

Supplementary Material

Research documentation and/or data that support the findings of this study are openly available in the APSR Dataverse at doi:10.7910/DVN/YUFLFF

Section 1 – Elite survey: Response rates and representativeness of the data

We surveyed members of parliament (MPs) from Belgium (Flanders and Wallonia-Brussels separately¹), Canada, Germany and Switzerland. In each country, *national* MPs were surveyed between March 2018 and September 2019. In Belgium, Canada and Switzerland, we also surveyed *regional* MPs.²

In Belgium, Canada and Switzerland, *all* MPs from the targeted populations were invited to participate in the study. In Germany, a slightly different procedure was followed because of the large size of the German Bundestag (19th legislative period), which consists of 709 members. A stratified sampling procedure was used and groups of politicians were contacted in several rounds. Sampling and contacting were terminated after 79 interviews were done— at that moment, 511 politicians had been contacted.

Politicians completed a questionnaire on a computer brought by the interviewer who was present in the room, so we are sure that politicians themselves answered the questions and not their staffers. The interviewer did not observe the answers, though, to lessen politicians' feeling of being monitored.

Table A1.1 below reports the number of estimations of public opinion (for general public opinion, electoral district opinion and party electorate opinion). And Table A1.2 shows the representativeness of the data on several key characteristics: gender, age and seniority. The table shows that, some (substantively small) deviations notwithstanding, our data are representative for the full population.

Further information about the data collection is available from the authors upon request.

¹ We treat the two major parts of Belgium—the Dutch-speaking part (region Flanders) and the French-speaking part (region Wallonia)—as two distinct political systems. This makes sense because they have entirely separate party systems with Dutch-speaking parties competing only in Flanders and the French-speaking parties competing only in Wallonia. Also the media system is fully distinct, and public opinions are divergent (see e.g. Deschouwer, 2009). A third region (region Brussels, the bilingual capital) has mostly Francophone representatives but also some Dutch-speaking ones. We only interviewed French-speaking MPs in Brussels, however, and treated them as part of the French-speaking system. For the sake of simplicity, we refer to 'Flanders' and 'Wallonia'.

² In contrast to many other countries, ministers in Belgium are not members of parliament. The vast majority of them are elected in parliament but once they are appointed in government, they are temporarily replaced by a substitute as long as they sit in government. Yet, since they are initially elected MPs, we also include them in our study.

Table A1.1: Number of politicians and estimations per type of public opinion³

	General public opinion (Belgium, Canada and Germany)	Electoral district opinion (Switzerland)	Party electorate opinion (All countries)
Total number of politicians interviewed	498	368	866
Total number estimations made by politicians	3,863	2,796	6,660
Total number of politicians' interviews used in the Letter	498	368	851
Total number estimations made by politicians and used in the Letter	1,537	899	2,436

Table A1.2: Representativity of all MPs who were interviewed within the POLPOP survey of politicians in comparison with the full MPs population for gender, age and political experience⁴.

	Flanders		Canada		Germany	
	<i>Cooperated (N = 179)</i>	<i>Population (N = 233)</i>	<i>Cooperated (N = 80)</i>	<i>Population (N = 458)</i>	<i>Cooperated (N = 79)</i>	<i>Population (N = 709)</i>
Female	66 (37%)*	97 (42%)	31 (39%)	140 (31%)	20 (25%)	219 (31%)
Age in years (SD)	48.0 (8.7)	48.6 (9.1)	52.3 (12.3)	52.2 (11.9)	50.2 (10.8)	49.4 (10.1)
Political experience in years (SD)	10.1 (6.9)	10.5 (7.5)	6.3 (8.7)	6.0 (6.7)	4.9 (5.8)	6.0 (6.7)

(continued)

	Switzerland		Wallonia	
	<i>Cooperated (N = 368)</i>	<i>Population (N = 495)</i>	<i>Cooperated (N = 160)</i>	<i>Population (N = 214)</i>
Female	116 (31%)	158 (32%)	54 (34%)	73 (34%)
Age in years (SD)	51.3 (11.3)*	52.1 (11.0)	51.2 (10.4)	51.6 (10.3)
Political experience in years (SD)	9.9 (7.9)*	11.0 (8.6)	10.9 (7.9)	11.5 (8.5)

Note. * Means that the characteristic is a significant predictor of whether a politician participated in the survey (result from logistic regression analysis; $p < .05$)

³ Table A1.1 was produced manually by the authors and is therefore not to be found in the replication code available on APSR Dataverse.

⁴ Table A1.2 was produced manually by the authors and is therefore not to be found in the replication code available on APSR Dataverse.

We also assess the data based on cooperation rates per party. Because full confidentiality was promised to the participating politicians and parties regarding their participation in the project, Table A1.3 lists the cooperation rates in anonymized form. It becomes clear that participation varied somewhat between parties. There is, however, no strong ideological bias in the dataset. We analyzed, for the full population of respondents, whether the ideological position of a politician (left-right score, taken from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2014) is related to their participation. The correlations are overall low and insignificant. Only in Switzerland is the correlation ($r = .15$) significant (right-wing politicians participated slightly less) but note that even for the least-cooperating party, the response rate was 58% here. All in all, we find proof that all main parties and ideologies, in all countries, are represented in substantive numbers in the dataset.

Table A1.3 Cooperation rates per party⁵

	Canada	Flanders	Germany	Switzerland	Wallonia
Party A	40%	93%	18%	90%	93%
Party B	25%	89%	17%	83%	85%
Party C	16%	84%	13%	83%	75%
Party D	16%	82%	12%	83%	73%
Party E	0%	74%	10%	78%	67%
Party F		67%	7%	78%	63%
Party G			4%	73%	
Party H				69%	
Party I				63%	
Party J				60%	
Party K				58%	
Others (parties with max. 3 seats + independents)	0%	20%	0%	86%	75%
Correlation between left-right score and cooperation	-.07	-.12	.03	-.15	.00
N (cooperated)	80	179	79	368	160

Note. Letters allocated to parties randomly to ensure anonymity; party A in one parliament is not the same party (family) as party A in another parliament. For Germany, cooperation rates based on the parliament with 709 MPs (although only 511 were contacted).

⁵ Table A1.3 was produced manually by the authors and is therefore not to be found in the replication code available on APSR Dataverse.

Section 2 – Selection of statements and question wording

In the interviews, politicians were presented with a set of concrete policy proposals relevant to their country. The same statements were presented to citizens in our online citizens surveys. For our study, we selected those statements that can be associated with the left-right dimension to test the hypothesis of a conservative bias (see table below). The statements used can be grouped into four clusters. A first subset of statements relates to economic redistribution and to workers' rights. A second subset of statements have been chosen in relation to one of the most salient economic issues in recent years in the four countries covered: the legal state pension age. The third subset of statements is about how to deal with immigration and the integration of migrants. Finally, in two countries (Switzerland and Canada), three policy statements are covering cultural issues like euthanasia, adoption and same-sex marriage that have structured political debates on the cultural dimension for several years. For each policy statement, politicians in Belgium, Canada and Germany were asked to assess support among the *general public* and among their *own party electorate*. Politicians in Switzerland also assessed *party electorate opinion*, and additionally *district opinion* (but not general public opinion) (wording available in APSR dataverse).

Those statements not identical in each country but were selected to be equivalent in capturing how politicians perceive public opinion. They were selected using the following procedures. Our first criterion was that issues should not be overly technical. Even without much prior knowledge, citizens (and politicians) should be able to understand what the proposals entail. Second, all proposals were present in the public realm in the country at stake; we did not invent new proposals but drew on existing debates. Third, the salience of the proposals and of the underlying issues varies systematically. To select proposals with varying salience but, at the same time, having a minimum salience level. The level of salience was evaluated on basis of pretest studies on random samples of country nationals. Pretest respondents were asked whether they agreed, disagreed or were simply undecided about a larger number of policies—undecided both including people who said they did not have an opinion and those placing themselves in the middle of the scale. We considered the share of undecided citizens as an indicator of the salience of the policy and only policies above a certain minimum threshold of salience were retained (e.g. in Flanders only the proposals of which less than 30% said they were undecided about). Policies with higher shares of undecided were considered to be non-salient and/or too technical-unknown for people to have a sensible opinion about (and for politicians to estimate these opinions). Fourth, in each country, the selected policies should represent a good deal of issue variation. They include policy proposals situated on the traditional socio-economic left-right axis (e.g. retirement age, right to strike, taxes...) as well as proposals that belong to the cultural left-right divide (e.g. immigration, life choice). Fifth, based on pretest data, we sought policy proposals varying in their distribution of public opinion support. Finally, we tried to have variations in the direction of the policy statements (towards a liberal or a conservative policy change). The full list of statements is available in the table below.

Table A2.1 – Policy proposals per country⁶

Flanders		Policy domain	Direction of statement	% citizens undecided	% citizens agree	% party electorate agree (min.-max.)
5	The right to strike should be restricted	Economy	Conservative	12.0	58.7	27.0-72.5
6	Belgium should never expel someone to a country where human rights are violated.	Immigration	Liberal	12.4	69.0	32.3-85.6
8	The retirement age may not exceed 67 years.	Pension	Status quo	3.8	91.1	89.3-95.1
Wallonia (including Brussels)						
5	The right to strike should be restricted	Economy	Conservative	7.3	55.8	39.6-76.4
6	Belgium should never expel someone to a country where human rights are violated.	Migration	Liberal	11.5	64.7	59.2-85.1
8	The retirement age may not exceed 67 years.	Pension	Status quo	3.2	81.4	80.1-88.8
Switzerland						
A4	Hospitals need to have a "Babyklappe" where parents can leave their infant anonymously.	Cultural	Liberal	8.7	70.7	69.4-79.8
A6	Switzerland should only accept well-educated immigrants.	Immigration	Conservative	11.2	33.6	9.8-57.5
A8	Taxes on high-income should be raised while taxes on low-income should be reduced.	Economy	Liberal	7.2	78.3	47.4-90.0
A9	The pension age needs to be raised to 67.	Pension	Conservative	4.7	20.6	18.2-44.7
B4	Same-sex couples who have registered their partnership should be allowed to adopt children.	Cultural	Liberal	9.0	58.9	36.8-76.1
Germany						
A3	Citizens with higher incomes should be taxed more heavily than today.	Economy	Liberal	11.1	78.3	63.9-88.9
A6	The retirement age should be raised step by step.	Pension	Conservative	4.6	21.4	4.0-25.8

⁶ Table A2.1 was produced manually by the authors and is therefore not to be found in the replication code available on APSR Dataverse.

A8	Foreign citizens' children that were born and raised in Germany should be allowed to keep their parent's citizenship in addition to the German citizenship.	Immigration	Status quo	11.9	36.4	7.8-51.2
B3	Income and wealth should be redistributed in favor of poorer people.	Economy	Status quo	12.5	72.1	60.0-91.5
B8	Declined asylum seekers should be more consequently deported.	Immigration	Conservative	9.1	91.2	75.6-98.3
Canada						
1	Canada should increase the number of immigrants it admits each year.	Immigration	Liberal	14.5	37.5	24.3-49.6
2	The government should provide a guaranteed annual income.	Economy	Liberal	12.5	74.7	55.0-84.3
6	The retirement age to receive Canada Pension Plan benefits should be raised to 70.	Pension	Conservative	8.2	15.5	14.5-17.1
8	Individuals who are terminally ill should be allowed to end their lives with the assistance of a doctor.	Cultural	Liberal	12.9	85.1	73.5-92.4

Section 3 – Population survey: Response rates, representativeness and weights

Table A3.1 – Survey company, timing and sample size by country⁷

	Survey company	Survey timing	Sample size	Minimum number of citizens who gave own opinion on policy proposal ^b
Canada	Qualtrics	June 2019	1,012	876
Flanders	Survey Sampling International (SSI)	Feb-March 2018	2,389	2,058
Germany	YouGov	Oct 2018	1,520	746
Switzerland	FORS ^a	May-July 2018	4,677	2,260
Wallonia	Survey Sampling International (SSI)	Feb-March 2018	2,371	1,966

^a In Switzerland, a probability sample of 10,261 citizens was drawn (excl. canton of Ticino) and contacted to participate by FORS (response rate: 45.6%). In all other countries, an online survey panel was used and possible respondents were contacted until quota were met.

^b Due to missing values on the variables used to create weights and/or missing values on the policy opinions themselves, the number of ratings per policy proposal (on which we base our public opinion numbers) is typically a bit lower than the sample size. Moreover, in Germany and Switzerland citizens rated only one out of the two batches of policy proposals so the sample is divided into halves.

⁷ Table A3.1 was produced manually by the authors and is therefore not to be found in the replication code available on APSR Dataverse.

Information about weights:

To calculate the general public opinion (not in Switzerland) and electoral district opinion (only in Switzerland) weights are used. We weigh by age, gender, education and previous party vote. Note that for age, gender and education, quota were used (or, in Switzerland, a representative sample was drawn); but the weights allow to account for small remaining deviations.

In Belgium, Canada and Germany, the weighing was done with the *ipfraking* command in Stata. The weights are trimmed to avoid that individual respondents count too heavily on the outcome; an upper bound of 5 is used. Any respondent who has a missing on one of the four weighing factors, does not get a weight and is hence not included in the calculation of public opinion at the country level.

In Switzerland, weights were created using the same factors but a slightly different procedure which better accounts for the limited size of many of the Swiss the electoral districts. . First, post-stratification on the joint distribution per canton of age, gender and education. In a second step, iterative proportional fitting on the previous party vote was applied to calculate the weight. More information is available from the authors on request. The essence is the same in all countries as the same weighing factors are used.

No weights are used to calculate the opinion of a specific partisan electorate, because we do not know how other factors (e.g. gender or age) are distributed within party electorates.

Section 4 – Supplementary information for figures 1 and 2 (main text) and for figures A5.1 and A6.1 in SI

Table A4.1 Data used in FIGURE 1 in the manuscript.

This table reports the mean gap in politicians' perception of country/district public opinion and of party electorate opinion by country and policy issue. The table also reports 95% confidence intervals and sample sizes per estimate. Positive values represent a conservative overestimation; negative values – a liberal overestimation.

Estimation Type	Country	Issue	N	Mean	95% CI	
Country / District	Canada	Cultural	75	19.117	16.507	21.727
		Immigration	78	-7.227	-11.158	-3.296
		Pension	77	11.549	7.530	15.568
		Economic	78	31.214	26.466	35.963
	Flanders	Immigration	174	20.584	17.626	23.543
		Pension	176	16.394	13.173	19.614
		Economic	175	3.158	0.952	5.364
	Germany	Immigration	78	-8.977	-12.812	-5.141
		Pension	42	11.746	5.536	17.957
		Economic	78	15.940	12.221	19.658
	Switzerland	Cultural	314	14.942	12.843	17.042
		Immigration	154	15.590	12.897	18.283
		Pension	156	19.969	16.973	22.966
		Economic	155	32.206	29.521	34.891
	Wallonia	Immigration	156	5.005	2.000	8.009
		Pension	156	11.937	7.679	16.196
		Economic	155	-1.845	-4.430	0.739
	Electorate	Canada	Cultural	72	19.301	16.078

	Immigration	74	-18.370	-22.186	-14.553
	Pension	74	9.141	4.274	14.008
	Economic	74	23.322	18.811	27.833
Flanders	Immigration	172	13.523	10.052	16.994
	Pension	172	17.778	14.821	20.736
	Economic	171	1.323	-1.527	4.172
Germany	Immigration	76	-13.625	-18.004	-9.245
	Pension	41	21.066	13.407	28.726
	Economic	76	19.731	14.342	25.120
Switzerland	Cultural	328	10.603	7.952	13.254
	Immigration	163	13.747	10.452	17.042
	Pension	161	13.953	9.803	18.102
	Economic	162	17.867	14.257	21.476
Wallonia	Immigration	148	1.386	-1.781	4.554
	Pension	150	9.838	5.483	14.193
	Economic	146	-5.034	-9.296	-0.772

Table A4.2. Data used in FIGURE 2 in the manuscript.

This table reports the mean gap in politicians' perception of country/district public opinion by country and policy issue, for left-wing and right-wing politicians, based on party ideology. The table also reports 95% confidence intervals and sample sizes per estimate. Positive values represent a conservative overestimation; negative values – a liberal overestimation.

Country	Issue	Party Ideology	N	Mean	95% CI	
Canada	Cultural	Left	18	14.662	10.438	18.885
		Right	55	20.523	17.277	23.769
	Immigration	Left	19	10.628	-20.892	-0.364
		Right	57	-6.277	-10.581	-1.973
	Pension	Left	19	17.576	8.611	26.540
		Right	56	9.594	4.936	14.253
	Economic	Left	19	19.228	10.271	28.185
		Right	57	35.333	29.854	40.812
Flanders	Immigration	Left	14	33.164	25.657	40.671
		Right	160	19.484	16.375	22.592
	Pension	Left	14	19.001	4.871	33.131
		Right	162	16.168	12.839	19.497
	Economic	Left	14	4.055	-6.312	14.422
		Right	161	3.080	0.816	5.343
Germany	Immigration	Left	31	-6.739	-12.739	-0.739
		Right	47	10.452	-15.574	-5.331
	Pension	Left	17	10.898	-1.705	23.501
		Right	25	12.324	5.452	19.195

	Economic	Left	31	17.556	10.914	24.197
		Right	47	14.874	10.337	19.410
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Switzerland	Cultural	Left	142	16.008	13.122	18.893
		Right	107	13.232	9.470	16.994
	Immigration	Left	66	14.772	10.921	18.623
		Right	56	13.305	8.454	18.155
	Pension	Left	66	18.367	13.761	22.972
		Right	57	17.181	12.390	21.972
	Economic	Left	65	34.540	30.484	38.596
		Right	57	28.859	24.564	33.153
<hr/>						
Wallonia	Immigration	Left	78	4.877	0.805	8.948
		Right	78	5.133	0.622	9.644
	Pension	Left	77	12.406	6.085	18.727
		Right	79	11.481	5.622	17.340
	Economic	Left	77	-3.241	-7.131	0.648
		Right	78	-0.467	-3.937	3.003

Table A4.3 Data used in FIGURE A5.1 in the SI.

This table reports the mean gap in politicians' perception of country/district public opinion by country and policy issue, for left-wing, center, and right-wing politicians. The table also reports 95% confidence intervals and sample sizes per estimate. Positive values represent a conservative overestimation; negative values – a liberal overestimation.

Country	Issue	Party Ideology	N	Mean	95% CI	
Canada	Cultural	Centre	30	16.551	12.126	20.975
		Left	18	14.662	10.438	18.885
		Right	25	25.291	20.935	29.646
	Immigration	Centre	31	-7.051	-12.469	-1.633
		Left	19	-10.628	-20.892	-0.364
		Right	26	-5.355	-12.647	1.937
	Pension	Centre	31	6.297	0.093	12.501
		Left	19	17.576	8.611	26.540
		Right	25	13.683	6.481	20.885
	State Intervention	Centre	31	30.476	23.714	37.237
		Left	19	19.228	10.271	28.185
		Right	26	41.125	32.247	50.003
Flanders	Immigration	Centre	42	22.497	16.203	28.792
		Left	14	33.164	25.657	40.671
		Right	118	18.411	14.805	22.017
	Pension	Centre	43	17.004	10.091	23.918
		Left	14	19.001	4.871	33.131
		Right	119	15.866	12.024	19.709
State Intervention	Centre	42	2.222	-2.354	6.797	
	Left	14	4.055	-6.312	14.422	

		Right	119	3.383	0.743	6.023	
Germany	Immigration	Centre	32	-8.967	-15.550	-2.385	
		Left	31	-6.739	-12.739	-0.739	
		Right	15	-13.621	-22.302	-4.940	
	Pension	Centre	19	9.867	2.756	16.977	
		Left	17	10.898	-1.705	23.501	
		Right	6	20.104	-2.185	42.393	
	State Intervention	Centre	32	14.929	9.541	20.317	
		Left	31	17.556	10.914	24.197	
		Right	15	14.756	5.329	24.182	
Switzerland	Cultural	Centre	83	15.294	11.164	19.425	
		Left	142	16.008	13.122	18.893	
		Right	24	6.099	-2.675	14.874	
	Immigration	Centre	48	13.098	7.647	18.549	
		Left	66	14.772	10.921	18.623	
		Right	8	14.544	2.451	26.637	
	Pension	Centre	48	16.436	11.195	21.678	
		Left	66	18.367	13.761	22.972	
		Right	9	21.153	6.846	35.460	
	State Intervention	Centre	48	28.694	24.165	33.223	
		Left	65	34.540	30.484	38.596	
		Right	9	29.736	14.299	45.172	
	Wallonia	Immigration	Centre	65	5.133	0.266	10.000
			Left	78	4.877	0.805	8.948
			Right	13	5.133	-8.524	18.790

Pension	Centre	66	11.092	4.273	17.911
	Left	77	12.406	6.085	18.727
	Right	13	13.457	3.437	23.476

State Intervention	Centre	65	-0.500	-4.495	3.495
	Left	77	-3.241	-7.131	0.648
	Right	13	-0.300	-7.289	6.689

Table A4.4 Data used in FIGURE A6.1 in the SI.

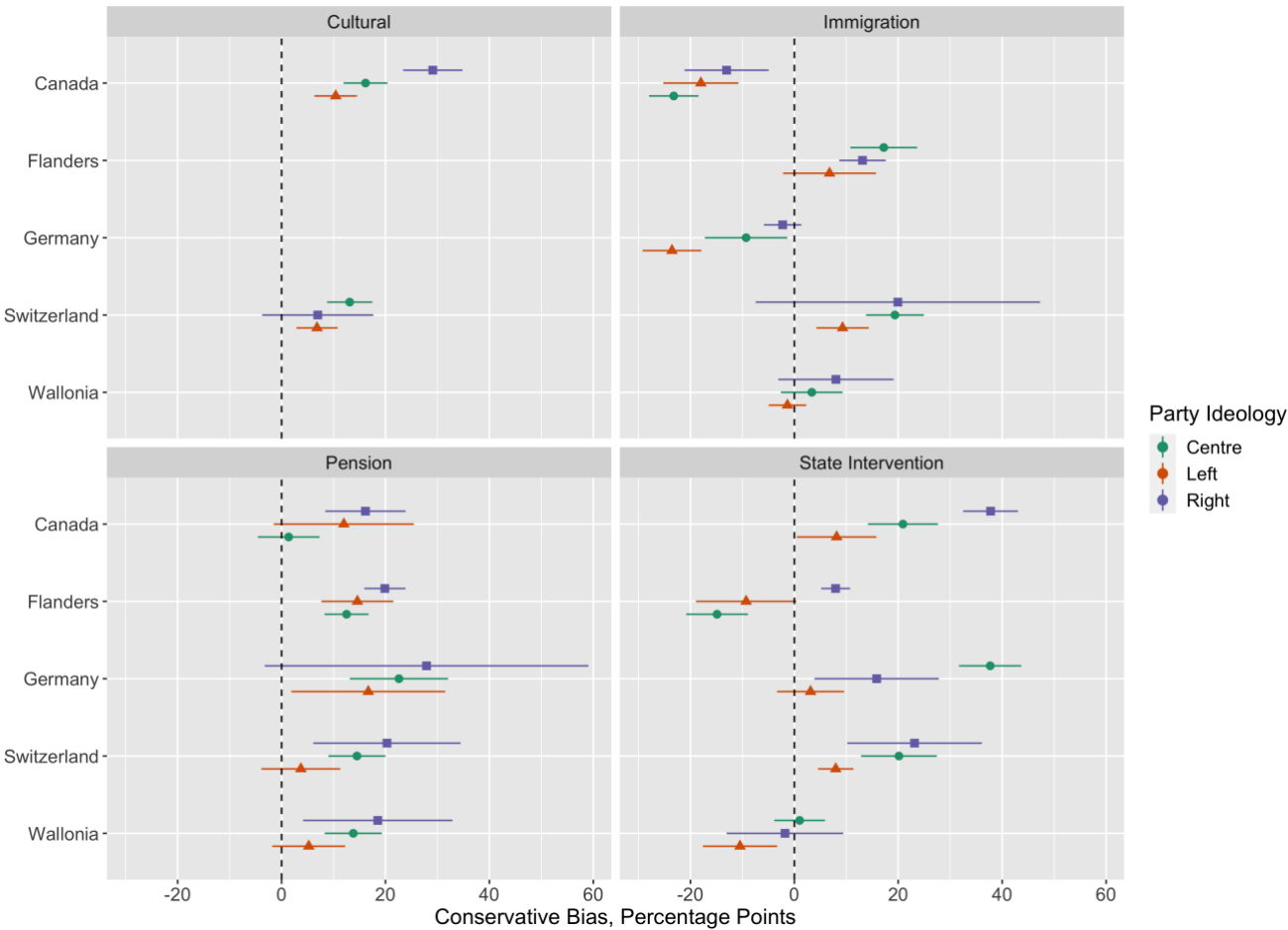
This table reports the percentage of citizens who reported signing a petition in the 12 months preceding the respective surveys, by political leaning, pooled by issue and for all issues combined.

Issue	Subgroup of Citizens	Proportion
All	Liberal	37.9%
	Conservative	34.8%
State Intervention	Liberal	38%
	Conservative	36.5%
Pension	Liberal	37.5%
	Conservative	39.9%
Immigration	Liberal	41.6%
	Conservative	33.7%
Cultural	Liberal	34.1%
	Conservative	30.2%

Section 5 – Differences between MPs from left-wing, centre and right-wing parties in their perception of public opinion

Figure A5.1 – about here

Mean country/district level conservative bias, by country (y-axis) and policy issue (color) for left-wing (circle), centre (square) and right-wing (triangle) politicians. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals of the estimates. Estimates are mean values for all politicians and statements for a given issue/country.



Section 6 – Differences in political activism between citizens holding conservative and liberal positions on policy statements

Figure A6.1

Mean share of citizens who signed a petition over the past 12 months (y-axis) for citizens holding a conservative (circles) and a liberal (triangles) position, by policy domain (color)

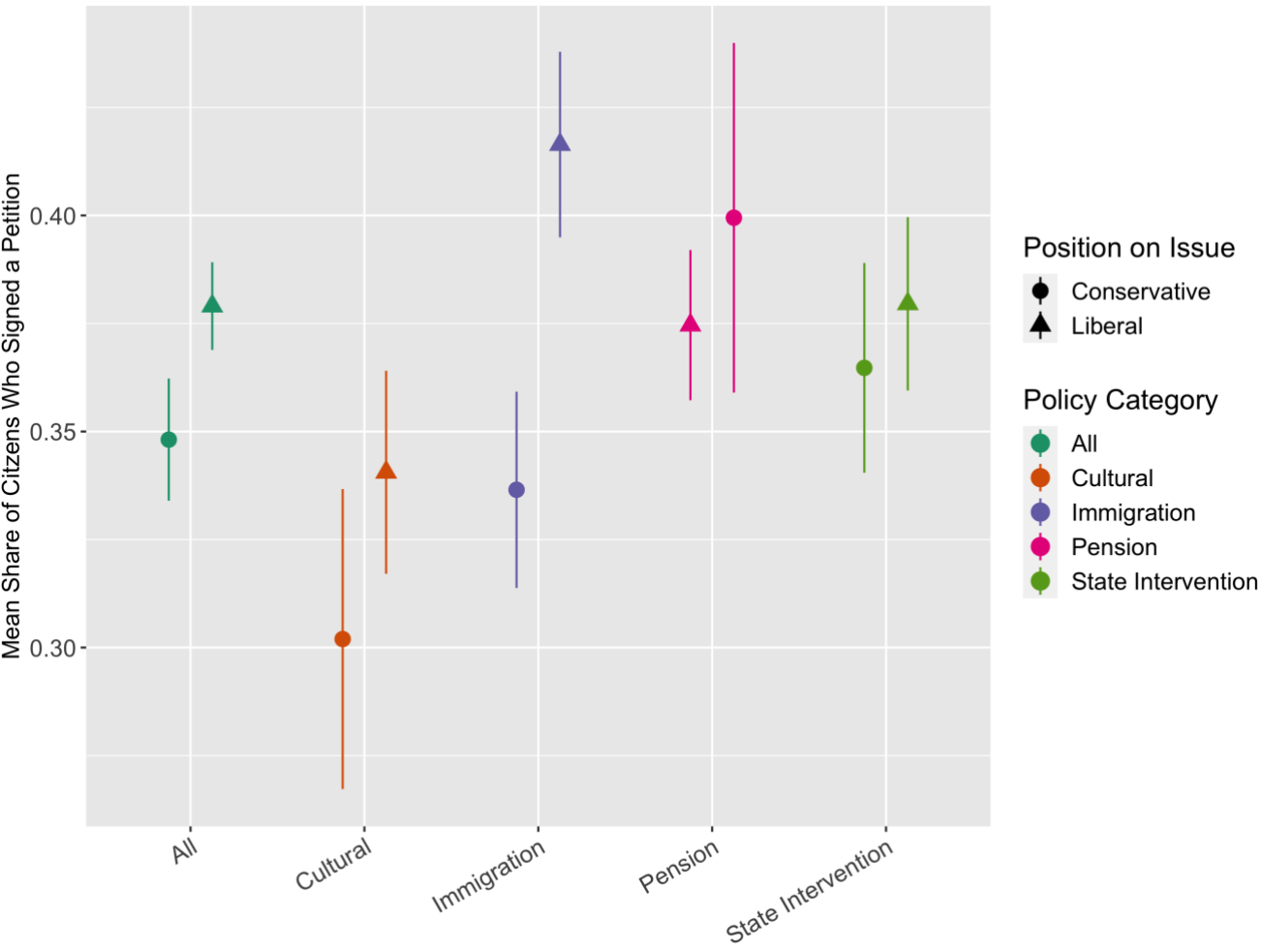


Table A6.1: Percentage of citizens who contacted a politician in the past 12 months overall and by political leaning, pooled and by country.

	All citizens	Right-wing citizens	Left-wing citizens	Significant difference between left-and right-wing citizens
Pooled	14.3% (11,194)	17.9% (2,957)	14.48% (2,679)	yes
Canada	18.1% (1,012)	22.5% (218)	26.8% (214)	no
Belgium/Flanders	12.2% (2,179)	14.3% (640)	14.3% (422)	no
Belgium/Wallonia	22.2% (2,136)	27.8% (527)	22.1% (531)	no
Germany	12.9% (1,450)	16.7% (231)	14.1% (320)	no
Switzerland	11.9% (4,417)	15.3% (1,341)	9.9% (1,192)	yes - right

Note. All weighted values reported. Significance between left-and right-wing citizens tested with a logistic regression. Number of observations in brackets. Distribution into left-right based on response to a 0 (left) to 10 (right) self-placement; left (score 0-3) and right (7-10). For the second column – all citizens- we report the share of citizens having contacted a politician also for centrist voters (4-6).

Section 7 – Differentiating Parties by Their Liberal/Conservative Position on Issues

In this section, we provide a further assessment of the conservative bias among politicians who belong to parties that have an overall liberal or conservative position on a given policy issue domain. To do so, we differentiate between parties where the median politician’s own position on an issue domain is liberal and those where the median position is conservative. We separately conduct this analysis for each party and each issue domain in every country. Results are reported in Table A7.1.

To conduct this analysis, we rely on a survey item that asked politicians to indicate, for every issue they assessed public opinion on, if they personally supported or opposed it. Responses were collected using a five-point agree/disagree scale. We recode all of the responses so that agreement is always in the conservative direction. Then, for each policy issue domain and for each party, we calculate the median support level among all of the politicians in that party. For each issue domain we then classify parties based on whether that party’s median politician position on that domain is leaning conservative or liberal (i.e. above or below the middle of the agreement scale). Parties whose median politician’s position is in the middle of the scale are classified as ‘Neutral’ on that issue. We then evaluate the conservative bias, in each country and on each issue domain, for those parties that have liberal-leaning or conservative-leaning positions on the domain at hand.

Table A7.1: Mean Conservative Bias in Public Opinion Perception by Politicians’ Parties’ Domain-Specific Ideological Lean, by Country and Issue Domain. (Negative conservative bias values represent a liberal bias)⁸

Country	Issue Domain	Party Ideological Lean on Issue (Median Politician Position)	N	Conservative Bias (%)
Canada	Cultural	Liberal	75	19.1
		Immigration	Liberal	62
	Pension	Neutral	16	-3.3
		Liberal	49	9.8
		Neutral	16	10.3
		Conservative	12	20.1
State Intervention	Liberal	50	26.2	
	Conservative	28	40.2	
Flanders	Immigration	Liberal	97	21.4
		Conservative	63	17.9
	Pension	Liberal	105	16.6
		Neutral	56	16.8
	State Intervention	Liberal	77	1.4
		Conservative	84	5.6
Germany	Immigration	Liberal	20	-4.0
		Neutral	11	-11.7

⁸ Table A7.1 was produced manually by the authors and is therefore not to be found in the replication code available on APSR Dataverse

		Conservative	47	-10.5
	Pension	Liberal	16	14.5
		Conservative	26	10.1
	State Intervention	Liberal	31	17.6
		Conservative	47	14.9
Switzerland	Cultural	Liberal	237	14.9
		Neutral	9	12.4
		Conservative	68	15.5
	Immigration	Liberal	151	15.7
		Conservative	3	9.8
	Pension	Liberal	81	17.6
		Conservative	75	22.5
	State Intervention	Liberal	64	35.8
		Conservative	91	29.7
Wallonia	Immigration	Liberal	156	5.0
	Pension	Liberal	155	11.6
		Conservative	1	71.4
	State Intervention	Liberal	77	-3.2
		Neutral	21	-5.3
		Conservative	57	1.3

Section 8 – Comparison of Politicians and Citizens’ Share of Support for Policy Statements

Table A8.1 provides base rates of citizen (general population and party electorate) and politician support for each policy issue incorporated in our analysis in each country, and also the mean estimations of public support provided by politicians in each country on each policy issue (at the country/district level).

Table A8.1 – Actual and Estimated Share of Support for Policy Statements⁹

Flanders		Policy domain	citizens agree (%)	party electorate agree (min.-max. %)	politicians agree (%)	Politicians’ estimated citizen support level (%)
5	The right to strike should be restricted	Economy	58.7	27.0-72.5	57.1	62.3
6	Belgium should never expel someone to a country where human rights are violated.	Immigration	69.0	32.3-85.6	71.4	49
8	The retirement age may not exceed 67 years.	Pension	91.1	89.3-95.1	73.5	74.4
Francophone Belgium						
5	The right to strike should be restricted	Economy	55.8	39.6-76.4	39.1	54
6	Belgium should never expel someone to a country where human rights are violated.	Immigration	64.7	59.2-85.1	93.1	59.7
8	The retirement age may not exceed 67 years.	Pension	81.4	80.1-88.8	83.5	69.4
Switzerland						
A4	Hospitals need to have a "Babyklappe" where parents can leave their infant anonymously.	Cultural	70.7	69.4-79.8	71.3	53.3
A6	Switzerland should only accept well-educated immigrants.	Immigration	33.6	9.8-57.5	23.4	50.3
A8	Taxes on high-income should be raised while taxes on low-income should be reduced.	Economy	78.3	47.4-90.0	42.9	48.3
A9	The pension age needs to be raised to 67.	Pension	20.6	18.2-44.7	49.1	42.4

⁹ Table A8.1 was produced manually by the authors and is therefore not to be found in the replication code available on APSR Dataverse.

B4	Same-sex couples who have registered their partnership should be allowed to adopt children.	Cultural	58.9	36.8-76.1	66.8	43.3
Germany						
A3	Citizens with higher incomes should be taxed more heavily than today.	Economy	78.3	63.9-88.9	50	63.2
A6	The retirement age should be raised step by step.	Pension	21.4	4.0-25.8	54.8	33.1
A8	Foreign citizens' children that were born and raised in Germany should be allowed to keep their parent's citizenship in addition to the German citizenship.	Immigration	36.4	7.8-51.2	57.1	38.7
B3	Income and wealth should be redistributed in favor of poorer people.	Economy	72.1	60.0-91.5	48.6	55.2
B8	Declined asylum seekers should be more consequently deported.	Immigration	91.2	75.6-98.3	81.1	74.4
Canada						
1	Canada should increase the number of immigrants it admits each year.	Immigration	37.5	24.3-49.6	86.3	44.8
2	The government should provide a guaranteed annual income.	Economy	74.7	55.0-84.3	65.8	43.5
6	The retirement age to receive Canada Pension Plan benefits should be raised to 70.	Pension	15.5	14.5-17.1	23.7	27
8	Individuals who are terminally ill should be allowed to end their lives with the assistance of a doctor.	Cultural	85.1	73.5-92.4	81.6	65.9