are foreign to them.
Radical Right	Debout la France (<i>Source</i>)	Restore border control (end of the Schengen system) and recruit 10,000 air and border police. Abolish regularization for private and family life: an illegal immigrant must no longer be regularized.	Reduce the period allowing exemption from tax on capital gains and real estate contributions to 10 years. Today, the real estate capital gain is exempt after 22 years. Eliminate transfer taxes (5.8% reduction in purchase prices) for the first purchase of a home in order to encourage first-time home ownership.	Create a regional counter on green taxation in order to guide the French people lost in the thick of subsidies and tax breaks.	Replace the European Union by a Community of European States. Transform the Union or take back our freedom. Immediately stop all negotiations for the enlargement of the European Union.	Eliminate the privileges and undue advantages of former presidents, prime ministers and ministers, and elected officials in general. Eliminate the accumulation of remuneration for elected officials.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. (*continued*)

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Right	AfD (<i>Source</i>)	Withdrawal from all immigration agreements, merciless deportation, remigration programs, EU external border controls and national border controls; life in Germany should also be made more difficult for EU nationals.	The party wants to reduce subsidies, limit taxes, inheritance and property taxes are to be abolished, and value added tax is to be lowered "by seven percent". State consumption is also expected to decrease.	We doubt, for good reasons, that humans have significantly influenced or could even control recent climate change, especially current warming. Climate protection policy is therefore a mistake. The world food harvests have increased significantly, not least due to the increasing proportion of CO2 in the atmosphere.	Abolish the EU Parliament and give member states more sovereignty, reintroduce national currencies. Should our fundamental reform approaches in the existing system of the EU not be realized in a reasonable time, we will consider Germany's exit or an orderly dissolution of the European Union and the establishment of a new European writs.	The secret sovereign in Germany is a small one powerful political oligarchy residing in the existing formed political parties. This oligarchy has the controls of the state power, political education and the informational and media influence on the population. The constant violation of the principles of the German Statehood culminate in the federal government's refugee policy from CDU/CSU and SPD.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Right	Lega (<i>Source</i>)	Prepare a list of countries deemed safe as a limit to the acceptance of applications for international protection. Revoke the resolution of the former Minister Alfano which grants the right to issue the identity card to migrants, to allow them to access the assistance of individual municipalities.	Quick and transparent allocation of vacant housing (social housing) and agreements with police headquarters and prefectures for the control of assets.	It is necessary to strengthen the actions currently considered at the national level to combat change climate and for the transition to more sustainable models of economy and management of renewable resources.	We want to remain within the European Union only on the condition that we re-discuss all the Treaties that place constraints on the exercise of our full and legitimate sovereignty, effectively returning to the European Economic Community prior to the Maastrich Treaty. The euro is the main cause of our economic decline, a currency tailored to Germany and multinationals and contrary to the needs of Italy and small businesses.	

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Right	Fratelli d'Italia (<i>Source</i>)	Border control and naval blockade with immediate repatriation following agreements with the northern states Africa. Expulsion of illegal immigrants and stop the hospitality business.	Reform of the tax dispute with cancellation of the aberration of the reversal of the burden of proof. Fight against tax evasion starting with that of large companies and banks. Flat tax immediately at 15% for families and businesses on incremental income compared to the previous year and subsequently for the entire income produced. House plan to face the housing emergency with a social loan and rent to own.		Defense of our national sovereignty. Re-discussion of all EU treaties starting with the fiscal compact and the euro. More politics and less bureaucracy in Europe. Supremacy clause in the Constitution to block agreements and directives harmful to Italy starting with the Bolkestein and the Dublin Regulation.	Presidential reform of the Republic with direct election of the head of state or government. Federalism responsible; adaptation of the powers, resources and assets of Roma Capitale to the standards of main European capitals; strengthening and enhancement of local autonomies and the powers of the Mayors. Anti-turncoat and anti-turnaround mandate constraint. Overcoming of perfect bicameralism and reduction the number of parliamentarians.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Radical Right	Vox (<i>Source</i>)	Eliminate the institution of arraigo as a way to regulate illegal immigration. Revocation of express gateways to acquire Spanish nationality. Strengthen our borders. Build an insurmountable wall in Ceuta and Melilla. Give the police and armed forces all the material and human resources so that they can take care of our borders with total efficiency, together with the corresponding legal protection.	Radical reduction of the Income Tax. Significant increase in the minimum personal and family exemption to 12,000 euros. Reduction of the general rate of Corporate Tax to 20% with a reduction of 5% in the event that profits are not distributed and are kept in the company as reserves.	Applying the environmental concept of “polluter pays” should be applied to all industrial, mining or energy installations.	Reduction of European political spending, eliminating duplications and agencies that interfere with national sovereignty. Exclusivity of the State, in what refers to international relations.	The citizens, overwhelmed by the political, economic, social and national crisis want to eliminate the unbearable party that ruins and debases us. They demand to have another healthy country and, in their indignation, they want to directly elect other politicians.
Main-stream	CDU/ CSU (<i>Source</i>)	Whoever needs protection receives it. Asylum procedures are to be bundled in the AnKER centers. In addition to the BAMF, the federal states be present with administrative judges and immigration offices. Expand the list of safe countries of origin. We bundle the various measures for integration in a strategy based on the principle “Demand and support”.	We will gradually abolish the solidarity tax. We will reduce the contribution rate to unemployment insurance by 0.3 percentage points. Low-income earners will be relieved of all social contributions.	More money for combined heat and power (CHP). The promotion of the environmentally friendly CHP - which generates electricity and heat from gas - will amount to 1.5 billion euros doubled per year. This helps reduce CO2 emissions by 4 million tons annually.	We want to give the EU Parliament the opportunity to introduce its own laws. Regional, national and European interests must not be at odds with each other. We want to expand European cooperation in expand European cooperation in border regions.	Which values must guide us in the next ten years so that by 2030 we will live in a Germany in which the state is there for its citizens and the citizens are committed to their fellow human beings and the state.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Main-stream	SPD (<i>Source</i>)	States that take in refugees should receive support, for example for the expansion of community facilities, schools or medical care. The external borders must be better protected against illegal border crossings.	Improve rent controls, regularly adjust the amount of housing benefit, purchase of residential property for Families with low and middle incomes should be made easier by a socially graded family building allowance.	An SPD-led federal government is the dialogue with companies, trade unions and the Employees in the affected sectors. Because we know that social, economic and ecological questions not individually, but only under consideration the mutual dependencies can be answered successfully.	Right of initiative of the European Parliament. Investigation and control right of the European Parliament. This paralyzes Europe's ability to act. In future, it should no longer be possible for individual member states to block important legislation.	
Main-stream	Grüne (<i>Source</i>)	European immigration law that enables legal migration, strengthening the rights and interests of (labor) migrants and protecting them from exploitation, supporting a European integration fund for municipalities and regions, uniform European asylum system with a fair and solidarity distribution mechanism, organized and financed at European level civil sea rescue system.	We want to promote a broad social debate and focus on questions ranging from the introduction of an unconditional basic income that enables social participation to the question of a tax on added value and institutional reforms of the security systems.	The climate crisis is one of the greatest challenges of our generation. It is high time that the EU finally geared its climate policy to the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement.	Strengthening the European Parliament, the EP's own full right of initiative for European legislation, discussion of union models such as the United States of Europe, the federal state or the European Republic.	Are politicians capitulating to the challenges of globalization and thus exacerbating the many crises? Or is the European Union powerfully re-establishing itself? We are sure that only Europe is capable of acting and solve the major challenges.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Main-stream	Europe Écologie Les Verts (<i>Source</i>)	Offer elderly immigrant workers and their spouses a specific accommodation, listening, improvement and monitoring system for pension rights.	We must facilitate access to long-term housing by building 12,000 new social housing units per year for young people and developing installation assistance. Faced with the shortage, we will build 500,000 housing units per year, including 160,000 social housing units. Priority will be given to the most social housing, with the construction of at least 30,000 family PLAI (assisted rental loans) and by limiting PLS (social rental loan) approvals to 10%.	Regulatory systems (reduction of speed limits and vehicle power, standards on polluting emissions) must be strengthened and accompanied by pricing incentives (bonus-malus, climate-energy taxation, etc.).	The Council of the European Union will be redefined as a true second chamber representing the States (or sub-national groups depending on the specific organization of the different regions of the Union), its members having to be persons identifiable by citizens, dedicated exclusively to this mission and sitting full time. Each State determines the mode of appointment of its members.	Citizen democracy at the center of democratic values instead of technocracy or populism.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Main-stream	La République En Marche! <i>(Source)</i>	We will propose to our partners to strengthen the European border police force, by giving it a capacity for lasting surveillance and protection of the external borders.	We must free the French from tax by having much more efficient public spending". The mandatory reductions in levies will be distributed in a balanced manner between businesses and households, exemption from housing tax for 80% of French people, reinstatement of exemptions on overtime, option for individualization of the IR.	We will integrate the ecological cost into the carbon price, by ramping up the carbon tax to reach € 100 / tCO2 in 2030. In order to encourage the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and to put an end to the tax advantage granted to diesel, ecological taxation will be increased by 12.5 billion euros (7.5 on the carbon component, 5 on diesel / petrol convergence).	We will propose to create a post of Minister of Economy and Finance of the euro zone, who will be responsible for the budget of the euro zone, under the control of a Parliament of the euro zone, bringing together the European parliamentarians of the member states.	
Main-stream	Les Républicains <i>(Source)</i>	If you enter our territory illegally, you have no chance of obtaining a residence permit. Limit legal immigration according to our integration capacities. Expel illegal immigrants, delinquents and criminals.	Our proposals to reduce public spending by 20 billion euros per year. Lower the state's standard of living by rationalizing the public real estate stock. Reduce public funding for unions to reach the European average.	A massive sign of environmental taxation is necessary.	Some states members should finally be able to "go further" and no longer be "blocked" by others; especially in the context health and economic emergency and recovery. Oppose any enlargement of the EU.	

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Main-stream	Partito Democratico (PD) (<i>Source</i>)	An end to the Dublin regulation and automatic redistribution of people seeking asylum via quota to other European countries. Expand citizenship rights for children born and raised in Italy.	Part of the inclusion income (REI), the first national and universal measure to combat poverty set up by a government in our country. The amount of the REI reaches a maximum of 534 euros per month.	We need to accelerate the decarbonisation process and build renewable energy plants, speeding up authorization times and procedures; improve the energy efficiency of our public and private buildings also through the extension of the superbonus.	Should EU countries be allowed to reintroduce border controls within the Schengen area? No. Should there be a European authority empowered to enforce fiscal compliance? Yes. Should a majority of national parliaments get the power to veto EU legislation? Yes.	

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Main-stream	Europa/Radicali <i>(Source)</i>	The EU should make migration agreements with safe countries in the Middle East and Africa. These agreements consist of three elements. First, the EU commits to financially support safe countries in hosting refugees. Second, the EU will work to facilitate the resettlement of refugees in a safe, humane, and legal way. Third, we must ensure the return to these safe countries of those migrants for whom, as quick as possible, an effective return decision following due judicial process has entered into force.	To create jobs, we need to work together. The time has come to imagine a truly European labor market and welfare, with common rules and protection tools but above all with a common goal: to break down cultural, linguistic and administrative barriers to reward commitment, preparation and the desire to do.	It is essential that the Union focuses on a range of new measures and requires all CO2 producing companies and activities to have constant availability of data on their emissions. European guidelines should be launched to encourage voluntary carbon markets at local level between companies producing emissions and companies capable of fixing biomass.	Political integration, or the building of a European federal union, must be pursued with a model that allows a redistribution of powers, a transition initiated by the member states and legitimized through a founding pact that establishes the constitutional structure of the European federal Union as a prerequisite for the modification of national constitutions in a process of federal unification.	Europe is the political force that aims to work to defend and improve the lives of citizens, a defense of their rights and freedoms. Be with us the political movement that defends the European Union of today and builds that of tomorrow!

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Main-stream	PP (<i>Source</i>)	We will promote a legal immigration policy, orderly and linked to the labor market. The struggle against illegal immigration mafias will be a priority based on cooperation with countries of origin and in the rejection at the border. We will expand the treaties international return and expulsion of immigrants irregular. We will promote the deployment of FRONTEX for border control.	We will promote the Universal Social Card, which will include all content features economic managed by bodies and agencies of the General State Administration, Communities Autonomous and Local Entities.	We defend an energy mix that allows us to the objectives of security of supply, climate change and energy price. This requires making the most of renewable options that are already competitive, but without giving up other technologies that are still useful to our country. To do this, we will promote the approval of a State Pact to establish an energy mix stable at 40 years that gives certainty to the sector and consumer.	We will strengthen the role of Spain and defend the interests of our country in the face of the challenges Union will have to cope in the coming years.	The political failures of the current government - the draft law on Budgets and the investiture of the President of the Government - have become two institutional blockades. During all these months the Popular Party has acted with responsibility and consistency. We have offered dialogue without exclusions to try unblock the political situation and solutions to ensure governance.

Table A6: Relevant positions in party programs. *(continued)*

Family	Party	Immigration	Redistribution	Climate change	EU	Populism
Main-stream	PSOE (<i>Source</i>)	We will promote positive actions in relation to immigrant women and refugees in situations of particular vulnerability, such as single women with family charges. We will improve administrative procedures to streamline concessions and renewals of authorizations, especially those of roots and family reunification.	We will move towards establishing a Minimum Living Income as basis of freedom and the rights of all people. The tax reform will allow Spain to overcome the anomaly of the low taxation of large corporations, as well as the sector financial and large technology companies, and insufficient and ineffective environmental taxation, to align ourselves with the measures already adopted.	It will be established the obligation to prepare every 5 years, Budgets of Carbon, broken down by sector, to make visible the contribution of each sector to reduce emissions. Mechanisms will be established monitoring to promote citizen participation and the involvement of all administrations.	We will promote the political dimension of the European project from the conviction that this project will only be strong from an authentic political integration among member countries.	

A4.3 Issue salience in political parties' Facebook posts

To investigate the salience of the issues included in the conjoint among political parties, we used CrowdTangle¹ to collect the Facebook posts posted in 2019 from 66 accounts of the most important national parties and their leaders. We defined concise keyword lists for each of the topics used in the conjoint experiment in each language (e.g., Spanish keywords for immigration: *asil, migra, refug, fronter, extranj*). Figure A7 shows the share of posts from the major parties in each country that contained at least one of the search strings defined for each topic. In general, the figure provides solid evidence for issue ownership theory and reveals considerable overlaps with the issue priorities of each party's voters (Figure A3). The chosen issues also covered the overall universe of posts in France and Germany well, whereas a lower share of posts featured the relevant keywords in Italy and Spain.

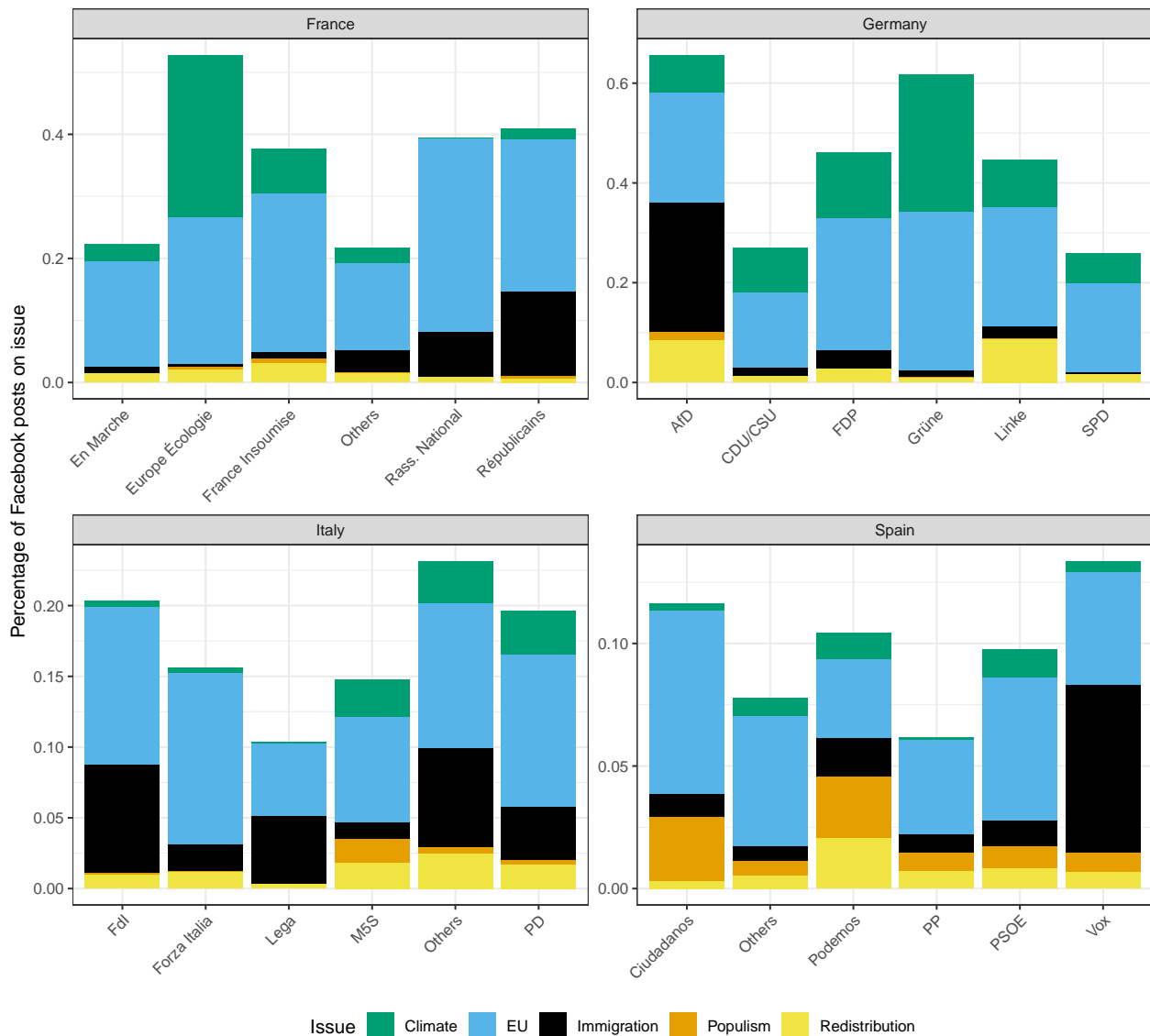


Figure A7: Salience of relevant issues in parties' Facebook posts.

¹<https://www.crowdtangle.com>

A5 Regression tables

Table A7: Estimates of a linear regression model for radical left voters.

Issue proposal	Unweighted			Weighted		
	Estimate	Std.Error	z	Estimate	Std.Error	z
Introduce controls at [country] border to prevent illegal immigration	0.50	0.02	0.14	0.52	0.02	0.89
Keep current immigration policy	0.52	0.02	1.16	0.50	0.02	0.26
Remove restrictions on immigration	0.48	0.02	-1.29	0.48	0.02	-1.34
Individuals instead of the state should provide for their staples and housing	0.36	0.02	-8.36	0.37	0.02	-7.70
Keep targeted state subsidies on staples and housing	0.56	0.01	4.66	0.55	0.02	2.70
The state should increase subsidies on staples and housing	0.57	0.01	4.68	0.58	0.02	4.12
There is no need to reduce CO2 emissions	0.38	0.01	-8.05	0.39	0.01	-7.95
Introduce a CO2 tax for corporations	0.58	0.01	5.92	0.58	0.02	5.06
Introduce a CO2 tax for corporations and citizens	0.53	0.01	2.05	0.53	0.02	1.74
Leave the common currency Euro	0.45	0.02	-2.81	0.46	0.02	-1.89
Keep the EU institutions like they are	0.53	0.01	1.81	0.53	0.02	1.35
Weaken the veto rights of EU member states to empower the EU	0.52	0.02	1.35	0.51	0.02	0.51
Because corrupt elites do not represent the real people	0.52	0.02	1.09	0.53	0.02	1.72
To participate in policymaking	0.52	0.01	1.86	0.52	0.01	1.29
To continue to serve the government	0.46	0.01	-3.05	0.45	0.02	-3.22

Table A8: Estimates of a linear regression model for radical right voters.

Issue proposal	Unweighted			Weighted		
	Estimate	Std.Error	z	Estimate	Std.Error	z
Introduce controls at [country] border to prevent illegal immigration	0.69	0.01	28.25	0.70	0.01	22.17
Keep current immigration policy	0.47	0.01	-3.95	0.46	0.01	-4.09
Remove restrictions on immigration	0.33	0.01	-23.50	0.33	0.01	-16.43
Individuals instead of the state should provide for their staples and housing	0.47	0.01	-4.29	0.46	0.01	-3.68
Keep targeted state subsidies on staples and housing	0.51	0.01	1.33	0.51	0.01	1.33
The state should increase subsidies on staples and housing	0.52	0.01	3.10	0.52	0.01	2.58
There is no need to reduce CO2 emissions	0.46	0.01	-5.75	0.46	0.01	-4.12
Introduce a CO2 tax for corporations	0.53	0.01	4.82	0.53	0.01	3.55
Introduce a CO2 tax for corporations and citizens	0.51	0.01	1.43	0.51	0.01	1.17
Leave the common currency Euro	0.52	0.01	2.42	0.52	0.01	1.69
Keep the EU institutions like they are	0.49	0.01	-1.12	0.49	0.01	-0.87
Weaken the veto rights of EU member states to empower the EU	0.49	0.01	-1.71	0.49	0.01	-1.09
Because corrupt elites do not represent the real people	0.55	0.01	7.04	0.55	0.01	6.29
To participate in policymaking	0.51	0.01	1.73	0.50	0.01	0.08
To continue to serve the government	0.44	0.01	-8.95	0.45	0.01	-5.97

Table A9: Estimates of a linear regression model for mainstream party voters.

Issue proposal	Unweighted			Weighted		
	Estimate	Std.Error	z	Estimate	Std.Error	z
Introduce controls at [country] border to prevent illegal immigration	0.56	0.01	8.00	0.56	0.01	5.86
Keep current immigration policy	0.51	0.01	1.81	0.51	0.01	1.06
Remove restrictions on immigration	0.43	0.01	-9.75	0.43	0.01	-7.08
Individuals instead of the state should provide for their staples and housing	0.43	0.01	-9.13	0.42	0.01	-9.51
Keep targeted state subsidies on staples and housing	0.53	0.01	4.69	0.55	0.01	5.63
The state should increase subsidies on staples and housing	0.54	0.01	5.35	0.53	0.01	3.40
There is no need to reduce CO2 emissions	0.40	0.01	-14.68	0.40	0.01	-10.58
Introduce a CO2 tax for corporations	0.56	0.01	10.17	0.56	0.01	7.23
Introduce a CO2 tax for corporations and citizens	0.54	0.01	5.34	0.54	0.01	4.28
Leave the common currency Euro	0.36	0.01	-18.76	0.36	0.01	-14.30
Keep the EU institutions like they are	0.57	0.01	9.86	0.57	0.01	7.06
Weaken the veto rights of EU member states to empower the EU	0.57	0.01	10.20	0.57	0.01	8.13
Because corrupt elites do not represent the real people	0.51	0.01	2.03	0.52	0.01	1.98
To participate in policymaking	0.51	0.01	1.17	0.52	0.01	2.08
To continue to serve the government	0.48	0.01	-3.06	0.47	0.01	-3.57

A6 Effect heterogeneity and additional results

A6.1 Preferences by country

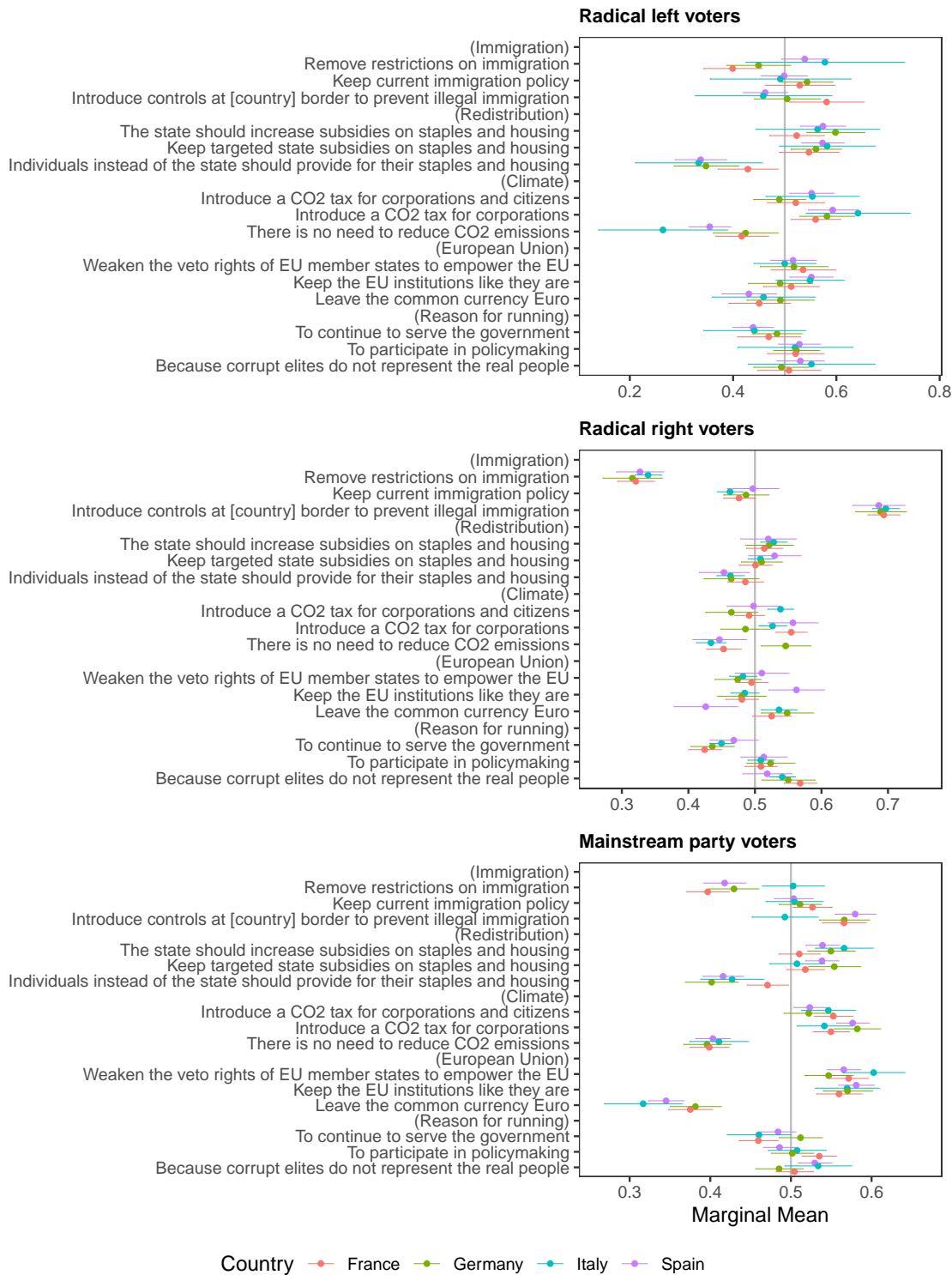


Figure A8: Issue preferences of radical left, radical right and mainstream party voters by country.

A6.2 Preferences by demographics

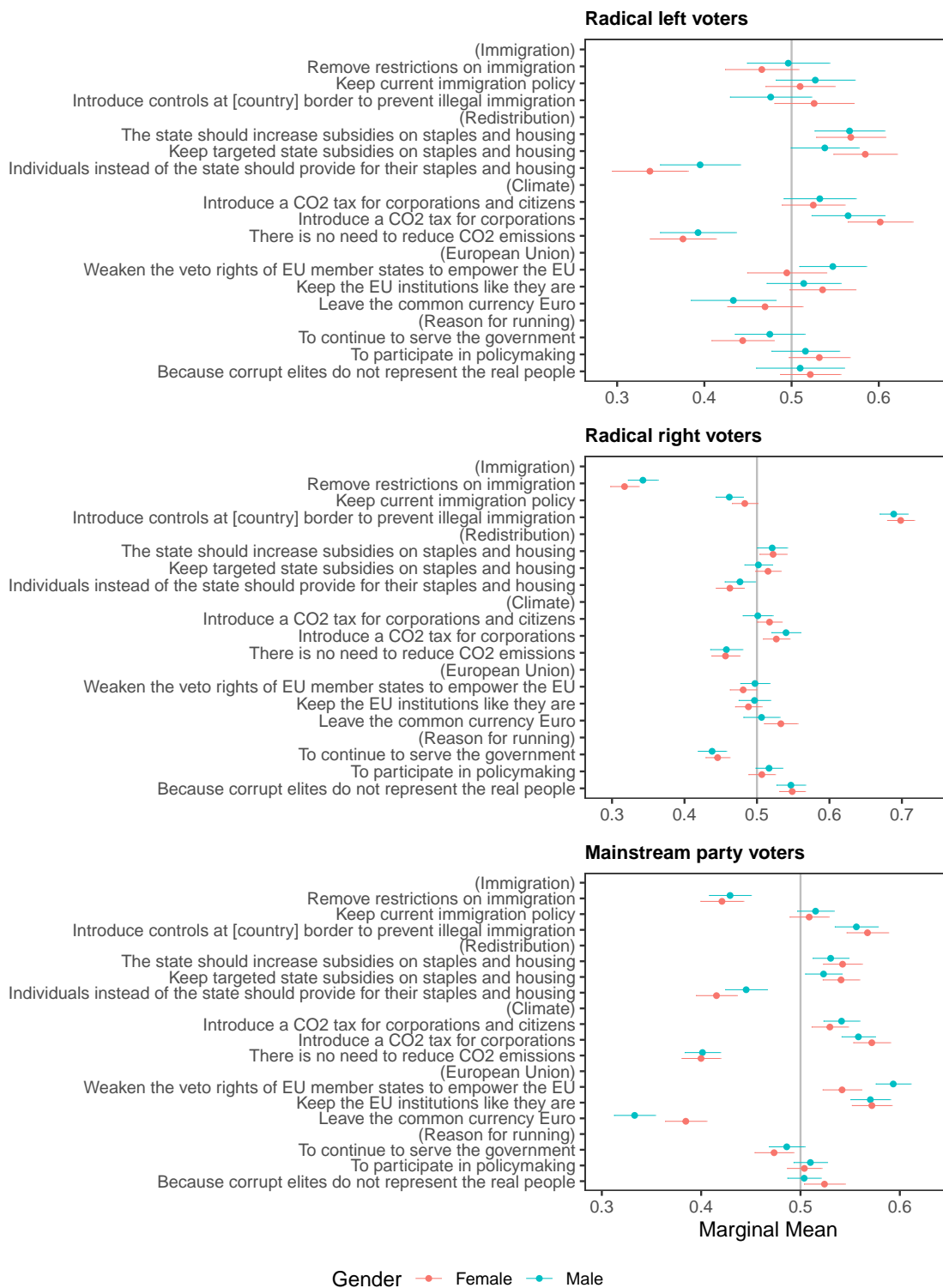


Figure A9: Issue preferences of radical left, radical right and mainstream party voters by gender.

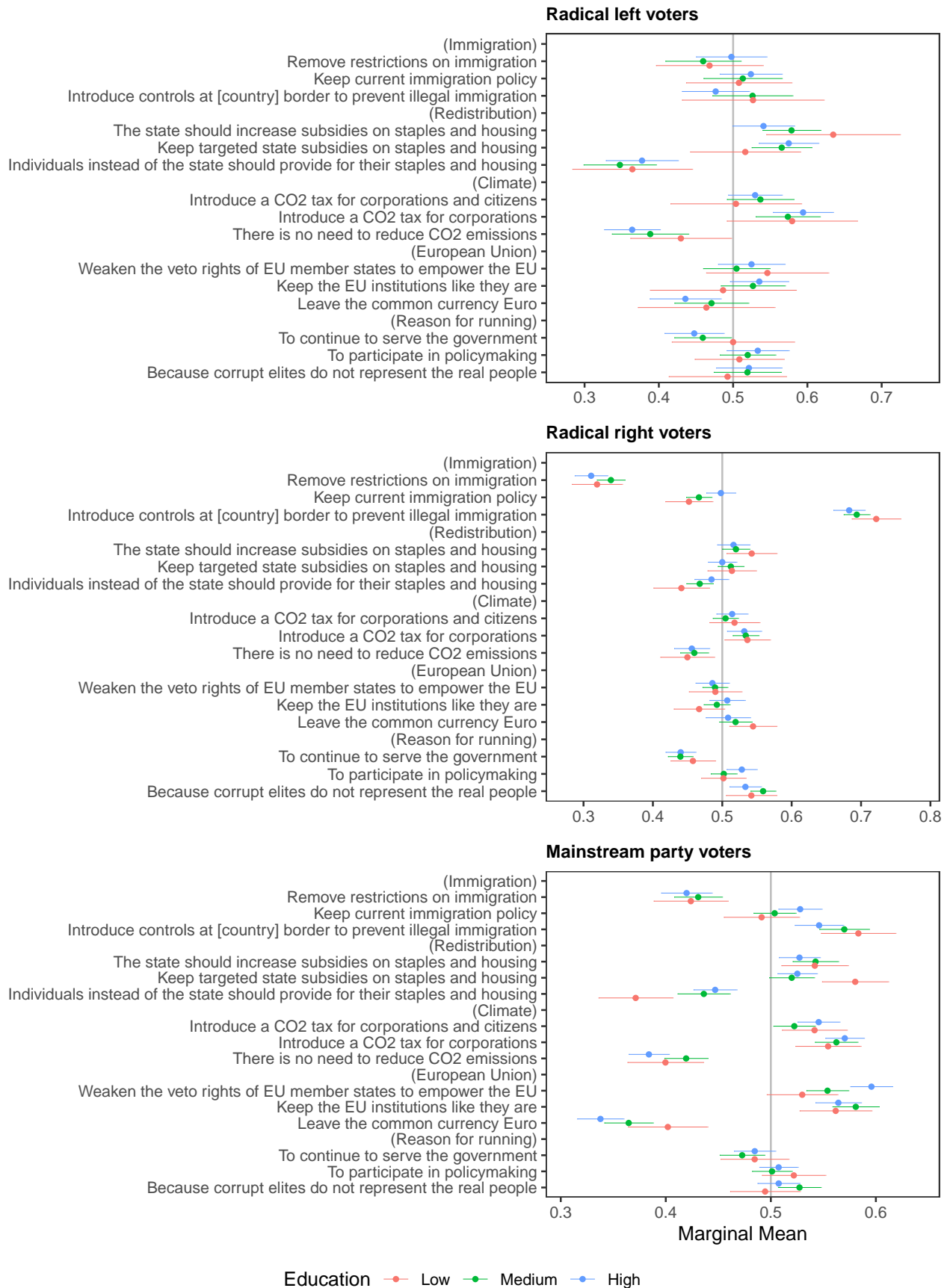


Figure A10: Issue preferences of radical left, radical right and mainstream party voters by education.

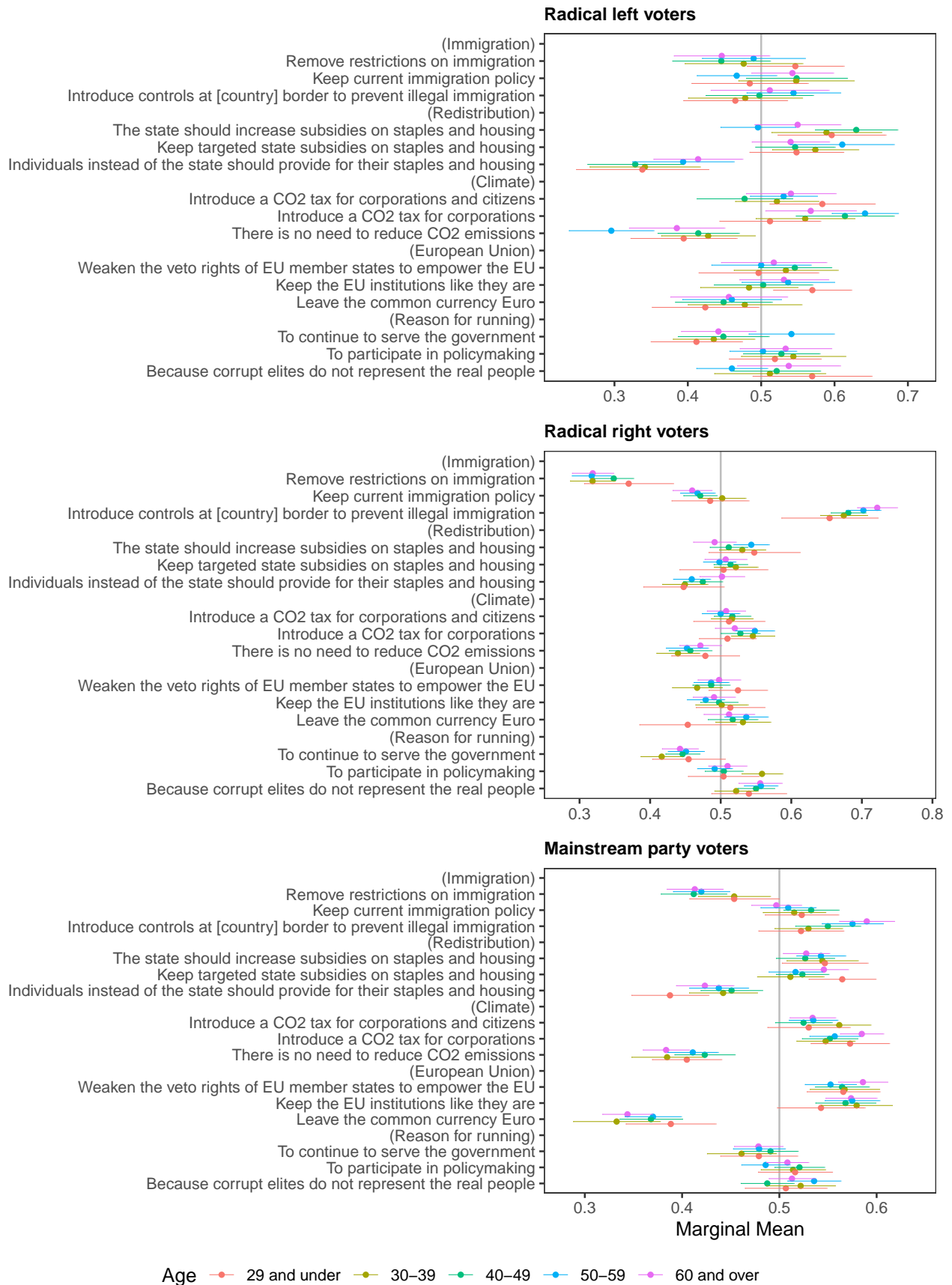


Figure A11: Issue preferences of radical left, radical right and mainstream party voters by age.

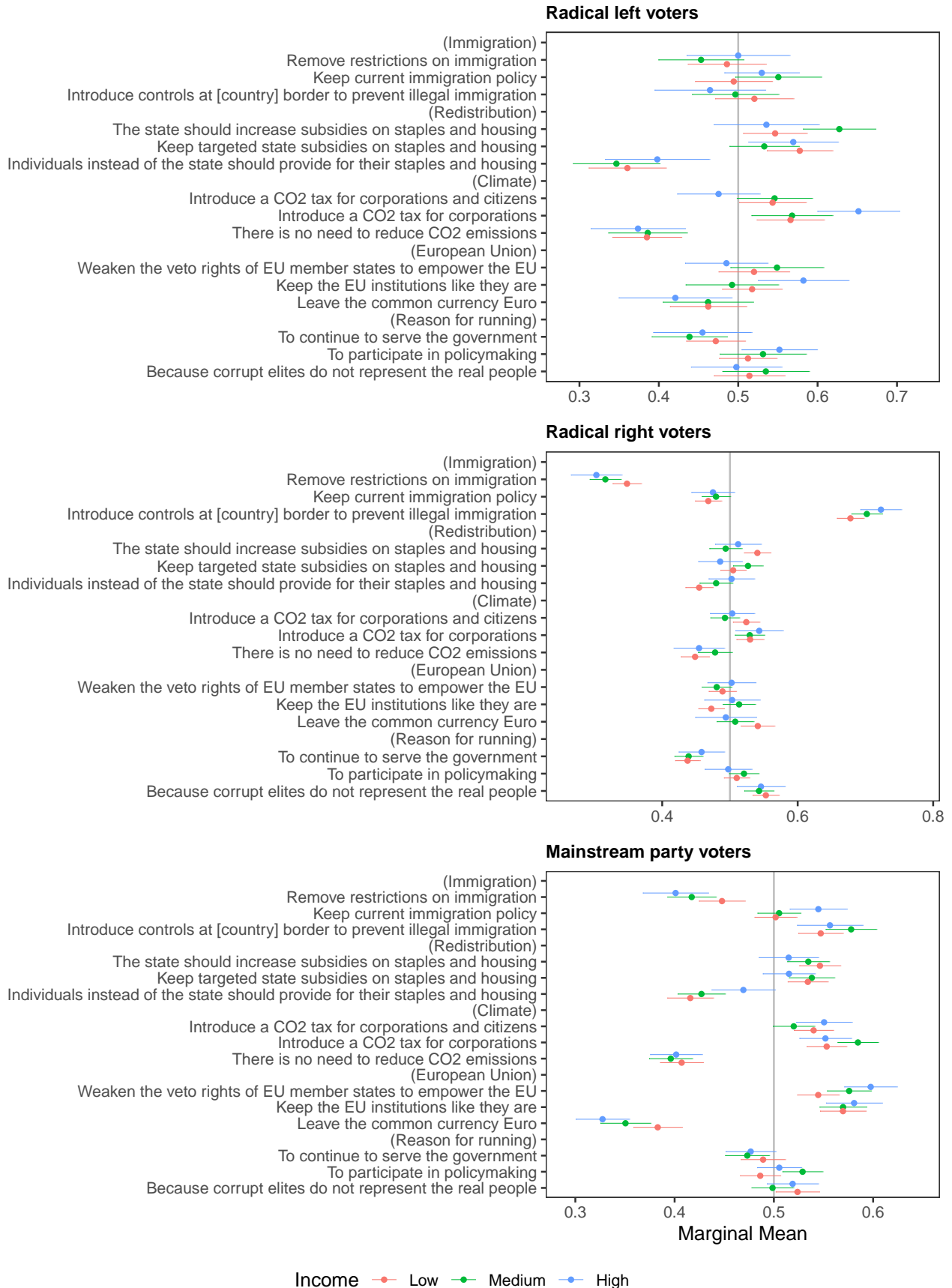


Figure A12: Issue preferences of radical left, radical right and mainstream party voters by income.

A6.3 Consistent vs. inconsistent voters

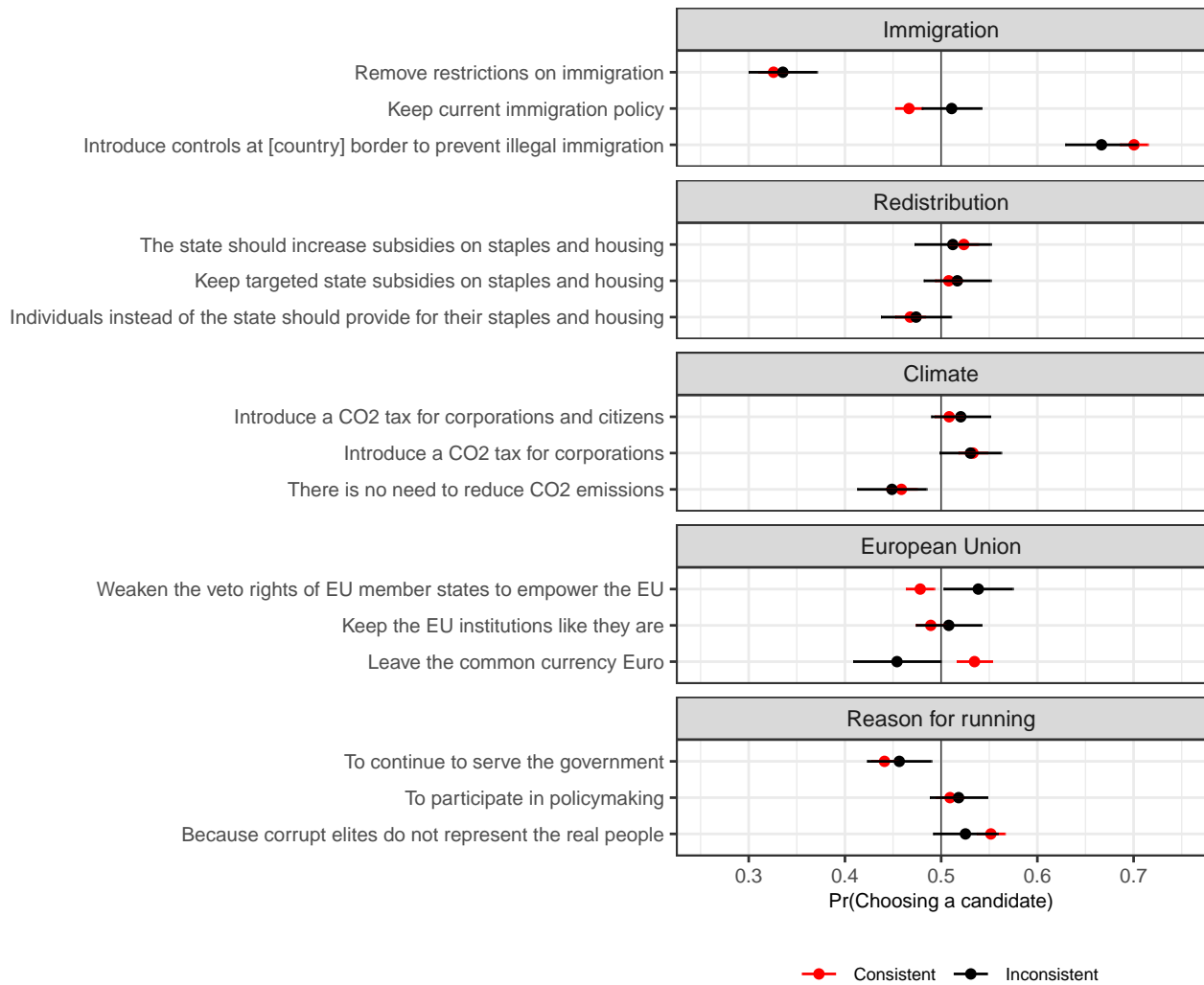


Figure A13: Consistent vs. inconsistent radical right voters.

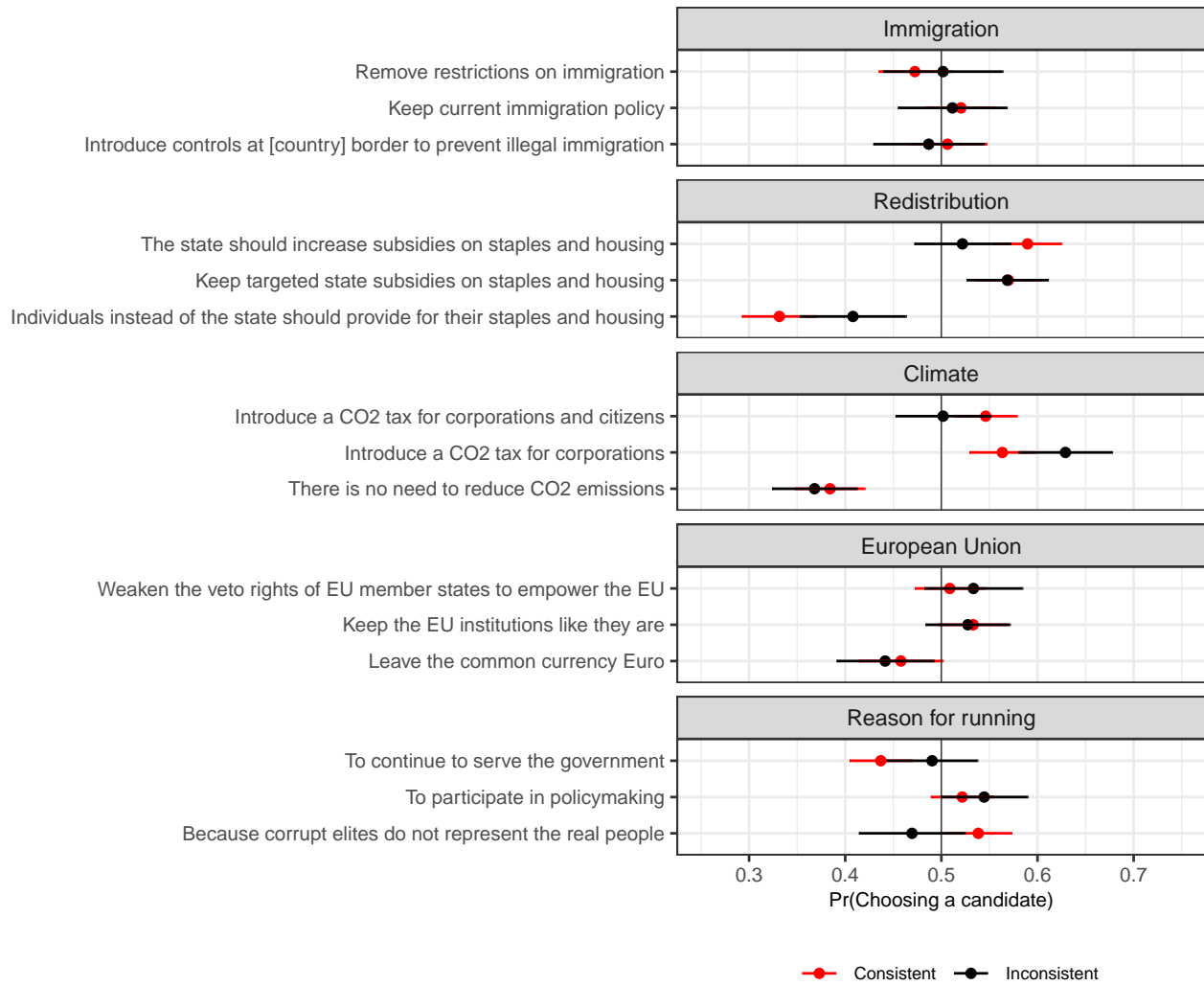


Figure A14: Consistent vs. inconsistent radical left voters.

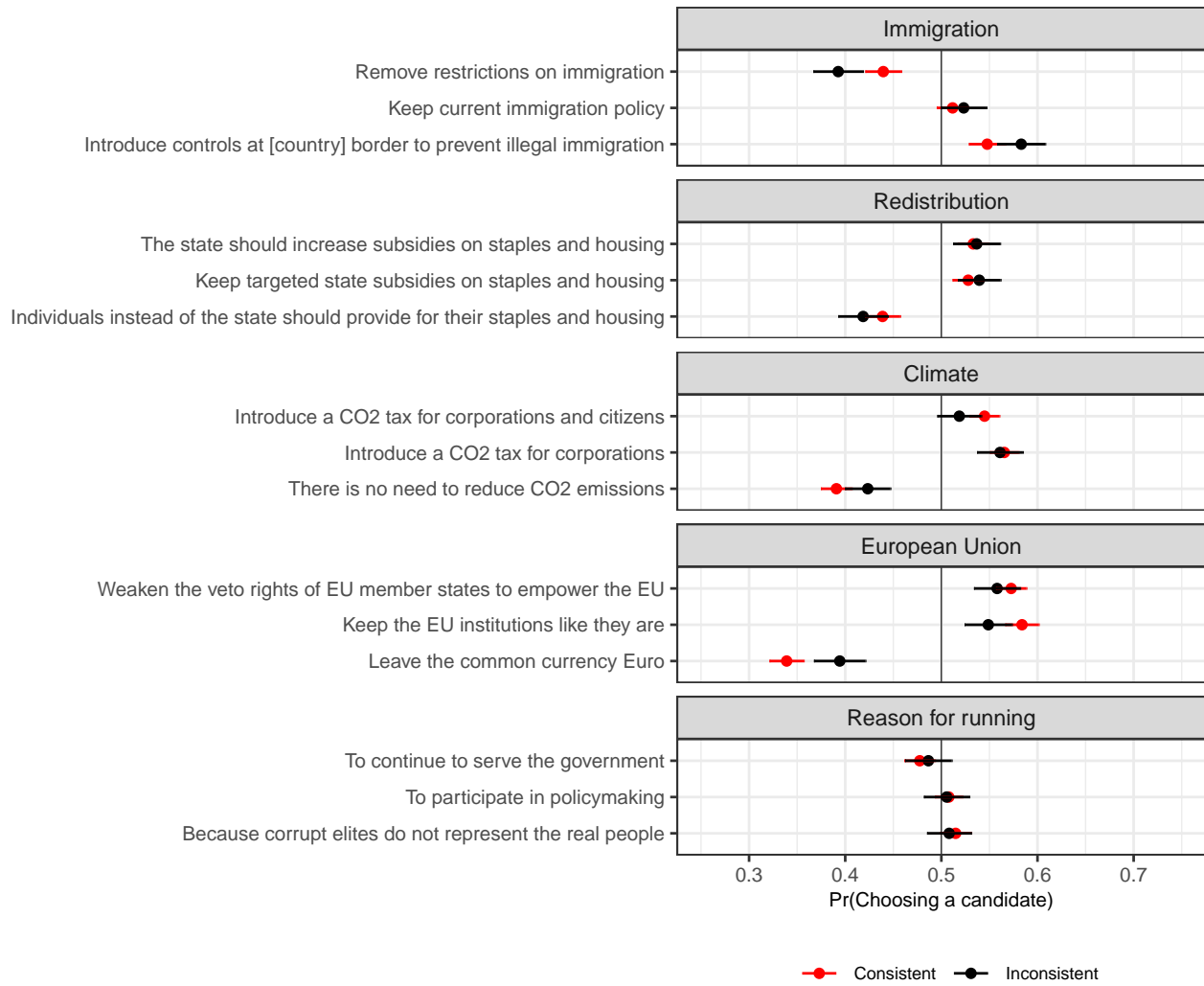


Figure A15: Consistent vs. inconsistent mainstream voters.

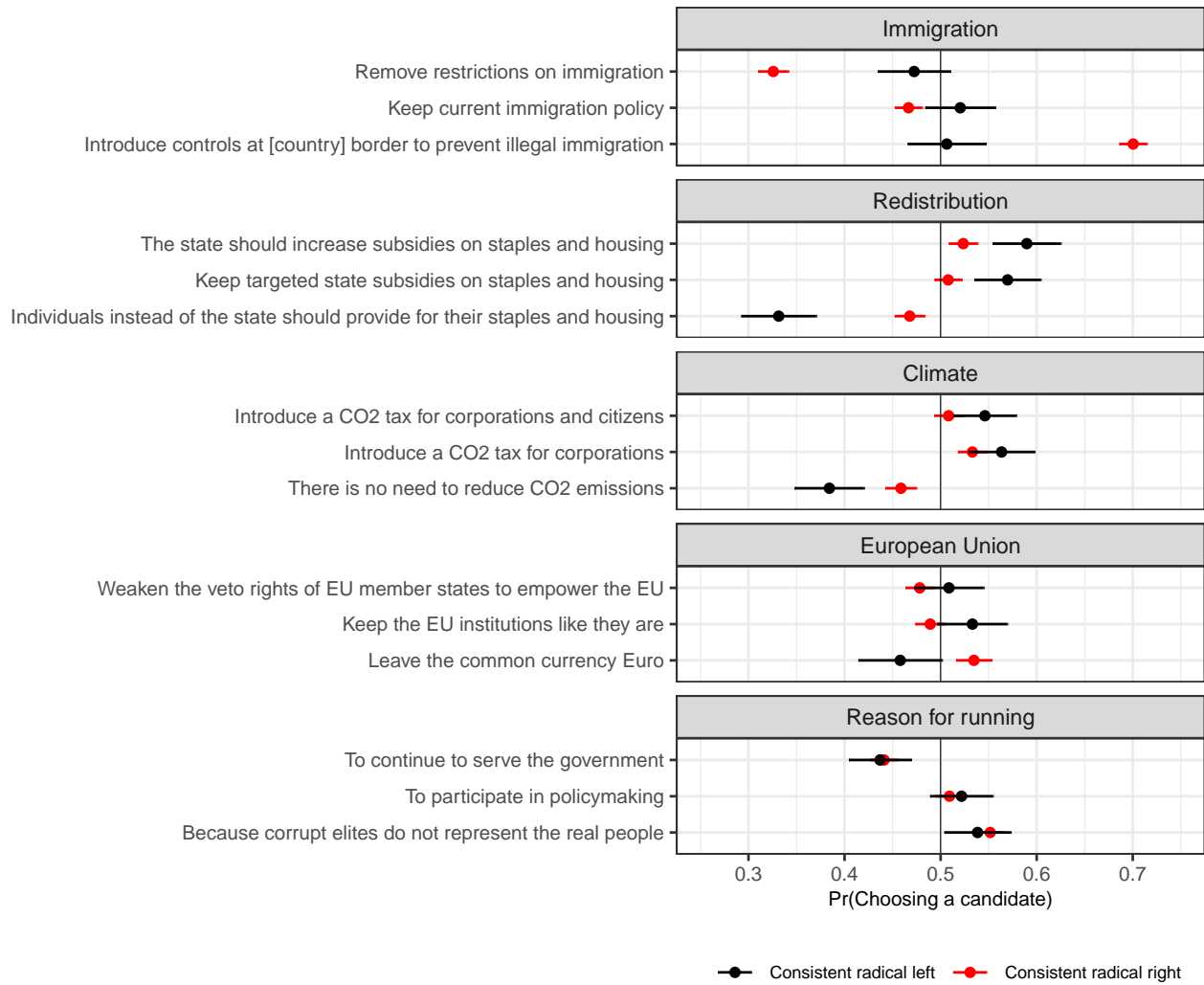


Figure A16: Consistent radical right vs. consistent radical left voters.

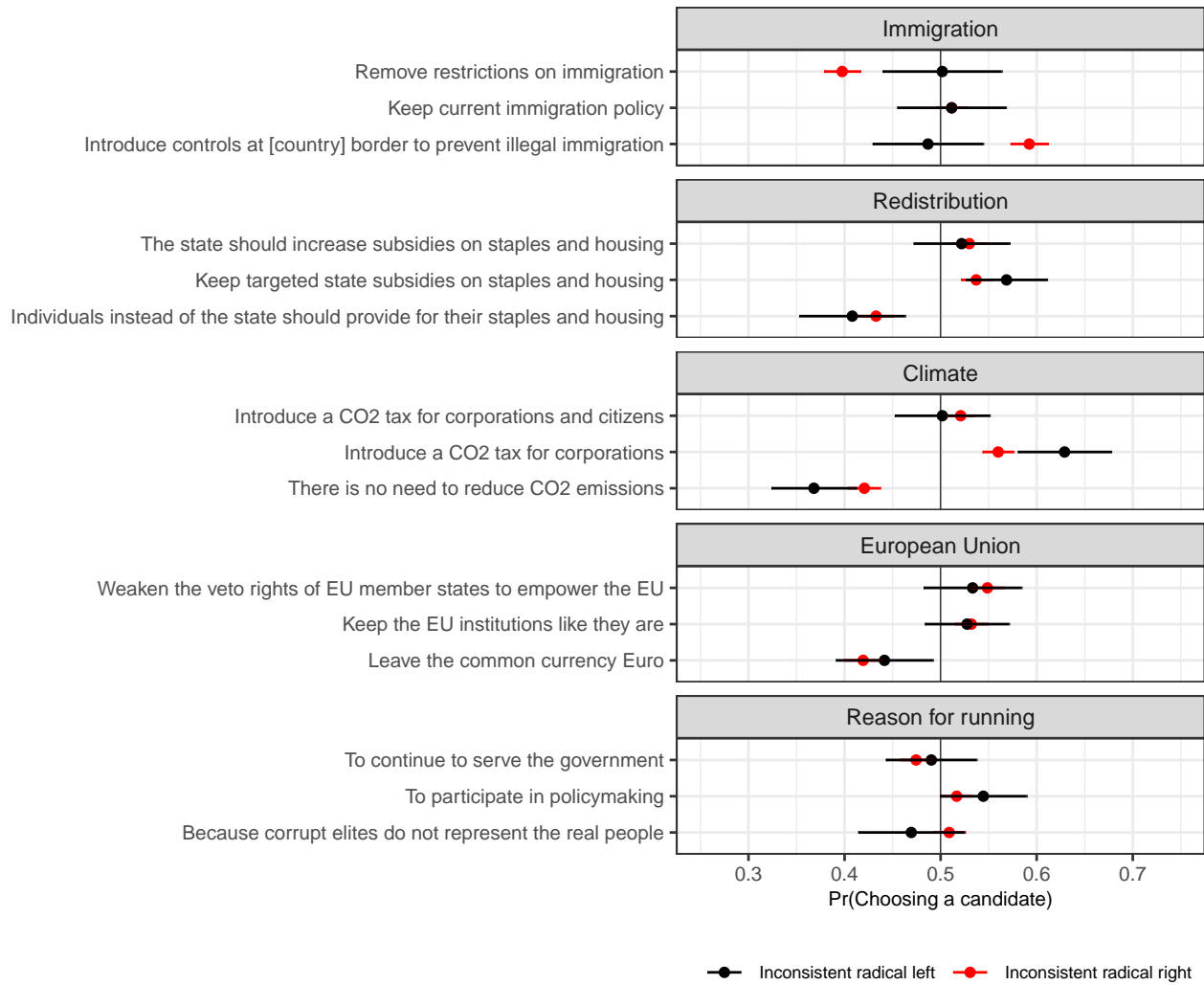


Figure A17: Inconsistent radical right vs. inconsistent radical left voters.

A6.4 Comparison with non-voters

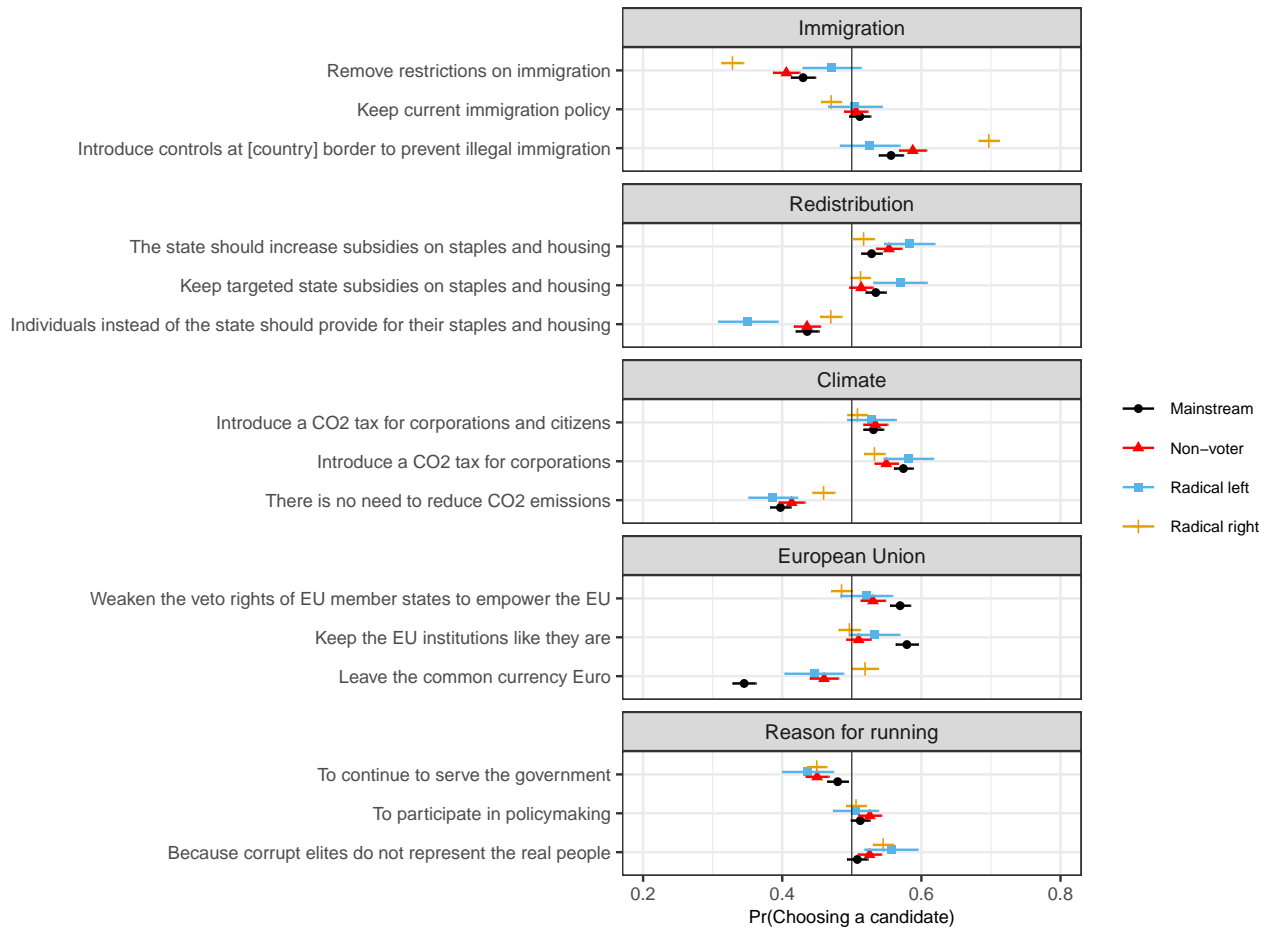


Figure A18: Regression results based on party choice or abstention in the 2019 European Parliament Election.

A6.5 Issue trade-offs when faced with the least preferred issue proposal

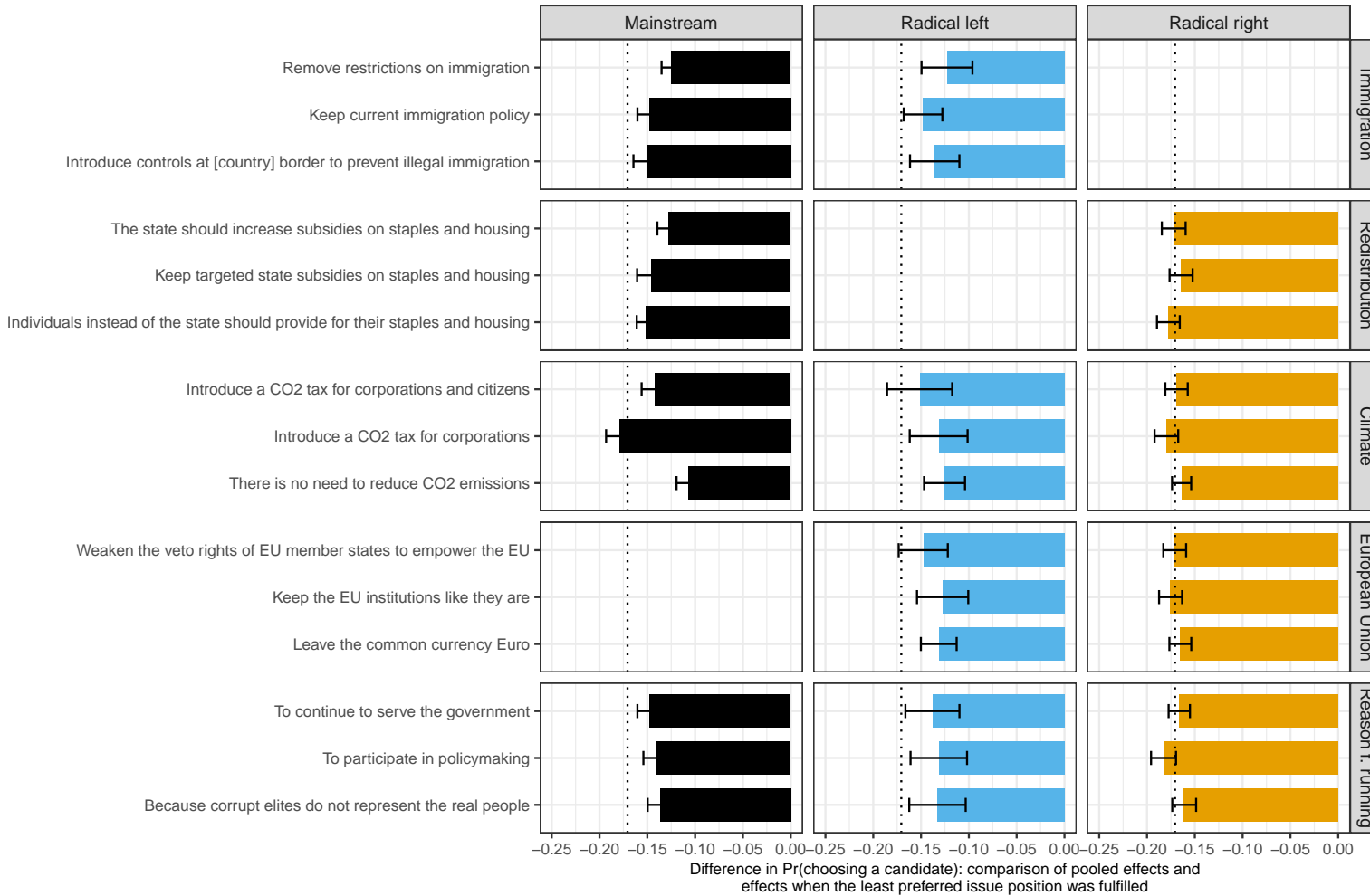


Figure A19: Difference in effect sizes for other issue proposals when the least preferred issue proposal among radical left, right, and mainstream voters was shown. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The dashed vertical line shows the mean change for radical right voters.

A6.6 Results for Green party voters

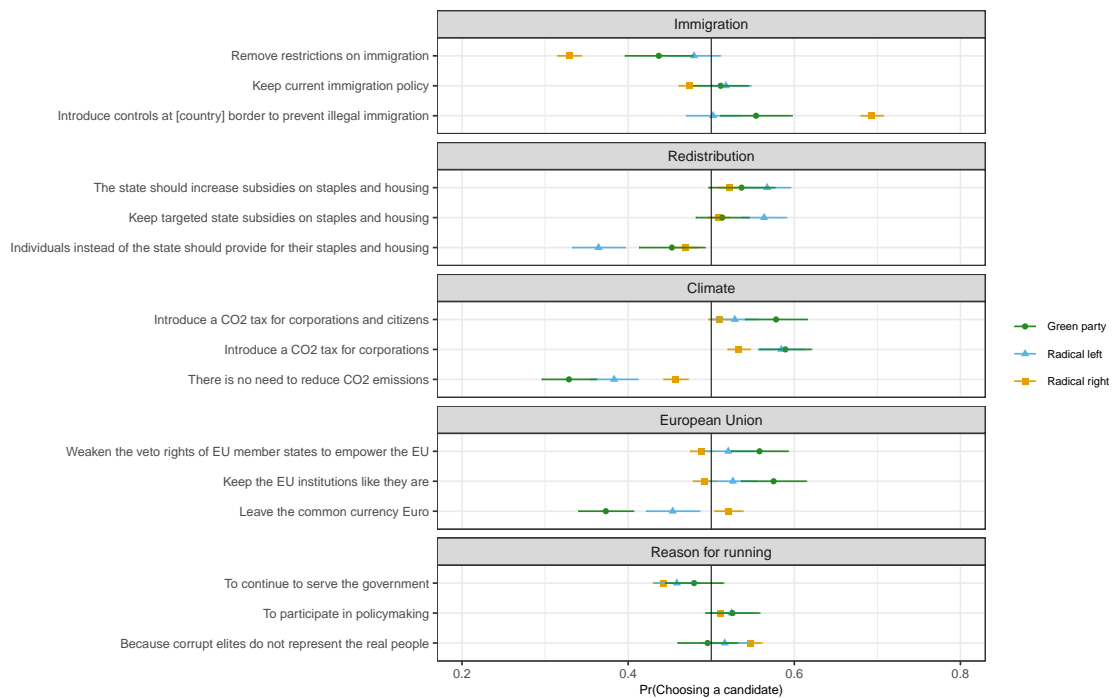


Figure A20: The effect of candidates' issue proposals on candidate choice in the conjoint survey experiment for radical left, radical right and Green party voters. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

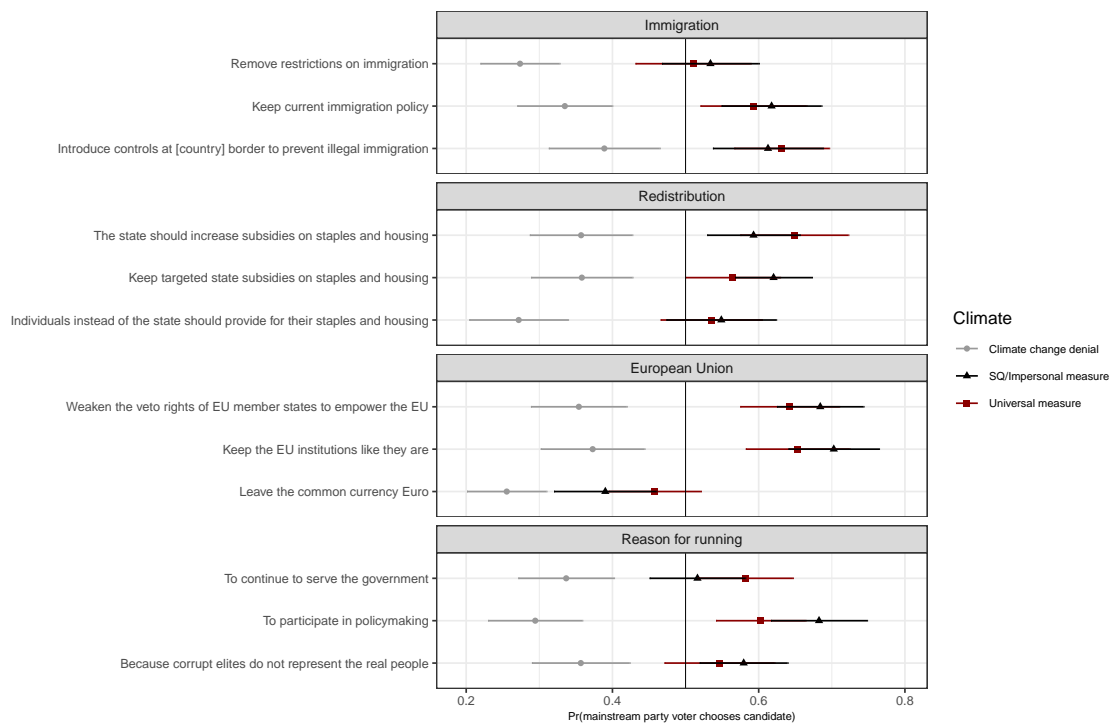


Figure A21: The effect of issue proposals on candidate choice among Green party voters holding candidates' proposals on climate. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

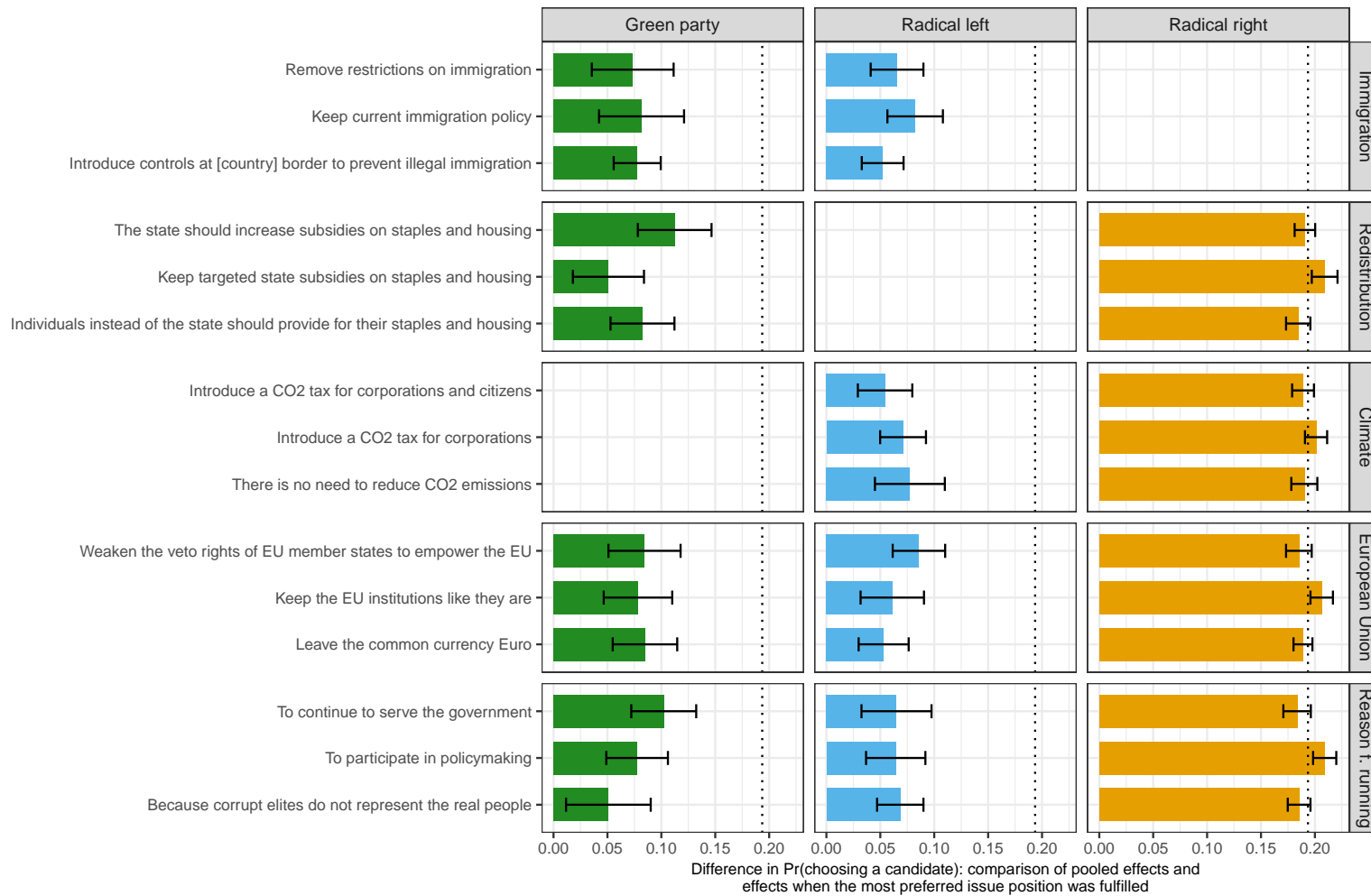


Figure A22: Difference in effect sizes for other issue proposals when the most desirable issue proposal among radical left, right, and Green party voters was shown. The dashed vertical line shows the mean change for radical right voters. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

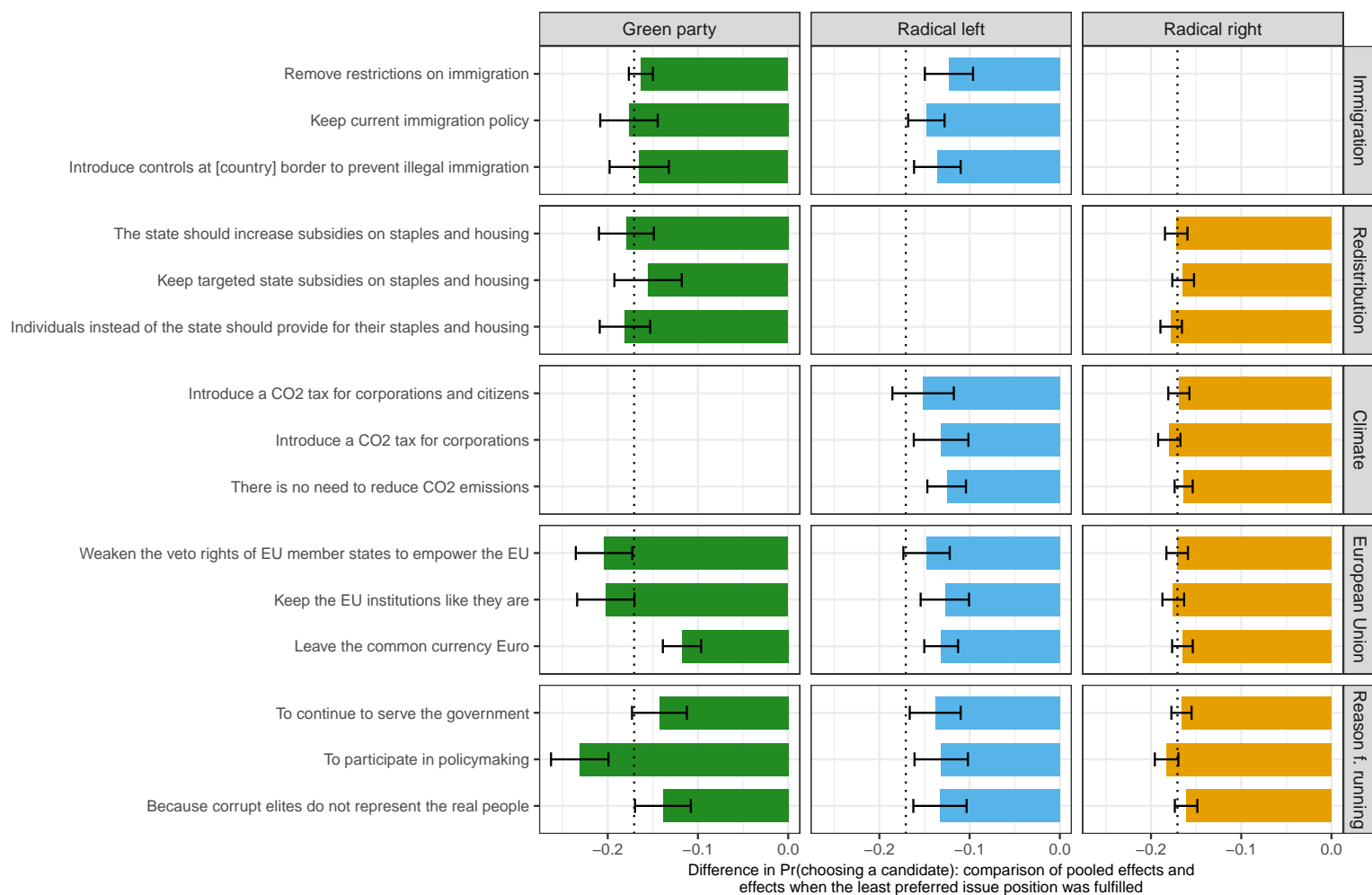


Figure A23: Difference in effect sizes for other issue proposals when the least desirable issue proposal among radical left, right, and Green party voters was shown. The dashed vertical line shows the mean change for radical right voters. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

A7 Duration of conjoint tasks

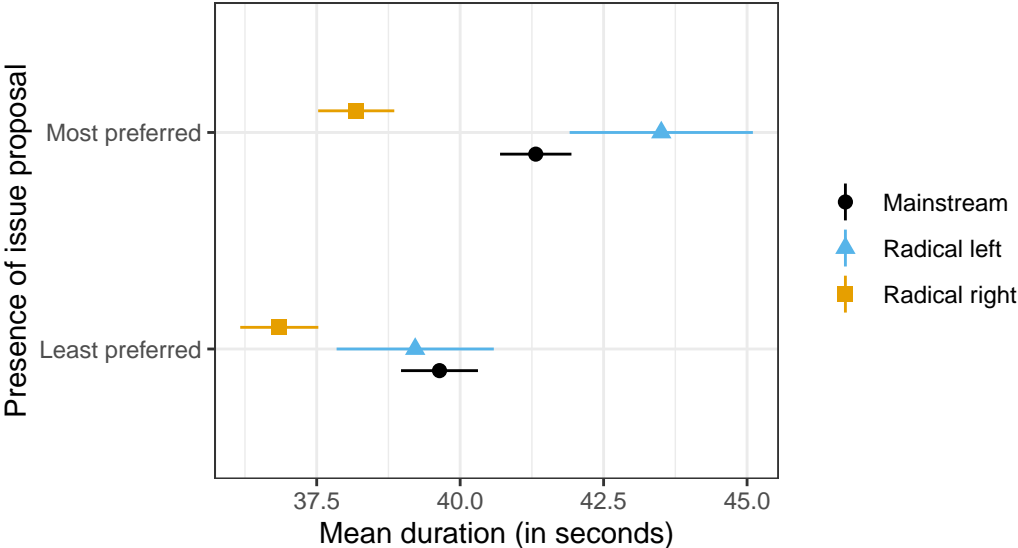


Figure A24: Mean of task duration by candidate profile and issue type. We subsetting tasks where the three groups of voters were faced with either their most desirable or least desirable issue proposals, but not both. Only tasks with less than 5 minutes (300 seconds) duration were chosen to remove outliers. However, other thresholds led to similar results. Error bars represent standard errors.

A8 Replication study with German sample

Table A10: Demographics in the German replication study (%).

Gender	Age					Education			Income		
Female	29/under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60/over	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
49.83	18.68	17.85	17.43	22.58	23.46	31.27	31.37	37.35	42.06	33.89	23.48

Note: Education levels were categorized according to ISCED.

Table A11: Count and share of voters' party family in the German replication study.

Party family	Count	Percent
Christian Democracy	782	19.47
Green/Ecologist	618	15.39
Liberal	436	10.86
Radical Left	337	8.39
Radical Right	490	12.20
Social Democracy	952	23.71

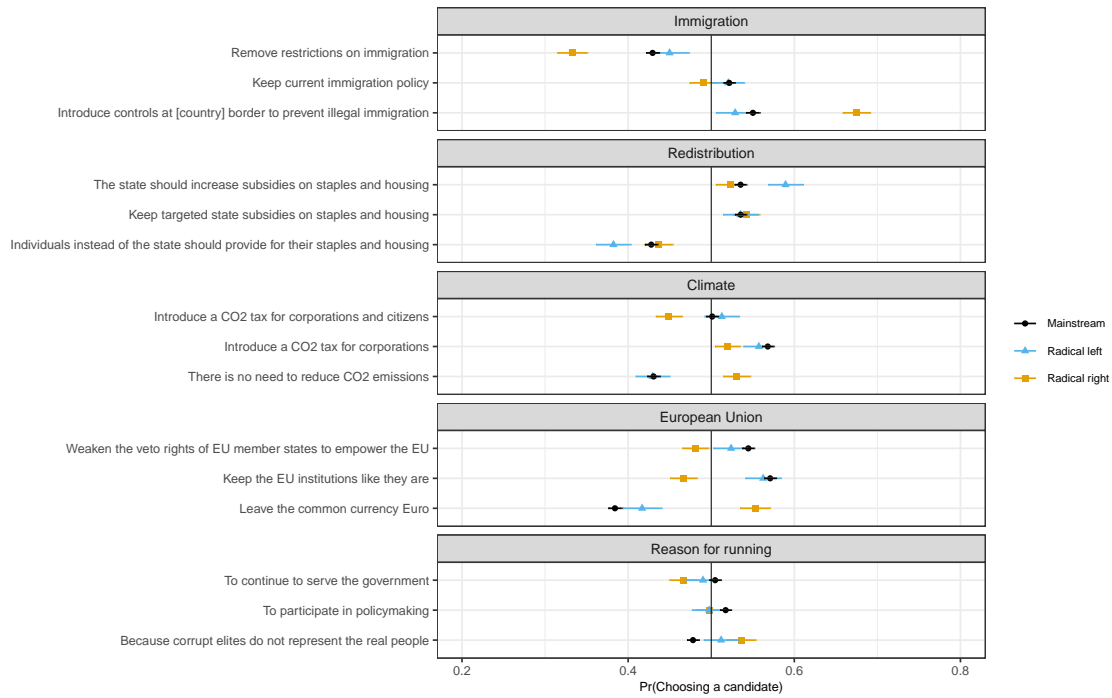


Figure A25: The effect of candidates' issue proposals on candidate choice in the conjoint survey experiment for radical left, radical right and mainstream party voters (replication of Figure 1 in main paper). German sample. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

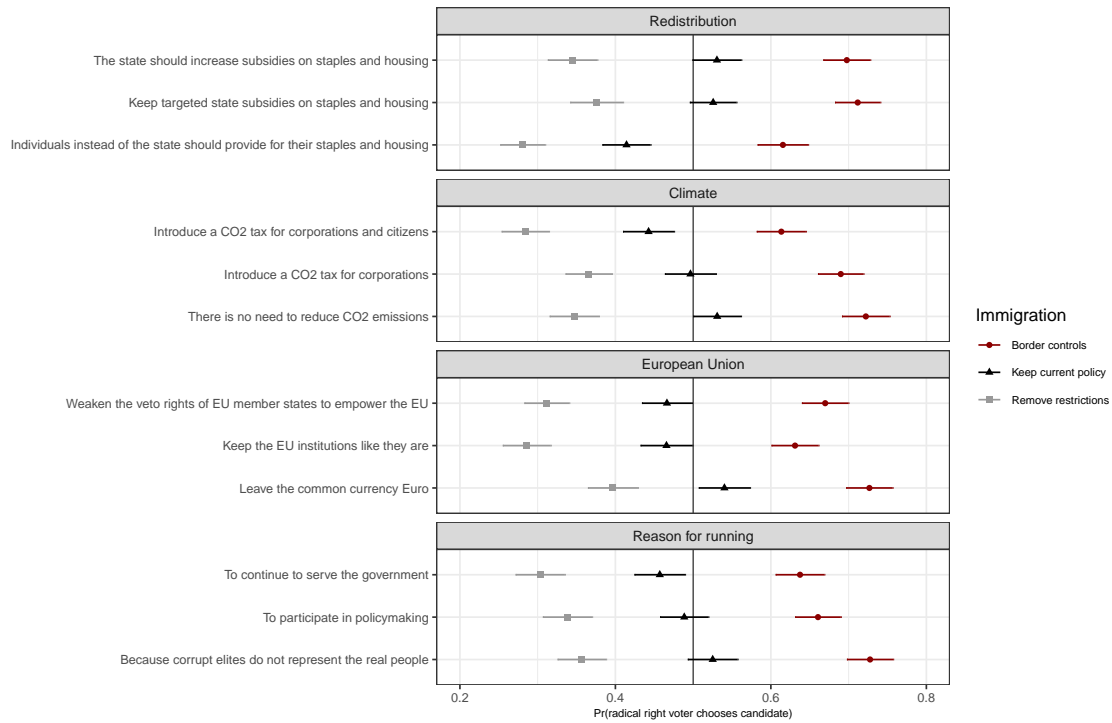


Figure A26: The effect of issue proposals on candidate choice among radical right voters holding **candidates' proposals on immigration constant**: border controls, status quo or removing restrictions (replication of Figure 2 in main paper). German sample. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

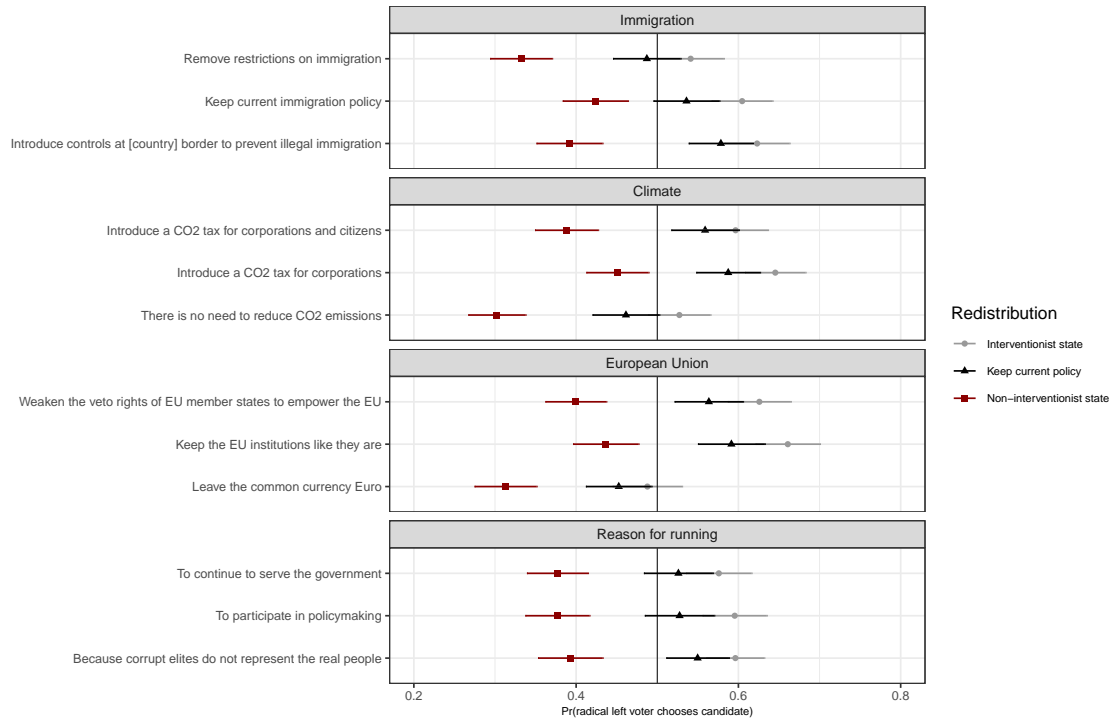


Figure A27: The effect of issue proposals on candidate choice among radical left voters holding **candidates' proposals on redistribution constant** (replication of Figure 3 in main paper). German sample. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

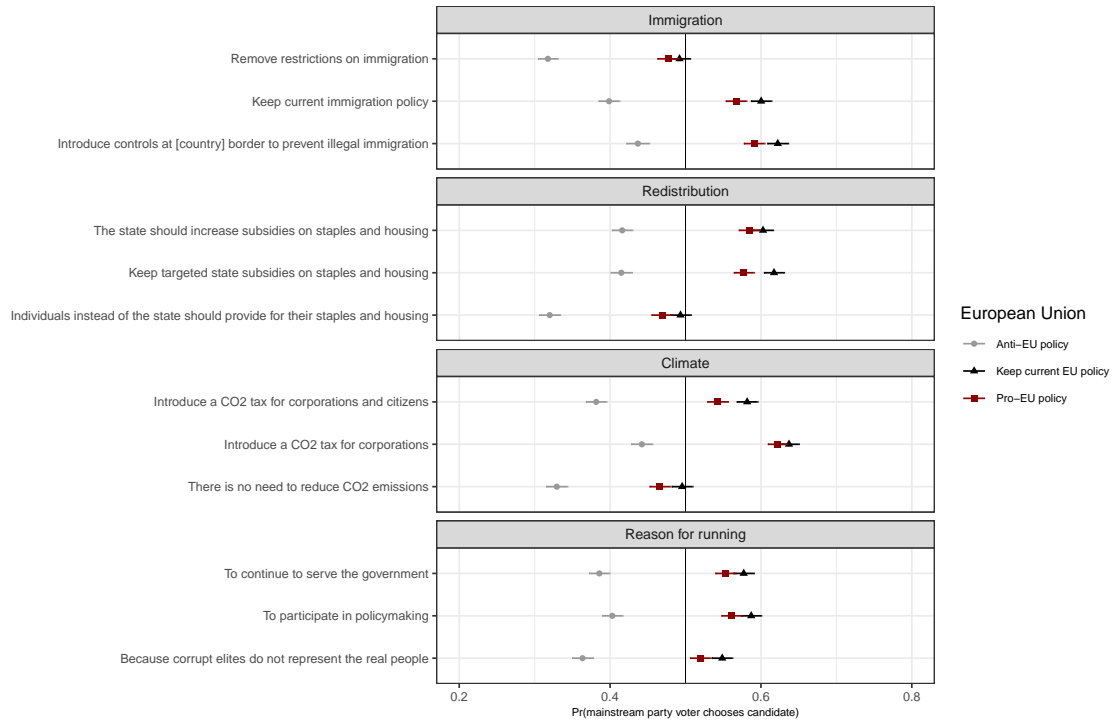


Figure A28: The effect of issue proposals on candidate choice among mainstream voters holding **candidates' proposals on the EU constant** (replication of Figure 4 in main paper). German sample. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

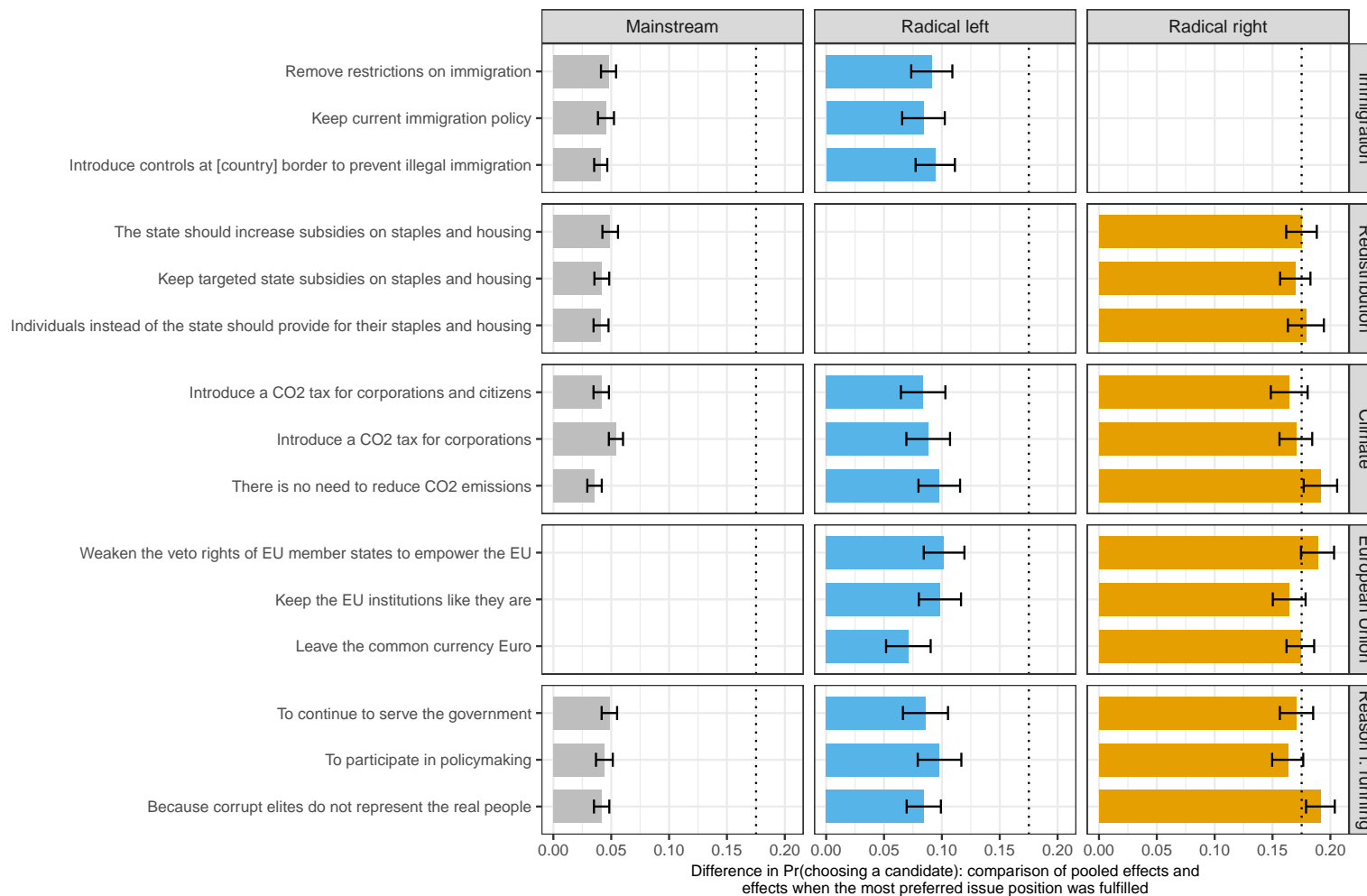


Figure A29: Difference in effect sizes for other issue proposals when the most desirable issue proposal among radical left, right, and mainstream voters was shown. The dashed vertical line shows the mean change for radical right voters (replication of Figure 5 in main paper). German sample. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

A9 Power analysis

```
# cross-country radical left sample
cjpwr_amce(amce = 0.05, n = 170*8*2, levels = 3, alpha = 0.05) %>%
  kable("latex", digits = 2)
```

power	type_s	exp_typeM	amce	n	alpha	levels	delta0
0.57	0	1.32	0.05	2720	0.05	3	0.5

```
# German replication study left sample
cjpwr_amce(amce = 0.05, n = 337*8*2, levels = 3, alpha = 0.05) %>%
  kable("latex", digits = 2)
```

power	type_s	exp_typeM	amce	n	alpha	levels	delta0
0.85	0	1.09	0.05	5392	0.05	3	0.5

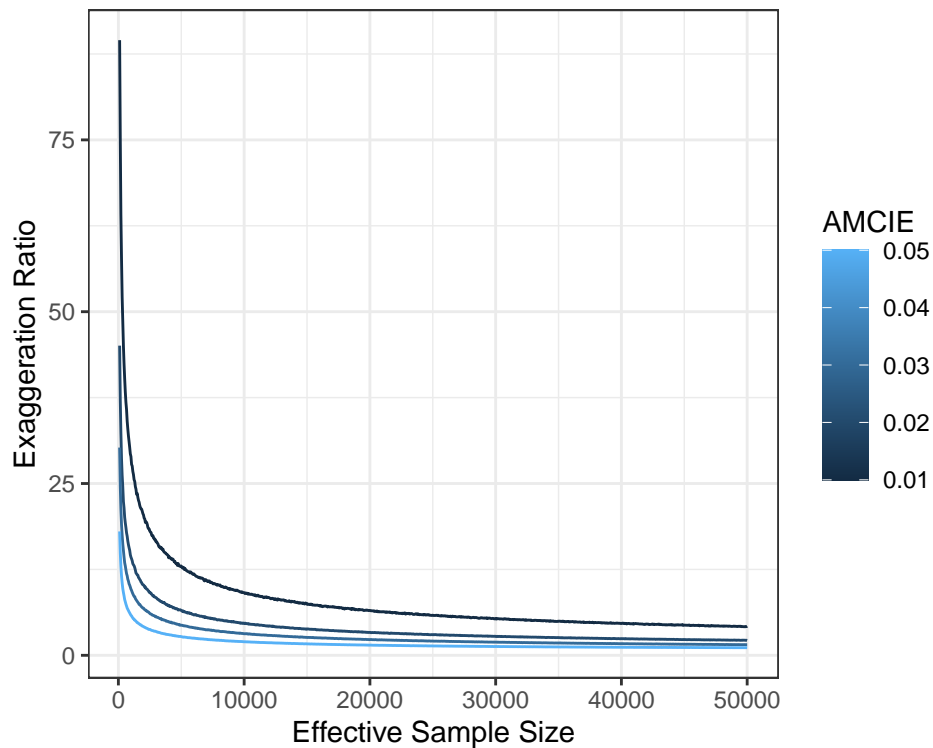


Figure A30: Exaggeration ratio by sample size and effect size (AMCIE). The plot shows that the exaggeration ratio in the estimation of conjoint experiments is low under AMCIE=0.05, even with smaller samples. Effective sample size refers to the number of rated tasks (i.e., profile comparisons).

A10 R session information and used R packages

This document was built using R Markdown with the following environment and used R packages:

```
## R version 4.2.1 (2022-06-23)
## Platform: x86_64-apple-darwin17.0 (64-bit)
## Running under: macOS Big Sur ... 10.16
##
## Matrix products: default
## BLAS: /Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Versions/4.2/Resources/lib/libRblas.0.dylib
## LAPACK: /Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Versions/4.2/Resources/lib/libRlapack.dylib
##
## locale:
## [1] en_US.UTF-8/en_US.UTF-8/en_US.UTF-8/C/en_US.UTF-8/en_US.UTF-8
##
## attached base packages:
## [1] stats      graphics  grDevices  utils      datasets  methods   base
##
## other attached packages:
## [1] cjpowR_1.0.0          quanteda.textplots_0.94.1
## [3] stringr_1.4.1        dplyr_1.0.10
## [5] purrr_0.3.4          tidyr_1.2.1
## [7] tibble_3.1.8         tidyverse_1.3.2
## [9] forcats_0.5.2        readtext_0.81
## [11] readr_2.1.2          quanteda_3.2.3
## [13] cregg_0.4.0          xtable_1.8-4
## [15] ggalt_0.4.0          openxlsx_4.2.5
## [17] ggpubr_0.4.0         ggplot2_3.3.6
## [19] gridExtra_2.3        janitor_2.1.0
## [21] stargazer_5.2.3     kableExtra_1.3.4
## [23] tinytex_0.41         knitr_1.40
## [25] easypackages_0.1.0
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A11 References

- Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2019. “Parliaments and Governments Database (ParlGov): Information on Parties, Elections and Cabinets in Modern Democracies. Development Version.” <http://www.parlgov.org>.
- European Commission. 2019. “Eurobarometer 91.2 (2019).” GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA7562 Datafile Version 1.0.0. <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.13318>.
- Rooduijn, Matthijs, Stijn van Kessel, Caterina Froio, Andrea Pirro, Sarah de Lange, Daphne Halikiopoulou, Paul Lewis, Cas Mudde, and Paul Taggart. 2020. “The PopuList: An Overview of Populist, Far Right, Far Left and Eurosceptic Parties in Europe.” www.popu-list.org.