

## Appendix C: Statement dimensionality and valence/dispersion statistics

**Dimensionality: PCA with Varimax rotation, pairwise deletion of cases.** The analysis was run only with the set of 205 parties included in both VAAs. Component loadings that exceed 0.4 are marked in bold. The three most dominant components are presented.

Notes: Regarding the PCA, certain limitations and cautions must be considered. First, there is a notable problem with the missing party codings for some statements. In euandi, nearly 3/4 of the parties have a missing placement on at least one of the 27 items, while in EUvox the same indicator is slightly under 50 per cent. As the default setting of PCA excludes all cases with at least one missing value, we would lose all these cases. Therefore, we ran PCA with pairwise deletion and, to provide a robustness check, we did so by imputing the missing values with the neutral middle category (following Germann and Mendez 2016). We are aware that PCA might not be the best possible solution for analysing ordinal VAA data. Following the suggestions of Blasius and Thiessen (2012), we also ran the categorical PCA (CatPCA) and compared the results with the regular PCA. These different specifications provided highly similar results and consistently pointed towards the same problematic statements, indicating the robustness of our findings. Also, it should be considered that we are not dealing with survey data, but expert party placements. That should decrease the chance of misunderstanding the ordinal categories and reduce the possibility of error.

Valence: the percentage of parties on the more “populated” side of the scale centrepont (percentages are calculated based on the parties that were coded as being either in agreement, disagreement or neutral towards the proposal, missing codings have been excluded).

Dispersion: the standard deviation of party positions on respective statement (considering that complete disagreement is coded as “0”, partial disagreement as “.25”, neutral stance as “.5”, partial agreement as “.75” and complete agreement as “1”).

## EUvox:

Statement	Component loadings			% of parties on same side	Standard deviation	Dimension(s) statement is assigned to		
	1	2	3			Left-right	Cultural	EU
(Country) should leave/never adopt the Euro	.01	<b>-.81</b>	.03	68.8	.34			x
A single member state should be able to block a treaty change, even if all the other members states agree to it	-.11	<b>-.74</b>	.29	50.3	.29			x
The right of EU citizens to work in (Country) should be restricted	.09	<b>-.60</b>	.27	73.9	.29			x
There should be a common EU foreign policy even if this limits the capacity of (Country) to act independently	.19	<b>.79</b>	-.23	47.2	.33			x
The EU should redistribute resources from richer to poorer EU regions	<b>-.52</b>	<b>.54</b>	-.06	73.9	.28			x
Overall, EU membership has been a bad thing for (Country)	-.20	<b>-.84</b>	-.05	73.7	.33			x
Free market competition makes the health care system function better	<b>.82</b>	.16	.15	59.9	.33	x		
The number of public sector employees should be reduced	<b>.71</b>	.05	.28	48.3	.31	x		
The state should intervene as little as possible in the economy	<b>.90</b>	.08	.05	57.4	.33	x		
Wealth should be redistributed from the richest people to the poorest	<b>-.86</b>	.08	-.13	66.7	.28	x		
Cutting government spending is a good way to solve the economic crisis	<b>.77</b>	.11	.32	46.6	.34	x		
It should be easy for companies to fire people	<b>.84</b>	.12	.15	55.4	.29	x		
External loans from institutions such as the IMF are a good solution to crisis situations.	.39	<b>.60</b>	.18	47.8	.30	x		

Immigrants must adapt to the values and culture of (Country)	.30	-.32	<b>.62</b>	47.2	.31	x
Restrictions on citizen privacy are acceptable in order to combat crime	.14	-.08	<b>.60</b>	55.8	.27	x
To maintain public order, governments should be able to restrict demonstrations	.16	.17	<b>.66</b>	67.6	.28	x
Less serious crimes should be punished with community service, not imprisonment	-.25	<b>.48</b>	<b>-.44</b>	68.0	.26	x
Same sex couples should enjoy the same rights as heterosexual couples to marry	-.16	.28	<b>-.78</b>	52.7	.40	x
Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion	-.13	.16	<b>-.72</b>	65.6	.34	x
The recreational use of cannabis should be legal	-.07	.07	<b>-.67</b>	67.4	.34	x

<b>Variance explained (%)</b>	<b>23.9</b>	<b>20.4</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>Average 59.7</b>	<b>Average .31</b>
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euandi:

Statement	Component loadings			% of parties on same side	Standard deviation	Dimension(s) statement is assigned to		
	1	2	3			Left-right	Cultural	EU
Social programmes should be maintained even at the cost of higher taxes	-.32	.12	<b>.79</b>	51.0	.32	x		
It should be harder for EU immigrants working or staying in [your country] to get access to social assistance benefits than it is for [your country's] citizens	<b>.62</b>	-.33	-.33	63.4	.36	x		x

Pension benefits should be reduced to limit the state debt in [your country]	-.06	.15	<b>-.43</b>	<b>80.8</b>	<b>.26</b>	x	
To fight the problem of illegal immigration, the European Union should take responsibility in patrolling its borders	.37	<b>.60</b>	-.06	64.3	.35		x
Immigration [into your country] should be made more restrictive	<b>.74</b>	-.17	-.12	49.7	.36	x	
Immigrants from outside Europe should be required to accept our culture and values	<b>.72</b>	.00	-.28	46.4	.36	x	
The legalisation of same sex marriages is a good thing	<b>-.80</b>	.19	.13	56.5	.43	x	
Embryonic stem cell research should be stopped	<b>.64</b>	.12	.00	62.3	.36	x	
The legalisation of the personal use of soft drugs is to be welcomed	<b>-.58</b>	.08	.14	59.4	.38	x	
Euthanasia should be legalised	<b>-.62</b>	.18	.18	50.4	.38	x	
Government spending should be reduced in order to lower taxes	.39	.17	<b>-.62</b>	50.3	.36	x	
The EU should acquire its own tax raising powers	-.35	<b>.67</b>	.36	58.4	.38		x
Bank and stock market gains should be taxed more heavily	-.12	-.01	<b>.80</b>	67.2	.37	x	
Governments should reduce workers' protection regulations in order to fight unemployment	.34	.04	<b>-.74</b>	61.9	.34	x	
The state should provide stronger financial support to unemployed workers	-.26	-.02	<b>.78</b>	44.3	.33	x	
The EU should relax its austerity policy in order to foster economic growth	-.11	-.09	<b>.83</b>	59.3	.35	x	

The promotion of public transport should be fostered through green taxes (e.g. road taxing)	-.34	.21	.35	55.2	.34	x	x	
Renewable sources of energy (e.g. solar or wind energy) should be supported even if this means higher energy costs	-.31	.32	.34	58.0	.30	x	x	
Restrictions of personal privacy on the Internet should be accepted for public security reasons	.38	.12	-.25	<b>75.3</b>	<b>.25</b>		x	
Criminals should be punished more severely	<b>.67</b>	-.25	-.18	45.3	.31		x	
Access to abortion should become more restricted	<b>.80</b>	-.13	-.12	65.1	.38		x	
The European Union should strengthen its security and defence policy	.13	<b>.81</b>	-.24	64.6	.37			x
On foreign policy issues the EU should speak with one voice	-.16	<b>.85</b>	-.10	72.0	.36			x
European integration is a good thing	-.23	<b>.85</b>	-.13	73.8	.32			x
To tackle the sovereign debt crisis, the member states of the Eurozone should be allowed to issue common bonds (Eurobonds)	-.15	<b>.58</b>	<b>.51</b>	48.4	.41			x
The single European currency (Euro) is a bad thing	.18	<b>-.81</b>	.17	65.5	.38			x
Individual member states of the EU should have less veto power	-.24	<b>.82</b>	.12	53.3	.37			x
<b>Variance explained (%)</b>	<b>20.8</b>	<b>18.9</b>	<b>17.9</b>	<b>Average 59.3</b>	<b>Average .35</b>			