

Online Appendix: Technical Issues

Cleaning VAA-generated opinion data

Before carrying out any analysis, the data was cleaned by excluding the following entries: 1) all cases in which the time taken to complete the 30 issue statements of the VAA was less than 120 seconds; 2) all cases in which the time to respond to any one issue statement was less than two seconds; 3) all cases in which the time taken to respond to three or more issues statements was less than three seconds; 4) all cases in which the respondent answered fifteen successive issue statements in the same way. Finally, to make provisions for cases in which an individual completes a questionnaire more than once, a filtering technique was used to identify multiple entries from the same computer. Data from a user using the same computer as a previous user was retained only if personal data had been entered demonstrating that he/she was a different user. The computer that was used was identified by a unique code that was based on the IP number of the machine, but that could not be traced back to the user.

Classification of Policy Statements into ex ante Dimensions

The first step in the analysis is to assign to every policy statement in each of the five VAAs one of the following thirty policy categories: 1. debt repayment/austerity/size of the public sector (Aus), 2. tax, spending and benefits (TSB), 3. public services (PServ), 4. managing inequality (ManIneq), 5. labour rights (LabR), 6. state regulation v. privatisation (SR/P), 7. privatisation of services (PrivServ), 8. law and order/security (LOS), 9. restrict demonstrations (ResDem), 10. rights of ethnic and religious minorities (MinR), 11. ethnic cohabitation/multiculturalism (Mult), 12. immigration policy (Imm), 13. asylum policy (Asy), 14. role of the Church (Rch), 15. gay rights (Gay), 16. abortion (Abort), 17. protection of families (ProtFam), 18. defence policy (Def), 19. decentralization (Decent) 20. territorial

autonomy (Aut), 21. independence (Ind), 22. separate nationhood (SepNat), 23. constitutional matters (Const), 24. EU integration (EUInt), 25. Turkey's EU accession (TkEU), 26. environment (Env), 27. foreign policy orientation (FP), 28. language rights (LangR) and 29. foreign investment/protectionism (FI/P). A residual category (Misc, 30) of miscellaneous items that did not fit any one category included six out of a total of 135 issue statements (fifteen items were shared by the two Greek VAAs).

Grouping together these categories into the policy fields defined by the 2010 Chapel Hill expert survey (see http://www.unc.edu/~hooghe/assets/data/pp/2010_CHES_expert_level_codebook.pdf) and then into broader ideological scales, categories 1-3 fall into the improving public services vs. reducing taxes field, categories 4 and 5 belong to the redistribution field, while categories 6 and 7 fall into the deregulation field. Thus, categories 1-7 would be expected to load onto the economic Left/Right dimension, according to the way Bakker et al. (2012) conceptualise this dimension. On the Tan/Gal dimension, category 8 belongs to the field “civil liberties vs. law and order”, categories 15-17 can be considered as issues belonging to “social lifestyle”, category 14 clearly refers to the role of religious principles in politics, category 12 refers to immigration policy, category 13 relates to the integration of asylum seekers, category 18 forms a part of the international security field, while categories 10 and 11 refer to ethnic minorities. I therefore expect categories 8 and 10-18 to load onto the Tan/Gal dimension.

I deliberately exclude several fields that would, at first glance, load onto the Tan/Gal dimension either because they appear to be ambiguous or because they appear to overstretch the concept of Tan/Gal. Logically, one would also expect to include language rights (category 29) in this dimension, together with the rights of minorities; however minorities here refer to ethnic minorities, while language rights may refer to regional languages that are not associated with ethnicity (so-called civic nationalism). This category is therefore disregarded. I also discount category 9, on restricting demonstrations, from the

Tan/Gal dimension, on the grounds that in recent years many demonstrations have been a response to economic discontent as a result of the European economic crisis and this issue may therefore be seen through the lens of opposing or defending large corporations and banks. For a similar reason I disregard environmental issues, despite the fact that the “G” in “Gal” stands for “green”; recently environmentalism has been increasingly targeted against large corporations that are seen as polluting. Moreover, I do not include issues of decentralization into the Tan/Gal dimension despite the fact that Bakker et al. do so. This is because these issues may relate to a centre-periphery cleavage (see the discussion in the introduction to the main manuscript), rather than the religious-secular cleavage which is hypothesized to have formed the origin of the Tan/Gal dimension. Finally, I do not consider a third dimension of European integration as do Bakker et al. because VAA issues are primarily domestic issues and the number of EU-related items are insufficient. I do not, therefore, classify EU-related items as belonging to either dimension.

A number of individual items in the five VAAs are deemed ambiguous as they seem to load on both dimensions; these include a statement on women's employment rights, on whether parents who do not put their children in the creche should receive a care allowance (relating to category 2, but also involving strengthening the traditional family), on whether the use of nurseries should be free (for the same reason), on whether the IMF/EU/ECB memoranda for Greece mean selling out to foreigners (although it belongs to category 1 this item also taps into anti-foreigner sentiment) and on whether to reduce defence spending for the welfare state (as it belongs to category 18 but also relates to category 2). There is one further item that would appear to load in both directions on the same dimension and is therefore also discarded: on whether grants should be paid to students, irrespective of parental income (on the one hand interpretable as a measure in favour of equality, on the other reinforcing the advantages enjoyed by the children of rich parents). Finally, one miscellaneous item (on whether closed professions should be liberalized) is included in the Left/Right dimension as it clearly relates to

deregulation.

An inductive approach to factor analysis

In order to perform the factor analysis (both exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis) on opinion data generated from user responses to the VAAs, I give numerical values of 0, 1, 2, 3 and 4 to the five response categories “Completely Disagree”, “Disagree”, “Neither Agree nor Disagree”, “Agree” and “Completely Agree” respectively. The response category “No Opinion” is treated as a missing value. Standard methods of factor analysis (both confirmatory and exploratory) assume that observed variables are continuous and normally distributed; however, with ordinal variables such as item responses derived from a VAA this assumption may not hold. To get around this obstacle, I first generate a matrix of polychoric correlations, which are an estimate of the linear relationship between two unobserved continuous variables based only on the observed ordinal data, and then conduct factor analysis on that matrix (Flora and Curran, 2004; Rosseel, 2012; Revelle, 2013).

The two-stage approach to factor analysis uses a combination of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) in order to identify latent dimensions. This method was proposed by Gerbing and Anderson (1988). The first step is to conduct a preliminary round of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) on the matrix of polychoric correlations generated from the user response data. The number of dimensions extracted is based on the Cattell scree test, which plots the eigenvalues of each component on a graph, known as a scree plot, and identifies a break-point or “elbow”, where the curve flattens out. I retain those factors that appear above the “elbow” in the graph (Costello and Osborne, 2005). After the number of factors to extract is identified, I use a promax rotation to best identify groups of items that measure more or less the same latent dimension. Promax is used rather than varimax because varimax assumes that the latent factors are orthogonal, which is not

necessarily the case. Promax is non-orthogonal (oblique) rotation method that does not make this assumption.

EFA is used to provide a first insight into how the latent dimensions (if such exist) are structured. The next step is to group together items that load strongly (with factor loadings greater than 0.4) or unambiguously (with factor loadings greater than 0.3) onto one or other dimension. These groups then form the basis for a further CFA in order to test the hypothesis that the items in each group are indeed associated with a specific latent factor. As long as the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) remains below 0.95 and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) remains above 0.08, I examine the modification indices in order to identify any item that appears to load strongly onto a factor associated with another group or exhibits abnormal error covariance with other items, remove that item and retest the model with CFA. I repeat this process until the RMSEA and the CFI are within the specified limits.

However, there is one further test that we need to perform before we can be satisfied that our groups of items reflect, and reflect unambiguously, a given latent factor. Drawing from Item Response Theory (IRT), I test that each group of items that is supposed to be associated with a given factor exhibits what is known as monotonicity, which means that as the value of the latent factor increases or decreases, so does the probability of endorsing an individual item associated with that factor (Mokken, 1971; Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002). I use this test because monotonicity is not already assumed by CFA models. I perform it by looking at the covariance of each item with the rest score, which is calculated as the sum of all the other items that load onto the same factor. The two variables should covary unidirectionally, or at least violations of this principle should be kept to a minimum. Monotonicity is tested using the *check.monotonicity* function in the *mokken* package in R and the programme generates “crit” values for each item to measure violations. Generally speaking, “crit” values of less than 40 are considered as no more than a reflection of a sampling error and as long as “crit” remains below 80 for all items the

violations are not considered serious (van de Ark, 2007; 2012). However, “crit” values of more than 80 indicate serious violations of monotonicity and suggest that the relevant item should be removed from the scale. For this reason, I check the monotonicity of each of the groups of items that satisfy the parameters of CFA and remove any items that produce “crit” values of more than 80.

Presenting the Results of the Analysis

Tables A1 to A5 (overleaf) show all thirty policy statements in each of the VAAs used for this article. After each statement, abbreviations are added to show the way the statement is classified: first in terms of the thirty policy categories identified above, then in terms of the ex ante defined dimensions, with “ecoLR” used to abbreviate the economic Left/Right dimension and “TanGal” representing the Tan/Gal dimension. If the statement is not deemed to belong to any dimension, neither dimensional abbreviation is used. The right hand column of the tables shows the factor loadings when EFA using a “principal axis” factor solution is applied with a promax rotation and the number of factors extracted corresponds to the number of dimensions identified by the Cattell scree test. The indices in this column are highlighted in bold if they also satisfy both the goodness of fit criteria when CFA is applied and the monotonicity test and therefore belong to the scales identified in Table 3 of the main manuscript. The scree plots generated by applying EFA to the five datasets are shown in Figure A1.

The Problem of Sampling Bias

Using VAA-generated data as if it were survey data in order to explain political phenomena may invite the criticism that any conclusions one may draw are not valid because the sample of VAA users is unrepresentative of the population as a whole. Typically VAAs are accessed by a self-selected sample of relatively well-educated (and disproportionately young or middle-aged) voters, who often self-

identify with the Left of the political spectrum (see Table A6 for the demographic characteristics of VAA users in each case). Can we therefore make reliable inferences about the population at large from data provided by such a non-representative sample? To address this question, we need to see if our findings can be duplicated on more representative datasets. I attempt to do this by repeating the CFA for each country on new samples that are randomly selected from the datasets according to vote intention in such a way as to approximate the voting preferences of the electorate.¹ While these samples may still not be fully representative demographically, retesting them with CFA should show how robust any conclusions we may draw from this analysis may be.² Major differences in the fit indices between the full datasets and the sampled datasets would lead us to be highly sceptical of these conclusions.

The inductive model holds up rather well if the same factor models are applied on the resampled datasets. The right hand column of Table A7 shows the CFA goodness of fit indices for the inductive model using the sampled dataset. From Table A7 we see that these indices are little changed from those that are generated by the original datasets (see Table 3 in the main manuscript), suggesting that the models are rather robust. Although the RMSEA for the sampled Catalonia dataset is rather high, it does not exceed the 0.1 threshold above which the fit is generally considered poor. Moreover, the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) are even slightly higher for the sampled dataset, suggesting that overall the fit remains acceptable.

¹ For each party's voters (i.e. those who declared in the VAA that they intended to vote for that party), a number proportional to the party's voting strength on polling day was randomly selected from the dataset. The selections were then combined to form a new dataset that reflected the overall voting preferences of the electorate of the territory at the time of the election. In order to factor in those who did not vote, a sample of "non-voters" was taken from those who declared in the VAA that they would not vote and, if necessary, was topped up from a random sample of those who declared themselves "undecided". This group of "non voters" made up the same proportion of the new dataset as the proportion of "non voters" in the electorate at large.

² Often a practice called raking is used to give extra weight to respondents in a survey who are under-represented in comparison with their numerical strength amongst the population at large. However, I reject this approach on the grounds that it gives increased weights to those who are atypical of their group. For example, if we have in our sample very few poorly-educated pensioners, it would be a mistake to give these few respondents extra weight because these individuals are exceptional with respect to their group by the very fact that they participate in an Internet survey.

Table A1.a: The Policy Space: Bulgaria

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2	Dim 3
1	The policy of austerity should be continued in order to overcome the economic crisis (Aus, ecoLR).	-0.504		
2	The flat tax should be scrapped and an income tax should be introduced (ManIneq, ecoLR).	0.527	0.166	0.131
3	The impact of monopolies can be limited only by open competition (SR/P, ecoLR).	-0.496	0.273	
4	Taxes need to be increased in order to have an effective social policy (TSB, ecoLR).	0.244		0.226
5	The CBA (currency board) should be preserved as a guarantee of financial stability (Aus, ecoLR).	-0.582	0.104	
6	To generate more jobs, enterprises should become state-owned (SR/P, ecoLR).	0.752	0.169	
7	Foreign ownership of Bulgarian enterprises should be banned (FI/P).	0.627	0.274	
8	There should be special subsidies for tobacco growers (TSB, ecoLR).	0.377	0.192	0.226
9	Construction of the Belene nuclear power plant should be revived (Env).	0.635		
10	Bulgaria's natural resources should be exploited only by the state (SR/P, ecoLR).	0.552	0.375	
11	Promoting economic development is more important than protecting nature (Env).			
12	Health care reform should encourage competition in the sector (Pserv, ecoLR).	-0.527	0.264	
13	Young families should be supported in order to increase the birth rate (ProtFam, TanGal).	0.121	0.436	
14	People with different sexual orientations should be allowed to express their preferences freely (Gay, TanGal).	-0.164		0.436*
15	The death penalty should be introduced for the gravest crimes (LOS, TanGal).	0.185	0.369	-0.243
16	Religion classes should be introduced in schools (Rch, TanGal).		0.293	
17	Teaching of the mother tongue, other than Bulgarian, should be mandatory in state and municipal schools (LangR).			0.544*
18	The state should provide public funds for Roma integration in the labour market (MinR, TanGal).			0.573
19	Different religions should enjoy the same state support (MinR, TanGal).			0.623
20	Islam is part of the cultural history of Bulgaria (MinR, TanGal).		-0.112	0.650
21	As a mechanism of the citizens' control, voters should have the right to deselect MPs (Const).		0.666	
22	Bulgaria should adopt a new constitution (Const).		0.538	
23	A new majoritarian voting system should be adopted (Const).		0.615	
24	Lawmakers should bear criminal responsibility for their political decisions (Misc).		0.647	

* Either item can be included in the CFA model, but not both.

Table A1.b: The Policy Space: Bulgaria (continued)

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2	Dim 3
25	The government will be more responsible if appointed by the President (Const).		0.352	
26	Turkey should be a member of the European Union (TkEU).	-0.119		0.503
27	The development of (good) relations with Russia is of utmost importance for Bulgaria (FP).	0.536	0.206	
28	Bulgarian membership in NATO is a guarantee of security (FP).	-0.684	0.108	0.114
29	Bulgaria should leave the European Union (EUInt).	0.657	0.103	-0.104
30	Bulgaria should join the Eurozone (EUInt).	-0.362	0.143	

Table A2: The Policy Space: Catalonia

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2
1	The adoption of the Euro was positive for Spain (EUInt).		0.284
2	Public institutions should regulate the economy more (SR/P, ecoLR).		-0.466
3	La Caixa should become a publicly owned Catalan bank (SR/P, ecoLR).	0.104	-0.419
4	Salary cuts for civil servants are necessary (Aus, ecoLR).	0.151	0.603
5	To avoid an outflow of capital, it is necessary to pay less tax (TSB, ecoLR).		0.465
6	Economic growth is more important than protecting the environment (Env).		0.484
7	The current fiscal regime is acceptable for Catalonia (Aut).	-0.737	
8	The current economic crisis demands prioritizing the protection of social rights over the national rights of Catalonia (Aut).	-0.756	-0.259
9	Catalonia is a nation (SepNat).	0.919	
10	If Catalonia were an independent state, the impact of the economic crisis would be less (Ind).	0.882	0.119
11	Catalonia should defend its interests directly in the EU (Ind).	0.899	0.102
12	In the current situation, Catalonia already fulfils its aspirations for self-government (Aut).	-0.461	
13	Catalonia should participate with its own sports teams in international competitions (Aut).	0.883	
14	The Catalan government should hold a referendum on self-determination even if it is unconstitutional (Ind).	0.818	-0.109
15	It is necessary to reform the electoral law in Spain because the current one benefits nationalist parties (Const).	-0.396	
16	A parliamentary monarchy is a better form of government than a republic (Const).	-0.424	0.491
17	Privatization of public services implies a reduction in their quality (PrivServ, ecoLR).	-0.175	-0.632
18	Subsidies to trade unions should be eliminated (LabR, ecoLR).		0.492
19	Cutting unemployment benefit provides an incentive to seek work (TSB, ecoLR).	0.127	0.669
20	The policy of linguistic normalization endangers Castilian (LangR).	-0.709	0.226
21	The unemployed should do community work if they want to receive unemployment benefit (TSB, ecoLR).	0.130	0.533
22	The Catholic Church enjoys too many economic privileges (Rch, TanGal).	0.113	-0.567
23	Catholicism is a part of the national identity (Rch, TanGal).		0.497
24	Laws on abortion should be more restrictive (Abort, TanGal).	-0.174	0.592
25	Laws should be reformed to toughen sentences for criminals (LOS, TanGal).		0.477
26	Immigrants without papers should have access to public healthcare (Imm, TanGal).		-0.644
27	The legalization of same-sex marriages is positive for society (Gay, TanGal).	0.143	-0.620
28	An increase in university fees is necessary for the sustainability of the university system (Pserv, ecoLR).	0.168	0.641
29	Measures against demonstrations and rallies should be strengthened to prevent disorder in the streets (ResDem).		0.726
30	The arrival of people from other countries makes this country a better place to live (Imm, TanGal).		-0.467

Table A3.a: The Policy Space: Germany

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2
1	Parents who do not put their children in the creche should receive a care allowance (ProtFam).		-0.238
2	The use of nurseries should be free (PServ).	0.365	
3	Government funding for students, students/trainees and interns (EED) should be paid regardless of parental income (TSB).	0.153	
4	Education policy should remain with the states (Decent).	-0.144	
5	The school system should enable a longer learning together (Pserv, ecoLR).	0.477	0.127
6	In the future, there should be common bonds of all EU countries (Eurobonds) (EUInt).	0.131	0.489
7	The D-Mark should be reintroduced (EUInt).	0.347	-0.812
8	Organic farming should get more subsidies from the state (Env).	0.395	0.167
9	The German railway should be fully privatized (SR/P, ecoLR).	-0.316	
10	The planned abandonment of nuclear energy should remain (Env).	0.326	0.401
11	The wealth tax should be reintroduced so that, despite public debt, public investments can be made (ManIneq, ecoLR).	0.662	
12	The income tax should be reduced for low income earners (ManIneq, ecoLR).	0.597	-0.200
13	The fuel tax should be reduced (Env).	0.155	-0.604
14	Corporate taxes should be increased, even if some companies threaten to move abroad (TSB, ecoLR).	0.662	
15	The state should go into debt to make the necessary investment in social policy and infrastructure (Aus, ecoLR).	0.332	0.166
16	A statutory area-wide minimum wage should be introduced (ManIneq, ecoLR).	0.730	
17	Companies should be allowed to decide the amount of executive salaries without government restrictions (ManIneq, ecoLR).	-0.534	0.127
18	The occupational employment protection should be relaxed, so that new jobs can be created easily (LabR, ecoLR).	-0.485	
19	When filling managerial positions in companies there should be a legal quota for women (Misc).	0.357	0.293
20	The levels set for unemployment benefits (Hartz IV) should be raised (TSB, ecoLR).	0.562	0.165
21	Germany should play the leading role in the EU (Misc).	-0.290	
22	Turkey should become a full member of the EU (TkEU).		0.577
23	There should be a general ban on arms exports by German companies (Misc).	0.568	0.125
24	European agricultural subsidies should be reduced significantly (EUInt).		
25	Germany should have an independent foreign policy from the United States (FP).	0.525	-0.319

Table A3.b: The Policy Space: Germany (continued)

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2
26	A monitoring programme on the Internet is necessary to combat terrorism (LOS, TanGal).	-0.355	
27	Same-sex civil partnerships should receive full adoption rights (Gay, TanGal).	0.168	0.435
28	It should be possible to hold referendums at the federal level (Const).	0.576	-0.383
29	Christian values should be the guiding principle of German policy (Rch, TanGal).	-0.257	-0.170
30	Germany should take more refugees from war zones (Asy, TanGal).	0.142	0.661

Table A4.a: The Policy Space: Greece (May 2012)

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2
1	Priority should be given to economic growth even if this leads to a wider gap between rich and poor (ManIneq, ecoLR).	0.563	-0.198
2	Taxes on large corporations should be increased (TSB, ecoLR).	-0.445	
3	The extraction and exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country will lead to environmental degradation rather than contribute to economic growth (Env).	-0.173	0.336
4	The installation of solar panels on productive and fertile agricultural land should be prohibited (Env).	-0.189	
5	Privatization will help reduce the deficit (SR/P, ecoLR).	0.681	-0.139
6	Strong policing in town centers should be implemented to tackle crime (LOS, TanGal).	0.261	-0.630
7	The installation and use of closed circuit cameras in public places (e.g. shopping centers) should be prohibited (LOS, TanGal).	-0.410	0.381
8	In order to maintain order in the cities, the state should take more restrictive measures on demonstrations (ResDem).	0.621	-0.278
9	Granting Greek citizenship on favorable terms to second generation immigrants will encourage further immigration to Greece (Imm, TanGal).		-0.600
10	Multiculturalism in Greece is a positive phenomenon (Mult, TanGal).	0.243	0.799
11	To combat unemployment, workers must accept the new forms of flexible working conditions (e.g. part time jobs) (LabR, ecoLR).	0.723	
12	Co-funding the universities by private investors will have negative effects on higher education (PrivServ, ecoLR).	-0.571	0.115
13	The introduction of university fees will ensure a better functioning of the public university (Pserv, ecoLR).	0.557	-0.120
14	Merging smaller hospital and creating large hospitals will lead to a deterioration in the provision of health services (Pserv, ecoLR).	-0.563	
15	It is feasible to reorganize the public sector without dismissing civil servants (Aus, ecoLR).	-0.485	
16	Pay cuts are necessary for overcoming the crisis (Aus, ecoLR).	0.644	
17	The proper implementation of the IMF/EU/ECB memoranda will help Greece to overcome the financial crisis (Aus, ecoLR).	0.857	0.141
18	The loans provided to Greece have only benefited the banks and lenders (Aus, ecoLR).	-0.848	-0.194
19	Signing the memoranda with the IMF/EU/ECB means selling out Greece to foreigners (Aus).	-0.892	-0.366
20	The second memorandum with the IMF/EU/ECB was necessary to prevent Greece from bankruptcy (Aus, ecoLR).	0.852	0.143

Table A4.b: The Policy Space: Greece (May 2012) (continued)

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2
21	The Inter-governmental Fiscal Treaty will not help Europe to overcome the crisis (EUInt).	-0.351	
22	Greece's exit from the euro zone would help address the economic crisis (EUInt).	-0.662	
23	Possession of soft drugs (eg. cannabis) for personal use should be decriminalized (LOS, TanGal).	0.172	0.568
24	Reducing defence spending (e.g. closing military camps) will provide resources for the welfare state (Def).	0.231	0.598
25	Economic growth can be achieved by liberalizing all of the closed professions (Misc, ecoLR).	0.562	
26	Church property should be exempted from taxation so that the church can engage in charitable causes (Rch, TanGal).		-0.373
27	The participation of (non-MP) technocrats in the cabinet will lead to a better management of the economy (Misc).	0.647	
28	Greece should strengthen its ties with Israel (FP).	0.407	-0.152
29	The name issue of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) should be resolved by Greece's acceptance of a composite name with a geographical qualifier (FP).	0.390	0.491
30	Greece should leave the European Union (EUInt).	-0.719	

Table A5.a: The Policy Space: Greece (June 2012)

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2
1	To combat unemployment, workers must accept signing individual contracts (LabR, ecoLR).	0.707	
2	It is necessary to streamline costs in the area of education, even if this means school mergers (Pserv, ecoLR).	0.721	
3	The financing of universities from private resources in higher education will reduce their independence (PrivServ, ecoLR).	-0.594	
4	The creation of large hospitals through mergers will lead to a deterioration of services (eg late treatment) (Pserv, ecoLR).	-0.650	
5	Is it possible to reorganize the public sector without the dismissal of civil servants (Aus, ecoLR).	-0.553	
6	A decrease in salaries in the public sector is necessary for emerging from the crisis (Aus, ecoLR).	0.579	
7	There should be strict policing of city centers to tackle crime even if citizens are subject to increased controls (LOS, TanGal).	0.411	-0.535
8	Immigrants without documents should be deported immediately from Greece (Imm, TanGal).	0.207	-0.734
9	In order to maintain order in the cities, the state should take more restrictive measures on demonstrations (ResDem).	0.661	-0.263
10	Immigrant children born in Greece should be allowed to obtain Greek citizenship (Mult, TanGal).		0.741
11	The existence of multiculturalism in Greece is a positive phenomenon (Mult, TanGal).	0.117	0.824
12	Believers religions other than Christianity should have the right to build their own places of worship in Greece (Rch, TanGal).	0.167	0.776
13	People of the same sex should have the right to sign a civil partnership (Gay, TanGal).	0.138	0.717
14	Possession of soft drugs (such as marijuana) for personal use should be decriminalized (LOS, TanGal).		0.520
15	Greece needs to strengthen economic ties with Israel even if it has a negative impact on the country's relations with Palestine (FP).	0.551	-0.115
16	The name issue of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) should be resolved by Greece's acceptance of a composite name with a geographical qualifier (FP).	0.287	0.584
17	Greece should require recognition of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) by Turkey (FP).		-0.369
18	Greece must move to reduce its defense expenditure (e.g. by further closures of barracks) (Def, TanGal).		0.604
19	There is need to reduce the corporate tax to prevent capital flight to neighbouring countries (TSB, ecoLR).	0.567	-0.234

Table A5.b: The Policy Space: Greece (June 2012), continued

Item	Issue Statement	Dim 1	Dim 2
20	Priority should be given to economic development even if it results in gap between rich and poor (ManIneq, ecoLR).	0.624	-0.154
21	The extraction and exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country will lead to environmental degradation rather than help economic development (Env).	-0.218	0.313
22	Privatization will contribute positively to tackling the deficit (SR/P, ecoLR).	0.784	
23	Economic growth can be achieved by liberalizing all of the closed professions (Misc, ecoLR).	0.619	
24	The termination of the terms of loan agreement (with the Troika) is a prerequisite for exit from the crisis (Aus, ecoLR).	-0.790	-0.122
25	Signing the memoranda with the troika means selling out Greece to foreigners (Aus).	-0.864	-0.324
26	The second memorandum with the IMF/EU/ECB was necessary to prevent Greece from bankruptcy (Aus, ecoLR).	0.858	0.152
27	The policy of economic austerity, although hard, is essential to bring about development in Greece (Aus, ecoLR).	0.763	
28	The return of the Greek national currency will contribute effectively to the exit from the crisis (EUInt).	-0.705	-0.121
29	The participation of unelected technocrats in government is beneficial for the rehabilitation of the economy (Misc).	0.695	
30	Greece should leave the European Union (EUInt).	-0.748	

Table A6: Demographic Characteristics of VAA users

Territory	Average age	%Female	% Higher education *
Bulgaria	36	44.4	80.7
Catalonia	33	35.4	76.7
Germany	34	35.9	74.8
Greece (May 2012)	37	41.2	77.4
Greece (June 2012)	37	31.2	82.1

* Higher education refers to education at university or technical college

Table A7: Fit Indices based on Resampled Dataset

Entity	Fit Indices	Values
Bulgaria	CFI	0.942
	TLI	0.932
	RMSEA	0.065
Catalonia	CFI	0.958
	TLI	0.953
	RMSEA	0.091
Germany	CFI	0.953
	TLI	0.942
	RMSEA	0.061
Greece (May)	CFI	0.952
	TLI	0.944
	RMSEA	0.079

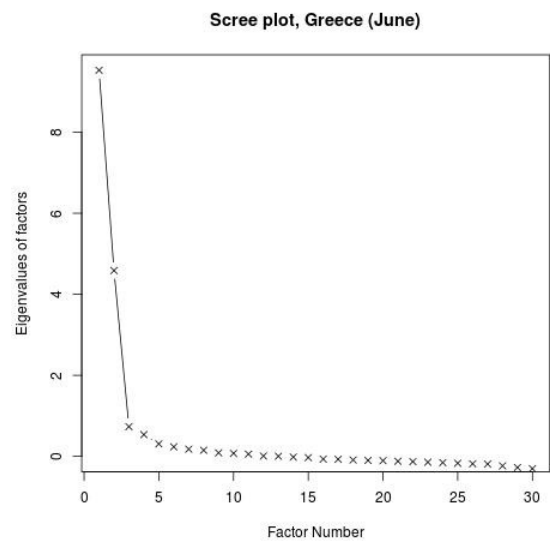
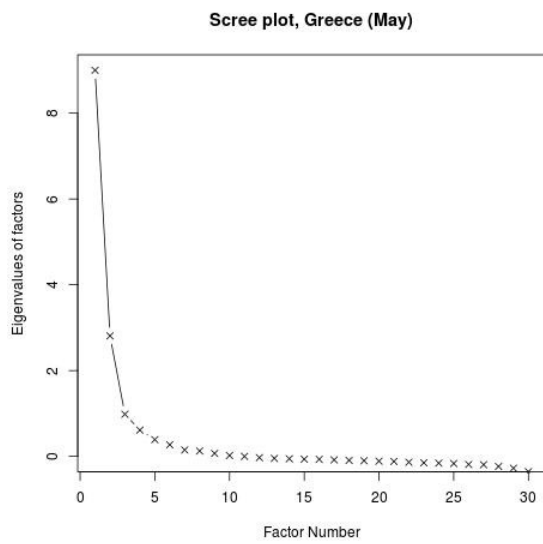
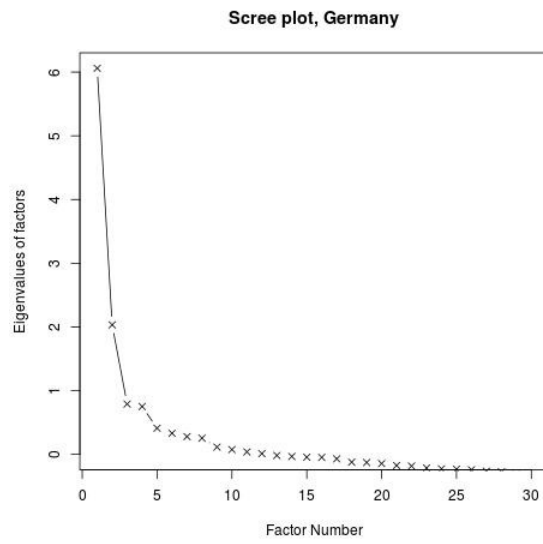
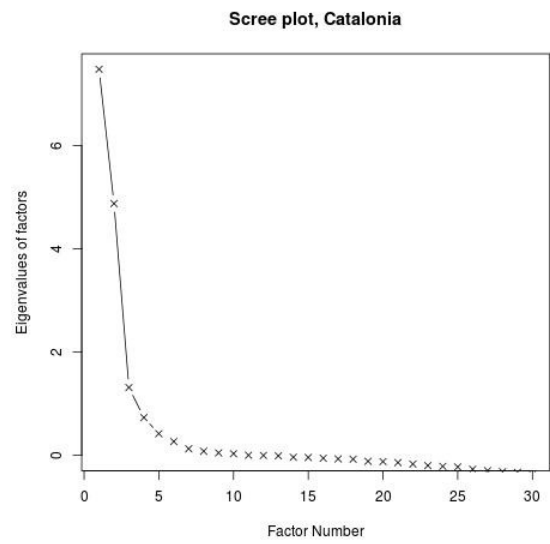
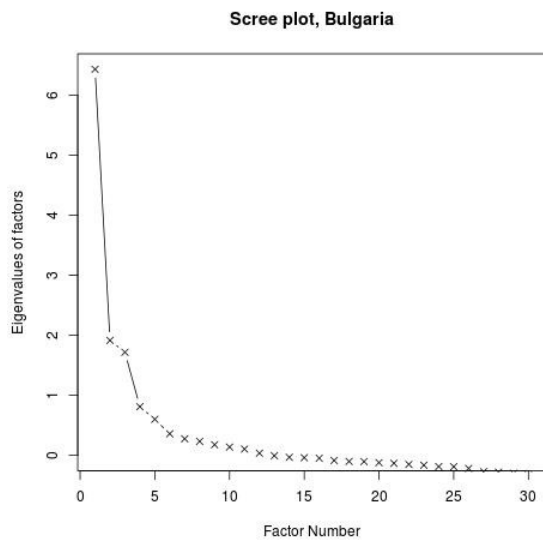


Figure A1: Scree plots

GLOSSARY: ABBREVIATIONS FOR PARTIES

Bulgaria

ATAKA Attack

BSP Balgarska Sotsialisticheska Partiya, Bulgarian Socialist Party

KzB Koalitsiya za Bulgariya, Coalition for Bulgaria

GERB Grazhdani za evropeysko razvitie na Bulgariya, Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria

Catalonia/Spain

C's Ciutadans—Partido de la Ciudadanía, Citizens—Party of the Citizenry

CiU Convergència i Unió, Convergence and Union

ERC-CAT Sí Esquerra Republicana de Catalonia—Catalonia Sí, Republican Left of Catalonia—

Catalonia Yes

ICV-EUiA Iniciativa per Catalonia Verds—Esquerra Unida i Alternativa, Initiative for Catalonia Greens

—United and Alternative Left

IU Izquierda Unida, United Left

PPC Partit Popular Català, People's Party of Catalonia

PP Partido Popular, People's Party

PSC Partit dels Socialistes de Catalonia, Party of Socialists of Catalonia

PSOE Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party

Germany

CDU Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands, Christian Democratic Union of Germany

CSU Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern, Christian-Social Union of Bavaria

FDP Freie Demokratische Partei, Free Democratic Party

GRÜNE Grüne Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Alliance '90/The Greens

LINKE Die Linke, The Left Party

SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, Social Democratic Party of Germany

Greece

ANEL Anexartitoi Ellines, Independent Greeks

DIMAR Dimokratiki Aristera, Democratic Left

KKE Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas, Communist Party of Greece

ND Néa Dimokratía, New Democracy

PASOK Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima, Panhellenic Socialist Movement

SYRIZA Synaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás, Coalition of the Radical Left

XA Chrysi Avgi, Golden Dawn

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