

# The issue basis of citizens' ideological self-placement

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## Online Appendix

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## Appendix A: Election studies used

The datasets used in this study are available at the following institutions:

- France: Socio-Political Data Archive (<http://cdsp.sciences-po.fr>),
- Germany: Data Archive for the Social Sciences (<http://www.gesis.org>),
- The Netherlands: Data Archiving and Networked Services (<http://www.dans.knaw.nl>),
- Switzerland: Swiss Foundation for Research in Social Sciences (<http://forsdata.unil.ch/data/>),
- United Kingdom: UK Data Archive (<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/>).

Table A1. List of election studies used

Country/year	Name of study	Type	Measure used (panels only)	
			Issues	Left–right
France				
1995	Election présidentielle 1995: enquête post-électorale	Post-electoral		
2002	Panel électoral français 2002	Panel	Wave 1	Wave 1
2007	Panel électoral français 2007	Panel	Wave 1	Wave 1
Germany				
1994	Nachwahlstudie 1994 (ZA 2601)	Post-electoral		
1998	Politische Einstellungen, politische Partizipation und Wählerverhalten im vereinigten Deutschland 1998 (ZA 3066)	Post-electoral		
2002	Bundestagswahlstudie 2002 (ZA 3861)	Post-electoral		
2005	Bundestagswahl 2005 Kampagnendynamik – Vorwahlstudie (ZA 4302)	Panel	Wave 1	Wave 1

(Continued on next page)

Table A1 (continued)

Country/year	Name of study	Type	Panel studies	
			Issues	Left–right
The Netherlands				
1994	Dutch parliamentary election study, 1994 (ref. P1208)	Panel	Waves 1 and 2	Wave 2
1998	Dutch parliamentary election study, 1998 (ref. P1415)	Panel	Waves 1 and 2	Wave 2
2002	Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2002–2003 (ref. P1628)	Panel	Waves 1 and 2	Wave 2
2003	Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2002–2003 (ref. P1628)	Post-electoral <sup>1</sup>		
2006	Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006	Panel	Waves 1 and 2	Wave 2
Switzerland				
1995	Swiss Electoral Study 1995	Post-electoral		
1999	Swiss Electoral Study 1999	Post-electoral		
2003	Swiss Electoral Study 2003	Post-electoral		
2007	Swiss Electoral Study 2007	Post-electoral		
UK				
1997	British General Election Study 1997 – Cross Section Survey	Post-electoral with self-completion questionnaire	Post-electoral	Questionnaire
2001	British Election Panel Study, 2001	Panel with self-completion questionnaire	Questionnaire	Wave 2
2005	British Election Study, 2005	Panel	Waves 1 and 2	Wave 2

<sup>1</sup> The 2003 Dutch election study consisted of a panel component (third wave of a 2002–2003 panel) and of a distinct post-election study. This study relied on the latter sample.

## Appendix B: Operationalization of issue categories

The tables below indicate the list of items used to operationalize the issue categories. The answer categories ‘don’t know’ or ‘no answer’ were coded as missing values. Variable-specific recoding procedures are mentioned in the notes of the corresponding table. When several indicators were available for a given category, they were summarized with a principal-component factor analysis. The corresponding factor loadings are also presented in the following tables. As mentioned in the article, it was sometimes necessary to form two separate variables for the categories Cultural liberalism and Anti-immigration.

### France 1995

Table B1. List of items by issue category, France 1995.

Category	Name	Description
Economic liberalism	q20a2	Too much State intervention in economic life?
	q21a7	Nationalization: positive/negative feelings?
	q21a12	Privatization: positive/negative feelings?
	q36	Priority: improve competitiveness of French economy or salaries?
Cultural liberalism	q7a3	Homosexuality: acceptable?
	q7a5	Fair for Muslims in France to have mosques to practice their religion?
	q7a7	Normal that women can choose to abort?
	q20a1	Role of women: same role as men or place is in the home?
	q22a1	Role of school: develop sense of discipline or form critical people?
European integration	q1	Feel more French or more European?
	q21a16	Europe: positive/negative feelings?
Anti-immigration	q7a1	Too many immigrants in France?
	q7a6	One no longer feels at home like one once did?
Law and order	q7a4	Death penalty should be reintroduced?

Table B2. Factor loadings, economic liberalism and cultural liberalism, France 1995.

	Economic liberalism		Cultural liberalism
q20a2	-0.60	q7a3	-0.71
q21a7	0.53	q7a5	-0.43
q21a12	-0.59	q7a7	-0.60
q36	-0.70	q20a1	-0.60
		q22a1	0.63
Eigenvalue	1.47	Eigenvalue	1.81
Proportion variance	0.37	Proportion variance	0.36
N	3,361	N	3,540

Table B3. Factor loadings, European integration and anti-immigration, France 1995.

	European integration		Anti- immigration
q1	0.83	q7a1	-0.91
q21a16	-0.83	q7a6	-0.91
Eigenvalue	1.37	Eigenvalue	1.64
Proportion variance	0.68	Proportion variance	0.82
N	3,788	N	3,919

## France 2002

Table B4. List of items by issue category, France 2002.

Category	Name	Description
Economic liberalism	xq39_0	SNCF would work better if privatized?
	xq40	Business free to lay off or control of State?
	xq63_0	35-hours-week: positive or negative?
Cultural liberalism	xq39_2	Allow consumption of hashish?
	xq39_6	Some races are less gifted than others?
	xq58	Role of school: develop sense of discipline or form critical people?
	xq62_5	Society needs a hierarchy and leaders?
	xq62_6	Jews have too much power in France?
Traditional values	xq62_8	Blacks and North African immigrants too often treated as second-order citizens?
	xq39_3	Homosexuality: acceptable?
	xq62_7	Allow homosexual couples to adopt children?
	xq63_3	Sex-parity law: positive or negative?
European integration	xq63_4	Partnership laws (PACS): positive or negative?
	xq57	If EU was abandoned: glad or sorry?
Anti-immigration	xq63_1	Introduction of Euro: positive or negative?
	xq39_1	Too many immigrants in France?
	xq39_5	Immigrants: source of a richer culture?
	xq62_1	North African immigrants will one day be French citizens like any others?
National defence	xq62_4	One no longer feels at home like one once did?
	xq63_2	Suppression of military service: positive or negative?
Law and order	xq39_4	Death penalty should be reintroduced?
	xq62_9	Suppress social benefits for families of young delinquents?

Table B5. Factor loadings, economic liberalism and European integration, France 2002.

	Economic liberalism		European integration
xq39_0	-0.63	xq57	-0.87
xq40	-0.69	xq63_1	-0.87
xq63_0	0.73		
Eigenvalue	1.40	Eigenvalue	1.51
Proportion variance	0.47	Proportion variance	0.76
N	3,406	N	3,653

Table B6. Factor loadings, cultural liberalism and traditional values, France 2002.

	Cultural liberalism		Traditional values
xq39_2	-0.54	xq39_3	0.81
xq39_6	0.70	xq62_7	0.76
xq58	0.70	xq63_3	0.44
xq62_5	0.47	xq63_4	0.84
xq62_6	0.62		
xq62_8	-0.42		
Eigenvalue	2.05	Eigenvalue	2.13
Proportion variance	0.34	Proportion variance	0.53
N	3,089	N	3,231

Table B7. Factor loadings, anti-immigration and law and order, France 2002.

	Anti-immigration		Law and order
xq39_1	-0.86	xq39_4	-0.84
xq39_5	0.81	xq62_9	-0.84
xq62_1	0.76		
xq62_4	-0.76		
Eigenvalue	2.55	Eigenvalue	1.40
Proportion variance	0.64	Proportion variance	0.70
N	3,692	N	3,877

## France 2007

Table B8. List of items by issue category, France 2007.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	q126s1	Increase taxes on high incomes?
	q126s5	Increase the minimum wage?
Economic liberalism	q136	Priority: French economic competitiveness or workers' situation?
	q138s1	Privatization: positive/negative feelings?
	q138s7	35-hours week: positive/negative feelings?
Cultural liberalism	q105	Should France open up to today's world or protect itself from it?
	q135	Role of school: develop sense of discipline or form critical people?
	q138s3	Islam: positive/negative feelings?
	q138s6	Secularism: positive/negative feelings?
National identity	q137	Proud to be French?
	q138s8	National identity: positive/negative feelings?
European integration	q138s4	European Union: positive/negative feelings?
Anti-immigration	q64s6	Too many immigrants in France?
	q64s7	One no longer feels at home like one once did?
	q126s2	Creation of a ministry of immigration and national identity
Law and order	q64s5	Should death penalty be reintroduced?

Table B9. Factor loadings, welfare state and economic liberalism, France 2007.

	Welfare state		Economic liberalism
q126s1	-0.80	q136	-0.76
q126s5	-0.80	q138s1	-0.67
		q138s7	0.63
Eigenvalue	1.27	Eigenvalue	1.44
Proportion variance	0.63	Proportion variance	0.48
N	3,713	N	3,364

Table B10. Factor loadings, cultural liberalism and national identity, France 2007.

	Cultural liberalism		National identity
q105 <sup>†</sup>	0.65	q137	-0.80
q135	0.61	q138s8	-0.80
q138s3	-0.73		
q138s6	-0.62		
Eigenvalue	1.70	Eigenvalue	1.27
Proportion variance	0.42	Proportion variance	0.63
N	3,089	N	3,580

<sup>†</sup> The answer categories were reordered into: 1 'protect more', 2 'neither', 3 'open up more'.

Table B11. Factor loadings, anti-immigration, France 2007.

	Anti-immigration
q64s6	-0.86
q64s7	-0.82
q126s2	-0.73
Eigenvalue	1.95
Proportion variance	0.65
N	3,533

### Germany 1994

Table B12. List of items by issue category, Germany 1994.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	v27	Providing housing
	v100	Money for pensions
Economic liberalism	v39	Should the government stimulate the economy?
	v42	Should the government provide housing?
Cultural liberalism	v104	Obedience and discipline as ideals of education
Anti-immigration	v30	Regulating immigration
	v41	Position on immigration
	v44	Foreigners should adapt
	v45	Sending back foreigners if unemployed
	v46	No political rights for foreigners
	v47	No marriages of foreigners with Germans
	National defence	v40
Law and order	v99	Money for defence
	v26	Fighting crime
	v98	Money for the police
Culture	v103	Fighting rowdies
	v101	Money for culture and the arts

Table B13. Factor loadings, welfare state and economic liberalism, Germany 1994.

	Welfare state		Economic liberalism
v27	-0.74	v39	0.74
v100	-0.74	v42	-0.74
Eigenvalue	1.09	Eigenvalue	1.09
Proportion variance	0.55	Proportion variance	0.54
N	2,001	N	2,009



Table B14. Factor loadings, anti-immigration and national defence, Germany 1994.

	Anti-immigration		National defence
v30	-0.26	v40	0.75
v41	0.60	v99	-0.75
v44	0.69		
v45	0.84		
v46	0.79		
v47	0.73		
Eigenvalue	2.78	Eigenvalue	1.13
Proportion variance	0.46	Proportion variance	0.57
N	2,007	N	1,816

Table B15. Factor loadings, law and order, Germany 1994.

	Law and order
v26	-0.72
v98	-0.77
v103	-0.78
Eigenvalue	1.70
Proportion variance	0.57
N	1,974

### Germany 1998

Table B16. List of items by issue category, Germany 1998.

Category	Name	Description
Economic liberalism	v177a	Government is responsible that everyone has a job
	v350b	Nationalization of important industries
Cultural Liberalism	v176c	Importance of equal rights
	v350a	Proud being a German
	v350c	courage to share a national feeling
European integration	v174c	Personal attitude to European integration
Anti-immigration	v174b	Personal attitude to immigration
	v350l	FRG is suffering an „over-foreignerization“
	v350n	Foreigners should marry their fellow countrymen
	v350r	Sympathy for assaults against asylum seekers' accommodations

Table B17. Factor loadings, economic liberalism and cultural liberalism, Germany 1998.

	Economic liberalism		Cultural liberalism
v177a	0.80	v176c	-0.34
v350b	-0.80	v350a	-0.88
		v350c	-0.87
Eigenvalue	1.29	Eigenvalue	1.64
Proportion variance	0.64	Proportion variance	0.55
N	1,534	N	1,592

Table B18. Factor loadings, anti-immigration, Germany 1998.

	Anti-immigration
v174b	0.73
v350l	0.85
v350n	0.79
v350r	0.56
Eigenvalue	2.20
Proportion variance	0.55
N	1,509

### Germany 2002

Table B19. List of items by issue category, Germany 2002.

Category	Name	Description
Economic liberalism	v350b	Nationalization of important industries
Cultural Liberalism	v350a	Proud being a German
	v350c	courage to share a national feeling
European integration	v174c	Personal attitude to European integration
Anti-immigration	v174b	Personal attitude to immigration
	v350l	FRG is suffering a „over-foreignerization“
	v350n	Foreigners should marry their fellow countrymen
	v350r	Sympathy for assaults against asylum seekers' accommodations

Table B20. Factor loadings, cultural liberalism and anti-immigration, Germany 2002.

	Cultural liberalism		Anti-immigration
v350a	-0.88	v174b	0.70
v350c	-0.88	v350l	0.84
		v350n	0.78
		v350r	0.55
Eigenvalue	1.54	Eigenvalue	2.10
Proportion variance	0.77	Proportion variance	1.18
N	1,465	N	1,395

## Germany 2005

Table B21. List of items by issue category, Germany 2005.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	Q15_1	Increases or cutbacks in welfare state provisions?
European integration	Q18	European integration: gone too far or should go further?
	Q19	Opinion on Turkey EU-membership

Table B22. Factor loadings, European integration, Germany 2005.

	European integration
Q18	0.85
Q19	0.85
Eigenvalue	1.44
Proportion variance	0.72
N	3,503

## The Netherlands 1994

Table B23. List of items by issue category, the Netherlands 1994.

Category	Name	Description
Economic liberalism	var071	Preference on income differences
Cultural liberalism	var081	Preference on ethnic minorities
	var145	Other cultures enrich Dutch society
	var471	Attitude towards positive action foreigners
Traditional values	var061	Preference on euthanasia
	var504	Preserving traditional morals and values
	var505	Respect for authorities
	var512	Stimulating patriotism
European integration	var331	Preference on European unification
Anti-immigration	var140	Opinion on asylum seekers
	var141	Opinion on asylum seekers from within EU
	var142	Opinion on asylum seekers from outside EU
	var143	Foreigners should be welcome
	var144	Too many asylum seekers
	var146	Deny access to asylum seekers only in exceptional cases
	var147	Willing to pay for asylum seekers
	var148	Opinion on allowing political refugees
	National defence	var508
Law and order	var066	Preference on crime
	var510	Limiting room for dissenters

Table B24. Factor loadings, cultural liberalism and traditional values, the Netherlands 1994.

	Cultural liberalism		Traditional values
var081	-0.81	var061	0.41
var145	-0.82	var504	0.78
var471	-0.68	var505	0.75
		var512	0.79
Eigenvalue	1.78	Eigenvalue	1.97
Proportion variance	0.59	Proportion variance	0.49
N	1,478	N	1,445

Table B25. Factor loadings, anti-immigration and law and order, the Netherlands 1994.

	Anti-immigration		Law and order
var140	0.76	var066	-0.76
var141	0.62	var510	-0.76
var142	0.70		
var143	0.72		
var144	-0.76		
var146	0.43		
var147	0.75		
var148	-0.70		
Eigenvalue	3.78	Eigenvalue	1.15
Proportion variance	0.47	Proportion variance	0.57
N	1,443	N	1,468

## The Netherlands 1998

Table B26. List of items by issue category, the Netherlands 1998.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	v0258	Increasing benefits for the disadvantaged, issue importance
	v0736	Social benefits
Economic liberalism	v0123	Income differences
Cultural liberalism	v0116	Euthanasia
	v0144	Ethnic minorities (preserve customs or adjust to Dutch culture)
	v0262	Preserving traditional morals and values, issue importance
	v0263	Respect for authorities, issue importance
	v0266	Stimulating loyalty and patriotism, issue importance
	v0875	Important to teach children patriotism
	v0877	Every Dutchman should observe our national symbols
	v0881	Children should learn obedience and respect for authorities
	v0882	Differences between ethnic groups are natural
European integration	v0137	European unification
Anti-immigration	v0130	Asylum seekers
	v0876	Our social provisions are not meant for foreigners
	v0878	Foreigners are a threat to our culture
	v0880	Foreigners abuse social provisions more than Dutchmen
Enfranchisement foreigners	v0759	Enfranchise foreigners in municipal elections
	v0760	Enfranchise foreigners in parliamentary elections
National defence	v0264	Providing for strong defence forces even in present situation, issue importance
Law and order	v0265	Limiting room for dissenters, issue importance

Table B27. Factor loadings, welfare state and cultural liberalism, the Netherlands 1998.

	Welfare state		Cultural liberalism
v0258	-0.81	v0116	0.32
v0736	-0.81	v0144	-0.47
		v0262	0.64
		v0263	0.53
		v0266	0.73
		v0875	0.80
		v0877	0.71
		v0881	0.75
		v0882	0.47
Eigenvalue	1.32	Eigenvalue	3.46
Proportion variance	0.66	Proportion variance	0.38
N	1,725	N	1,727

Table B28. Factor loadings, anti-immigration and enfranchisement foreigners, the Netherlands 1998.

	Anti-immigration		Enfranch. foreigners
v0130	0.73	v0759	0.94
v0876	-0.72	v0760	0.94
v0878	-0.84		
v0880	-0.78		
Eigenvalue	2.38	Eigenvalue	1.78
Proportion variance	0.59	Proportion variance	0.89
N	1,707	N	1,801

### The Netherlands 2002

Table B29. List of items by issue category, the Netherlands 2002.

Category	Name	Description
Economic liberalism	v0215	Income differences
Cultural liberalism	v0209	Euthanasia
	v0882	Ethnic minorities (preserve customs or adjust to Dutch culture)
	v0894	Individual freedom and human rights
European integration	v0889	European integration
Anti-immigration	v0221	Asylum seekers
Law and order	v0227	Crime

Table B30. Factor loadings, cultural liberalism, the Netherlands 2002.

	Cultural liberalism
v0209	0.37
v0882	0.76
v0894	-0.73
Eigenvalue	1.26
Proportion variance	0.42
N	1,534

## The Netherlands 2003

Table B31. List of items by issue category, the Netherlands 2003.

Category	Name	Description
Economic liberalism	x0125	Income differences
Cultural liberalism	x0149	Ethnic minorities (preserve customs or adjust to Dutch culture)
	x0155	Important for education to impart love of the country?
	x0156	Netherlands generally better than other countries?
	x0157	Proud to be Dutch?
Euthanasia	x0124	Forbid or allow euthanasia?
Anti-immigration	x0133	Asylum seekers
Law and order	x0439	Crimes in the Netherlands punished too harshly or too leniently?
	x0440	Death penalty should be reintroduced for certain crimes?

Table B32. Factor loadings, cultural liberalism and law and order, the Netherlands 2003.

	Cultural liberalism		Law and order
x0149	-0.58	x0439	0.80
x0155	0.73	x0440	-0.80
x0156	0.57		
x0157	0.74		
Eigenvalue	1.75	Eigenvalue	1.27
Proportion variance	0.44	Proportion variance	0.64
N	1,248	N	1,241

## The Netherlands 2006

Table B33. List of items by issue category, the Netherlands 2006.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	v204	Cut down taxes?
	v207	Abolish tax benefit for people with mortgage?
	v210	People with a good pension should pay for the AOW?
Economic liberalism	v145	Income differences
Cultural liberalism	v135	Forbid or allow euthanasia?
	v200	Adoption by homosexual couples?
	v205	Should shops be closed on Sundays?
	v211	Should gay marriage be forbidden?
Foreigners	v185	Foreigners (preserve customs or adjust to Dutch culture)
	v201	More money for foreign aid?
European integration	v195	European unification: gone too far or should go further?
	v202	May Turkey become an EU member?
	v785	Dutch EU membership: good thing or bad thing?
	v789	Preferred speed of EU integration
Anti-immigration	v155	Asylum seekers
	v206	Illegal immigrants should be allowed to stay?
	v209	Immigration of Muslims should be stopped?
National defence	v198	Join international military missions?
	v212	Was rightful to send soldiers to Afghanistan?
Law and order	v165	Handling of crime: too strict or not strict enough?
	v340	Hold suspects of terrorist attacks in prison?
	v343	Strictly uphold law, no matter the consequences?

Table B34. Factor loadings, welfare state and cultural liberalism, the Netherlands 2006.

	Welfare state		Cultural liberalism
v204	0.49	v135	0.67
v207	-0.68	v200	-0.79
v210	-0.74	v205	0.52
		v211	0.83
Eigenvalue	1.24	Eigenvalue	2.04
Proportion variance	0.41	Proportion variance	0.51
N	2,433	N	2,520



Table B35. Factor loadings, attitudes towards foreigners and European integration, the Netherlands 2006.

	Foreigners		European integration
v185	-0.81	v195	-0.82
v201	-0.81	v202	-0.66
		v785 <sup>†</sup>	0.75
Eigenvalue	1.30	Eigenvalue	1.67
Proportion variance	0.65	Proportion variance	0.56
N	2,591	N	2,179

<sup>†</sup> The answer categories were reordered into: 1 'a bad thing', 2 'neither bad, nor good', 3 'a good thing'.

Table B36. Factor loadings, anti-immigration and national defence, the Netherlands 2006.

	Anti-immigration		National defence
v155	0.83	v198	0.89
v206	0.66	v212	-0.89
v209	-0.74		
Eigenvalue	1.66	Eigenvalue	1.57
Proportion variance	0.55	Proportion variance	0.79
N	2,485	N	2,419

Table B37. Factor loadings, law and order, the Netherlands 2006.

	Law and order
v165	0.75
v340	-0.74
v343	-0.66
Eigenvalue	1.53
Proportion variance	0.51
N	2,542

## Switzerland 1995

Table B38. List of items by issue category, Switzerland 1995.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	val2	Reduce or increase social expenditures?
	val8	Reduce or increase taxes on high incomes?
Cultural liberalism	val5	Defend or reassess traditional values?
European integration	val3	For or against Swiss EU membership?
Anti-immigration	val4	For fair chances for foreigners or for better chances for Swiss citizens?
National defence	val1	For a strong army or for a Switzerland without an army?
Law and order	val6	Much or little law and order?

Table B39. Factor loadings, welfare state, Switzerland 1995.

	Welfare state
val2	-0.79
val8	-0.79
Eigenvalue	1.24
Proportion variance	0.62
N	1,936

### Switzerland 1999

Table B40. List of items by issue category, Switzerland 1999.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	rp15420a	Reduce or increase social expenditures?
	rp15480a	Reduce or increase taxes on high incomes?
Economic liberalism	rp15495a	Should the State intervene in the economy or rely on the free market?
Cultural liberalism	rp15450a	Defend or reassess traditional values?
	rp15500	Proud to be Swiss?
	rp15600	Were critiques against behaviour of Switzerland during World War II justified?
European integration	rp15430a	For or against Swiss EU membership?
Anti-immigration	rp15440a	For fair chances for foreigners or for better chances for Swiss citizens?
National defence	rp15410a	For a strong army or for a Switzerland without an army?
Law and order	rp15460a	Much or little law and order?

Table B41. Factor loadings, welfare state and cultural liberalism, Switzerland 1999.

	Welfare state		Cultural liberalism
rp15420a	-0.81	rp15450a	-0.79
rp15480a	-0.81	rp15500	-0.73
		rp15600	-0.69
Eigenvalue	1.31	Eigenvalue	1.63
Proportion variance	0.65	Proportion variance	0.54
N	1,946	N	1,898

## Switzerland 2003

Table B42. List of items by issue category, Switzerland 2003.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	f14630	Higher health insurance contributions for high-income earners?
	f14640	Raise retirement age?
	f15480	Reduce or increase taxes on high incomes?
European integration	f15430	For or against Swiss EU membership?
Anti-immigration	f14650	Tightening of asylum criteria?
	f15440	For fair chances for foreigners of for better chances for Swiss citizens?

Table B43. Factor loadings, welfare state and anti-immigration, Switzerland 2003.

	Welfare state		Anti-immigration
f14630	-0.79	f14650	-0.84
f14640	0.48	f15440	0.84
f15480	-0.79		
Eigenvalue	1.48	Eigenvalue	1.40
Proportion variance	0.49	Proportion variance	0.70
N	1,886	N	1,923

## Switzerland 2007

Table B44. List of items by issue category, Switzerland 2007.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	f15420r	Reduce or increase social expenditures?
	f15480r	Reduce or increase taxes on high incomes?
Economic liberalism	f15495r	Should the State intervene in the economy or rely on the free market?
Cultural liberalism	f15450r	Defend or reassess traditional values?
	f15680	Proud to be Swiss?
European integration	f15430r	For or against Swiss EU membership?
Anti-immigration	f15440r	For fair chances for foreigners of for better chances for Swiss citizens?
National defence	f15410r	For a strong army or for a Switzerland without an army?
Law and order	f15460r	Much or little law and order?

Table B45. Factor loadings, welfare state and cultural liberalism, Switzerland 2007.

	Welfare state		Anti- immigration
f15420r	0.80	f15450r	0.82
f15480r	-0.80	f15680	0.82
Eigenvalue	1.26	Eigenvalue	1.35
Proportion variance	0.63	Proportion variance	0.67
N	1,863	N	1,919

## United Kingdom 1997

Table B46. List of items by issue category, United Kingdom 1997.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	rtxspd	Put up taxes and spend more on health and social services?
	rinceq	Make people's incomes more equal vs. less concerned about income equality?
	taxspend	Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education, social services?
	ridpovty	Gvt should spend more to get rid of poverty?
	govnhssp	Gvt should put more money into NHS?
	hlpprmed	Gvt should encourage private medicine?
	redistrb	Income/wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary working people
Economic liberalism	rprnat	More nationalizations or more privatizations?
	natnlstn	More privatizations or more nationalizations?
	tulaws	Stricter laws to regulate activities of trade unions?
	workrsay	Give workers more say in running the places they work for?
Cultural liberalism	rjbprc	Get people back to work or keep prices down?
	rwhom2	Equal role for women vs. woman's place is in the home?
	eqopp2fr	Gone too far? equal opportunities for women
	racop2fr	Gone too far? equal opportunities for ethnic minorities
	abort2fr	Gone too far? availability of abortion
National identity	homop2fr	Gone too far? equal opportunities for homosexuals
	govaid3w	Give more aid to poor countries in Africa/Asia?
	natlearn	GB has a lot to learn from other countries in running its affairs
	natcoop	GB should co-operate with other countries, even if it means giving up some independence
	natcitzn	Rather be British than any other citizenship?
European integration	natcrit	People in GB too ready to criticize their country
	recind	Unite fully with the EU vs. protect independence from the EU?
	eec	Should GB remain in EU or withdraw?
	ecpolicy	Long term policy: leave EU or work for the formation of a single EU Gvt?
Anti-immigration	ecuvievw	Keep pound or replace by ECU?
National defence	immbkasn	Immigration by asians/blacks: good for GB?
Law and order	defencut	Gvt should spend less on defence?
	prisref	Reform prisoners, not just punish them
	deathpen	Bring back the death penalty?
	stifsent	Stiffer sentences for lawbreakers?
	lifmnlif	Life sentences should mean life

Table B47. Factor loadings, welfare state and economic liberalism, United Kingdom 1997.

	Welfare state		Economic liberalism
rtxspd <sup>†</sup>	-0.59	rprnat <sup>†</sup>	0.76
rinseq <sup>†</sup>	-0.70	natnlstn <sup>‡</sup>	0.73
taxspend	0.56	tulaws	-0.27
ridpovty	-0.63	workrsay	0.51
govnhssp	-0.67	rjbprc <sup>†</sup>	0.51
hlpprmed	0.34		
redistrb	-0.69		
Eigenvalue	2.56	Eigenvalue	1.69
Proportion variance	0.37	Proportion variance	0.34
N (weighted)	2,447	N (weighted)	2,366

<sup>†</sup> Answers were originally coded with an 11-point scale, with two additional categories for respondents that were left of the left-most category or right of the right-most category. These two additional categories were recoded to the corresponding extreme category of the 11-point scale.

<sup>‡</sup> Respondents were first asked if they favour more privatization or more nationalization of companies by government, and then if they favour a lot more or a little more privatization or nationalization, respectively. The answer categories were coded as follows for this study: 1 'lot more nationalization', 2 'little more nationalization', 3 'left as they are', 4 'little more privatization', 5 'lot more privatization'. Respondents who favour privatization or nationalization but who did not answer the second question were attributed the average scale position of the respondents with the same answer on the first question.

Table B48. Factor loadings, cultural liberalism and national identity, United Kingdom 1997.

	Cultural liberalism		National identity
rwhom2 <sup>†</sup>	-0.56	govaid3w	-0.58
eqopp2fr	0.72	natlearn	-0.62
racop2fr	0.66	natcoop	-0.68
abort2fr	0.47	natcitzn	0.61
homop2fr	0.69	natcrit	0.42
Eigenvalue	1.97	Eigenvalue	1.73
Proportion variance	0.39	Proportion variance	0.35
N (weighted)	2,170	N (weighted)	2,568

<sup>†</sup> Answers were originally coded with an 11-point scale, with two additional categories for respondents that were left of the left-most category or right of the right-most category. These two additional categories were recoded to the corresponding extreme category of the 11-point scale.

Table B49. Factor loadings, European integration and law and order, United Kingdom 1997.

	European integration		Law and order
recind <sup>†</sup>	-0.84	prisref	0.42
eec	-0.79	deathpen	-0.76
ecpolicy	0.79	stifsent	-0.79
ecuvew	-0.73	lifmnlif	-0.77
Eigenvalue	2.47	Eigenvalue	1.96
Proportion variance	0.62	Proportion variance	0.49
N (weighted)	2,237	N (weighted)	2,632

<sup>†</sup> Answers were originally coded with an 11-point scale, with two additional categories for respondents that were left of the left-most category or right of the right-most category. These two additional categories were recoded to the corresponding extreme category of the 11-point scale.

### United Kingdom 2001

Table B50. List of items by issue category, United Kingdom 2001.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	cq19a	Ordinary people get fair share of wealth?
Economic liberalism	cq19c	No need for strong trade union?
	cq19d	Private enterprise best way to solve economic problems?
Cultural liberalism	cq17d	Husband's job to earn money, wife's job to look after the home?
	cq19e	Youth has not enough respect for traditional values?
	cq19f	Censorship necessary to uphold moral standards?
	cq19h	People should be more tolerant of unconventional lifestyles?
	cq23a	Democracy: majority has right to protect own culture
European integration	cq14a	Keep pound or replace by Euro?
Anti-immigration	cq16a	Immigrants increase crime rates?
	cq16b	Immigrants good for Britain's economy?
	cq16c	Immigrants take jobs away?
	cq16d	Immigrants make Britain more open to new cultures?
	cq16e	Most asylum seekers should be sent home immediately?
Law and order	cq15a	Death penalty never justified?
	cq15b	Violent criminals: deprive of some human rights?
	cq15c	Convicted criminals: rehabilitate rather than punish?
	cq15d	Give longer prison sentences?
	cq23b	Democracy: right to ban violent political groups?

Table B51. Factor loadings, economic liberalism and cultural liberalism, United Kingdom 2001.

	Economic liberalism		Cultural liberalism
cq19c	-0.81	cq17d	0.65
cq19d	-0.81	cq19e	0.67
		cq19f	0.62
		cq19h	-0.58
		cq23a	0.53
Eigenvalue	1.30	Eigenvalue	1.88
Proportion variance	0.65	Proportion variance	0.38
N (weighted)	1,771	N (weighted)	1,734

Table B52. Factor loadings, anti-immigration and law and order, United Kingdom 2001.

	Anti-immigration		Law and order
cq16a	-0.77	cq15a	0.58
cq16b	0.77	cq15b	-0.66
cq16c	-0.79	cq15c	0.73
cq16d	0.74	cq15d	-0.68
cq16e	-0.80	cq23b	-0.33
Eigenvalue	2.99	Eigenvalue	1.86
Proportion variance	0.60	Proportion variance	0.37
N (weighted)	1,742	N (weighted)	1,684

### United Kingdom 2005

Table B53. List of items by issue category, United Kingdom 2005.

Category	Name	Description
Welfare state	aq31a	Put up taxes and spend more on health and social services?
European integration	aq30a	Britain should get out of EU or stay in?
	aq45c	Threat to British sovereignty from the EU is greatly exaggerated?
Anti-immigration	bq36	Approve of Britain's membership in the EU?
	bq37	Vote intention on referendum on European Constitution?
	aq45b	Immigrants make Britain more open to new cultures?
National defence	aq45g	Immigrants take jobs away?
	aq33	War in Iraq: success or failure?
Law and order	aq34	Approve of Britain's involvement in Iraq?
	bq40a	More important: reduce crime or protect the rights of people accused?



Table B54. Factor loadings, European integration and anti-immigration, United Kingdom 2005.

	European integration		Anti- immigration
aq30a	0.83	aq45b	0.85
aq45c	-0.61	aq45g	-0.85
bq36	-0.86		
bq37 <sup>†</sup>	0.77		
Eigenvalue	2.39	Eigenvalue	1.43
Proportion variance	0.60	Proportion variance	0.72
N (weighted)	2,593	N (weighted)	2,912

<sup>†</sup> The answer categories were reordered into: 1 'will vote no', 2 'undecided, will not vote', 3 'will vote yes'.

Table B55. Factor loadings, national defence, United Kingdom 2005.

	National defence
aq33	0.90
aq34	-0.90
Eigenvalue	1.63
Proportion variance	0.82
N (weighted)	2,872

## Appendix C: Results from truncated regression models

The reported values of the ‘Estimated R<sup>2</sup>’ in tables C1 to C5 is the squared value of the correlation between observed and predicted left–right positions.<sup>1</sup>

Table C1. Impact of issue positions on ideological self-placement by side of the left–right scale for France.

	1995		2002		2007	
	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
Welfare state					–0.018**	0.007
Economic liberalism	0.029***	0.001	0.027***	–0.001	0.021***	0.007
Cultural liberalism	–0.004	–0.009*	0.007	–0.004	0.002	–0.014*
Traditional values			0.003	0.003		
National identity					0.014**	0.011*
European integration	0.012**	–0.002	0.018***	0.007	0.023***	–0.021***
Anti-immigration	0.005	0.031***	0.016*	0.041***	0.010	0.028***
National defence			0.007	–0.001		
Law and order	–0.014*	0.016**	–0.003	0.007	0.003	0.027***
Constant	0.246***	0.748***	0.257***	0.730***	0.324***	0.690***
Log likelihood	744.82	835.33	666.55	487.42	756.14	641.10
Estimated R <sup>2</sup>	0.049	0.084	0.046	0.092	0.083	0.189
N	1,043	1,092	874	634	897	775

\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

*Models estimated with truncated regressions.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. <http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/dae/truncreg.htm> [stand 27.10.2009]

Table C2. Impact of issue positions on ideological self-placement by side of the left–right scale for Germany.

	1994		1998		2002		2005	
	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
Welfare state	–0.048***	–0.003					–0.036***	0.032***
Economic liberalism	0.027**	0.015	0.027***	0.000	0.022***	0.011		
Cultural liberalism	–0.000	–0.019	–0.026***	–0.017	–0.024***	–0.011		
European integration			–0.001	0.011	0.012*	–0.012	–0.016**	–0.019**
Anti-immigration	0.042***	0.064***	0.015**	0.034***	0.032***	0.035***		
National defence	0.019	0.029*						
Law and order	0.029**	–0.000						
Culture	–0.033**	0.001						
Constant	0.453***	0.494***	0.307***	0.672***	0.306***	0.682***	0.304***	0.747***
Log likelihood	759.31	518.75	638.12	236.34	469.55	255.41	968.70	501.95
Estimated R <sup>2</sup>	0.101	0.053	0.117	0.081	0.142	0.090	0.031	0.038
N	962	575	718	275	538	312	1,653	907

\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

*Models estimated with truncated regressions.*

Table C3. Impact of issue positions on ideological self-placement by side of the left–right scale for the Netherlands.

	1994		1998		2002		2003		2006	
	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
Welfare state			−0.045***	−0.021**					0.007	−0.014***
Economic liberalism	0.047***	0.34***	0.23**	0.012	0.028***	0.006	0.055***	0.003	0.042***	0.006
Cultural liberalism	−0.041***	−0.059***	−0.021*	−0.052***	−0.023***	−0.020***	−0.020*	−0.029***	−0.003	−0.019***
Ethnic minorities	−0.009	−0.057***								
Euthanasia							−0.023*	−0.006		
Foreigners									−0.006	−0.004
European integration	0.015	0.007	0.003	−0.000	0.007	−0.005			0.012	0.003
Anti-immigration	0.008	−0.024	−0.003	0.019*	0.018**	0.018**	0.052***	0.043***	0.019*	0.014**
Enfranch. foreigners			0.021*	−0.013						
National defence	0.001	0.018*	0.018*	0.005					0.010	−0.002
Law and order	−0.015	−0.009	0.000	0.007	0.001	0.010	0.003	0.027**	−0.009	0.019***
Constant	0.383***	0.588***	0.376***	0.594***	0.330***	0.699***	0.370***	0.632***	0.309***	0.696
Log likelihood	458.97	501.84	594.15	641.17	509.88	572.43	486.79	452.81	470.09	837.15
Estimated R <sup>2</sup>	0.095	0.139	0.136	0.099	0.140	0.075	0.191	0.114	0.084	0.117
N	583	569	724	691	529	635	641	522	589	828

\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Models estimated with truncated regressions.

Table C4. Impact of issue positions on ideological self-placement by side of the left–right scale for Switzerland.

	1995		1999		2003		2007	
	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
Welfare state	-0.038***	-0.005	-0.035***	-0.023***	-0.044***	-0.009	-0.035***	-0.019***
Economic liberalism			0.019*	-0.012*			0.041***	0.002
Cultural liberalism	0.007	-0.022**	0.008	-0.023**			-0.018*	-0.042***
European integration	-0.006	0.001	0.001	-0.010	0.009	-0.023***	-0.012	-0.015*
Anti-immigration	-0.005	0.030***	-0.001	0.016*	0.040***	0.034***	-0.034**	0.023***
National defence	0.043***	-0.005	0.034***	0.012			0.016	0.007
Law and order	-0.007	0.031***	0.008	0.009			-0.000	0.012
Constant	0.369***	0.701***	0.320***	0.698***	0.297***	0.713***	0.322***	0.705***
Log likelihood	401.78	421.29	333.94	476.73	328.95	437.99	313.98	465.52
Estimated R <sup>2</sup>	0.078	0.102	0.097	0.104	0.089	0.082	0.131	0.134
N	507	579	475	617	528	582	455	640

\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Models estimated with truncated regressions.

Table C5. Impact of issue positions on ideological self-placement by side of the left–right scale for the United Kingdom.

	1997		2001		2005	
	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
Welfare state	-0.030	-0.007	-0.017	0.010	-0.040***	0.005
Economic liberalism	0.024	-0.014	0.027**	0.007		
Cultural liberalism	-0.005	-0.016	-0.006	-0.036**		
National identity	-0.003	-0.014				
European integration	0.003	-0.022*	0.012	-0.026*	-0.003	-0.019**
Anti-immigration	0.000	-0.000	0.005	0.026	-0.020	0.018**
National defence	0.013	0.011			0.024*	-0.009
Law and order	0.006	0.014	0.015	-0.003	-0.020*	0.003
Constant	0.316***	.712***	0.335***	0.687***	0.330***	0.685***
Log likelihood	336.64	337.73	318.63	269.52	449.07	835.44
Estimated R <sup>2</sup>	0.066	0.089	0.079	0.071	0.037	0.037
N (weighted)	454	479	372	383	489	942

\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

*Models estimated with truncated regressions. The observations are weighted to compensate for the overrepresentation of respondents from Scotland and Wales.*