Special Issue: Conflict Mobilization or Problem-solving? Issue Competition in Western Europe

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'The times they are a-changin': Party campaign strategies in the 2018 Italian election

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# **Online Appendices**

Appendix A – Additional figures and tables

Table A1. Complete configurations of IY and IE for Italian parties on valence issues (Rank indicates cross-party IY ranking on that goal).

		FDI			FI			LEU			League	e		M5S			PD			+E	UR
Goal	IY	Rank	IE	IY	Rank	IE	IY	Rank	IE	IY	Rank	IE	IY	Rank	IE	IY	Rank	IE	IY	Rank	IE
Fight unemployment	0.12	5	0.03	0.21	2	0.14	0.08	6	0.03	0.19	4	0.04	0.25	1	0.00	0.21	3	0.13	0.06	7	0.00
Fight corruption	0.08	6	0.00	0.10	4	0.00	0.09	5	0.00	0.14	3	0.00	0.30	1	0.03	0.16	2	0.00	0.07	7	0.00
Support economic growth	0.11	5	0.01	0.23	1	0.07	0.07	6	0.02	0.18	4	0.03	0.22	2	0.03	0.22	3	0.14	0.06	7	0.10
Protect Italy from terrorist attacks	0.17	5	0.02	0.21	2	0.00	0.07	7	0.00	0.30	1	0.00	0.19	3	0.00	0.19	4	0.00	0.07	6	0.00
Make Italy count more in Europe	0.10	6	0.01	0.20	3	0.04	0.06	7	0.00	0.18	4	0.02	0.21	1	0.00	0.21	2	0.00	0.10	5	0.05
Reduce poverty in Italy	0.08	6	0.02	0.15	3	0.10	0.09	5	0.03	0.15	4	0.01	0.29	1	0.03	0.18	2	0.04	0.06	7	0.00
Make citizens safer from crime	0.20	2	0.22	0.19	3	0.07	0.06	6	0.01	0.36	1	0.06	0.19	4	0.00	0.14	5	0.07	0.04	7	0.01
Reduce the costs of politics	0.06	5	0.00	0.09	3	0.00	0.03	7	0.00	0.10	2	0.00	0.41	1	0.00	0.09	4	0.00	0.04	6	0.00
Ensure the good functioning of healthcare system	0.11	5	0.01	0.17	3	0.00	0.07	6	0.14	0.17	4	0.00	0.21	1	0.13	0.18	2	0.02	0.05	7	0.02
Fight pollution and disruption of territory	0.07	7	0.08	0.11	3	0.01	0.10	5	0.21	0.11	4	0.00	0.27	1	0.32	0.16	2	0.04	0.09	6	0.02
Improve Italian education	0.09	5	0.04	0.17	3	0.00	0.08	6	0.09	0.14	4	0.02	0.21	1	0.26	0.18	2	0.05	0.08	7	0.02
Renew Italian politics	0.07	5	0.01	0.10	4	0.00	0.05	6	0.03	0.12	2	0.00	0.32	1	0.06	0.11	3	0.00	0.04	7	0.05

Table A2. Complete configurations of IY and IE for Italian parties on positional issues (R indicates cross-party IY ranking on that goal).

Table A2. Complete configurations of 14 and 18		FDI			FI			LEU		League			M5S			PD			+	R	
Goal	IY	R	IE	IY	R	IE	IY	R	IE	IY	R	IE	IY	R	IE	IY	R	IE	IY	R	IE
Reduce income differences							0.16	2	0.00	0.05	4	0.00	0.24	1	0.00	0.15	3	0.00			
Do not reduce income differences	0.07	1	0.00	0.06	2	0.00													0.03	3	0.00
Limit economic globalisation	0.11	3	0.05							0.19	1	0.03	0.17	2	0.00						
Promote economic globalisation				0.11	2	0.00	0.05	3	0.05							0.21	1	0.00	0.04	4	0.03
Stay in the euro				0.13	4	0.01	0.36	3	0.00							0.56	1	0.00	0.47	2	0.02
Leave the euro	0.04	3	0.00							0.31	1	0.02	0.09	2	0.00						
Stay in the EU				0.11	4	0.01	0.37	3	0.01				0.08	5	0.00	0.46	1	0.05	0.43	2	0.39
Leave the EU	0.10	2	0.00							0.27	1	0.00									
Make the EU economic policies more flexible	0.16	3	0.01	0.14	4	0.00	0.05	6	0.04	0.17	2	0.05	0.19	1	0.00	0.11	5	0.00			
Keep EU economic austerity																			0.04	1	0.02
Make citizenship for regular immigrants' children easier							0.40	2	0.02							0.43	1	0.00	0.30	3	0.00
Keep current legislation on citizenship for immigrants' children	0.23	2	0.00	0.16	3	0.00				0.42	1	0.01	0.13	4	0.00						
Keep current levels of access to welfare benefits for immigrants							0.34	1	0.00							0.30	2	0.00	0.29	3	0.00
Restrict access to welfare benefits for immigrants	0.29	2	0.01	0.12	3	0.00				0.48	1	0.04	0.08	4	0.00						
Continue to accept refugees like now							0.31	2	0.05							0.26	3	0.01	0.33	1	0.16
Limit the number of refugees	0.34	2	0.22	0.24	3	0.14				0.57	1	0.27	0.17	4	0.00		_				
Keep current legislation on the End-of-life		_		0.09	5	0.00	0.22	3	0.00		_		0.15		0.00	0.32	1	0.01	0.31	2	0.03
Abolish current legislation on the End-of-life	0.08	1	0.00	0.05		0.00	0.22	-	0.00	0.08	2	0.00	0.10	·	0.00	0.52	•	0.01	0.51	_	0.02
Keep same-sex unions		_					0.21	3	0.02		_		0.13	4	0.00	0.34	1	0.02	0.32	2	0.02
Abolish same-sex unions	0.19	1	0.00	0.09	3	0.00	0.21	,	0.02	0.14	2	0.00	0.15	•	0.00	0.5 1	•	0.02	0.52	-	0.02
Legalise soft drugs	0.17	1	0.00	0.07	5	0.00	0.16	2	0.00	0.11	_	0.00	0.08	3	0.00	0.08	4	0.00	0.47	1	0.04
Keep soft drugs illegal	0.12	3	0.00	0.16	1	0.00	0.10	_	0.00	0.14	2	0.00	0.00	3	0.00	0.00	7	0.00	0.47	1	0.04
Reduce freedom of enterprise, making it harder to hire and fire	0.12	J	0.00	0.10	1	0.00	0.19	1	0.00	0.11	_	0.00	0.13	2	0.00				0.05	3	0.00
Increase freedom for enterprise, making it easier to hire and fire	0.11	3	0.00	0.12	2	0.00	0.17	1	0.00	0.13	1	0.00	0.13	_	0.00	0.06	4	0.01	0.05	J	0.00
Keep mandatory requirements for vaccines	0.11	J	0.00	0.12	4	0.00	0.22	2	0.01	0.07	5					0.43	1	0.10	0.16	3	0.01
Abolish mandatory requirements for vaccines	0.04	2	0.00	0.14	7	0.00	0.22	_	0.01	0.07	5	0.02	0.05	1	0.00	0.43	1	0.10	0.10	5	0.01
Legalise and regulate prostitution	0.04		0.00	0.05	6	0.00	0.02	7	0.00	0.36	1	0.03	0.03		0.00	0.06	5	0.00	0.07	4	0.00
Keep current legislation on prostitution	0.13	_	0.02	0.03	O	0.00	0.02	,	0.00	0.50	1	0.03	0.00	5	0.00	0.00	5	0.00	0.07	7	0.00
Keep current legislation on the abuse of self-defence							0.23	1	0.00							0.10	2	0.00	0.08	3	0.01
Decriminalise the abuse of self-defence	0.31	2	0.09	0.12	2	0.00	0.23	1	0.00	0.40	1	0.05	0.10	4	0.00	0.10	2	0.00	0.08	3	0.01
	0.31	2 4	0.09		3	0.00					1		0.10		0.06						
Lower pension age	0.13	4	0.02	0.15	3	0.02	0.07	2	0.00	0.28	1	0.13	0.23	2	0.00	0.21	1	0.00	0.10	2	0.01
Keep current law on pension age	0.16	2	0.01				0.07	3	0.00							0.21	1		0.18	2	0.01
Keep the present cost of university tuition fees	0.16	2	0.01	0.12	2	0.00	0.15	1	0.07	0.00	4	0.00	0.12	2	0.00	0.23	1	0.00	0.06	3	0.00
Scrap the cost of university tuition fees				0.12	3	0.00	0.15	1	0.07	0.08	4	0.00	0.13	2	0.00	0.22		0.12	0.22	2	0.00
Keep progressive taxation on income	0.14	2	0.06	0.24		0.20	0.22	3	0.12	0.00	_	0.00	0.20	4	0.00	0.33	1	0.12	0.22	2	0.00
Introduce a flat tax	0.14	3	0.06	0.24	1	0.39	0.16	•	0.00	0.23	2	0.09	0.21		0.00	0.1.1		0.04	0.44	_	0.00
Introduce the hourly minimum wage	0.00			0.15	3	0.00	0.16	2	0.00	0.10	6	0.01	0.21	1	0.00	0.14	4	0.04	0.11	5	0.00
Do not introduce the hourly minimum wage	0.02	1	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.10	•	0.00	0.05		0.00	0.20		0.00						
Introduce a basic income for those living in poverty	0.06	_		0.08	3	0.00	0.10	2	0.00	0.07	4	0.00	0.38	1	0.00	0.40		0.00	0.02	_	0.00
Do not introduce a basic income for those living in poverty	0.06	2	0.01		_											0.10	1	0.02	0.03	3	0.00
Intensify the fight against tax evasion	0.10	5	0.00	0.08	7	0.01	0.17	3	0.01	0.16	4	0.05	0.22	1	0.03	0.21	2	0.06	0.08	6	0.00
Do not intensify the fight against tax evasion		_			_			_						_						_	
Increase economic bonuses to families with children	0.11	5	0.06	0.17	3	0.00	0.08	6	0.01	0.14	4	0.01	0.19	2	0.03	0.19	1	0.07	0.04	7	0.01
Do not increase economic bonuses to families with children																					

**Table A3.** Top-5 Issue Yield goals for minor Italian parties (valence issues in italics).

Party	Goal	IY	IY Cross- party ranking
	1		
	Limit the number of refugees	0.34	2
_	Decriminalise the abuse of self-defence	0.31	2
FDI	Restrict access to welfare benefits for immigrants	0.29	2
	Keep current legislation on citizenship for immigrants' children	0.23	2
	Make citizens safer from crime	0.20	2
	Make citizenship for regular immigrants' children easier	0.40	2
	Stay in the EU	0.37	3
LEU	Stay in the euro	0.36	3
I	Keep current levels of access to welfare benefits for immigrants	0.34	1
	Continue to accept refugees like now	0.31	2
	Stay in the euro	0.47	2
	Legalise soft drugs	0.47	1
JR	Stay in the EU	0.43	2
+EUR	Continue to accept refugees like now	0.33	1
1	Keep same-sex unions	0.32	2

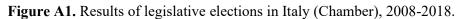
**Table A4.** Top-5 goals by Issue Emphasis on Twitter for minor Italian parties (valence issues in italics).

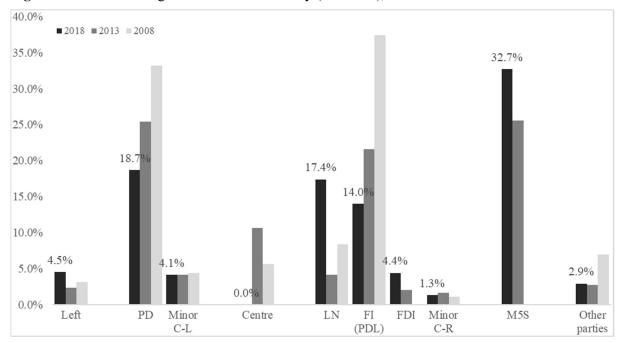
Party	Goal	IE	IY cross- party ranking
		0.22	2
	Limit the number of refugees	0.22	2
_	Make citizens safer from crime	0.22	2
FDI	Decriminalise the abuse of self-defence	0.09	2
	Fight pollution and disruption of territory	0.08	7
	Increase economic bonuses to families with children	0.06	5
LEU	Fight pollution and disruption of territory Ensure the good functioning of healthcare system Keep tax progressivity on income Improve Italian education Scrap the cost of university tuition fees	0.21 0.14 0.12 0.09 0.06	5 6 3 6
	Stay in the EU	0.39	2
~	Continue to accept refugees like now	0.16	1
+EUR	Support economic growth	0.10	7
+	Make Italy count more in Europe	0.05	5
	Renew Italian politics	0.05	7

Note: Goals that were also among the top-5 according to IY are in bold.

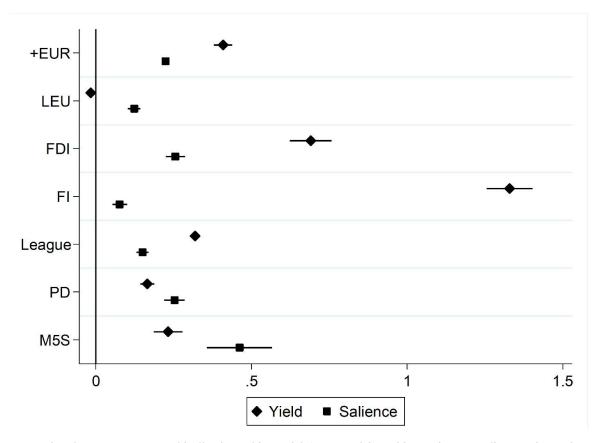
**Table A5.** Issue strategies for various Italian parties: Effects of Issue Yield and Systemic Salience on Issue Emphasis.

•	Mode	1 1	Model 2				
IY	0.30***	(0.07)	0.41***	(0.01)			
SS	0.22***	(0.03)	0.22***	(0.01)			
+EUR (reference category)				•			
LEU			0.14***	(0.00)			
FDI			-0.05***	(0.01)			
FI			-0.03***	(0.01)			
League			$0.07^{***}$	(0.00)			
PD			0.00	(0.01)			
M5S			-0.20***	(0.05)			
+EUR (reference category) x IY							
LEU x IY			-0.42***	(0.01)			
FDI x IY			0.28***	(0.02)			
FI x IY			0.92***	(0.02)			
League x IY			-0.09***	(0.01)			
PD x IY			-0.24***	(0.00)			
M5S x IY			-0.18***	(0.01)			
+EUR (reference category) x SS							
LEU x SS			-0.10***	(0.00)			
FDI x SS			$0.03^{**}$	(0.01)			
FI x SS			-0.15***	(0.01)			
League x SS			-0.07***	(0.00)			
PD x SS			$0.03^{*}$	(0.01)			
M5S x SS			0.24***	(0.05)			
Constant	-0.22***	(0.04)	-0.23***	(0.01)			
Sigma Constant	0.08***	(0.01)	0.07***	(0.01)			
Observations	238		238				
AIC	-148.9	97	-186.16				
BIC	-135.0	98	-182.68				
VarExp	0.22.	5	0.335				





**Figure A2.** Marginal effects of Issue Yield and Systemic Salience on Issue Emphasis for Italian parties.



Note: The chart represents graphically the Tobit Model 2 reported in Table A5 in Appendix A. Diamonds represent the conditional effect of issue yield on Twitter emphasis for different parties. Squares represent the conditional effect of systemic salience on Twitter emphasis for different parties. Only the values for the subpopulation of issues with at least one tweet  $E(Emph_{ij} \mid Emph_{ij} > 0)$  are reported. Horizontal bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

## Appendix B – Question wordings

## Positions on positional issues

Now we'd like to know your views of what should be done on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale, where 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left, and 6 means you agree completely with the statement on the right? If your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

What do you think should be done?

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

	11 1 1	L								
1 = Reduce income					6 = Do not reduce income					
differences	2	3	4	5	differences					
dilleferices	2	Ö	~	Ö	ullierences					
0	0	0	0	0						
Increase freedom it easier to hire an Keep current law			Reduce free	edom of enterprise, r	naking it harder to hire and fire wer pension age					
Scrap the cost of u	university tuition fees		Keep the p	resent cost of univer	sity tuition fees					
-	ivity on income (who			lat tax (pre-fixed rate	•					
Do not introduce twage	the hourly minimum		I	introduce the hourly	minimum wage					
Introduce a basic living in poverty	income for those		Do not intro	duce a basic income	for those living in poverty					
Intensify the fight	against tax evasion		Do not in	ntensify the fight aga	inst tax evasion					
Increase economic with children	c bonuses to families		Do not increase economic bonuses to families with children							
Limit economic g	lobalisation			Promote econom	nic globalisation					
Stay in the euro					Leave the euro					
Leave in the EU					Stay in the EU					
Make the EU econ flexible	nomic policies more			Keep EU eco	nomic austerity					
Make citizenship immigrants' childr			Keep	current legislation or	n citizenship for igrants' children					
	welfare benefits for		Keep curren	t levels of access to						
Continue to accep	t refugees like now			Limit the nun	nber of refugees					
Keep current legis life	slation on the End-of-		Abolish o	current legislation or	the End-of-life					
Abolish same-sex	unions			Keep s	ame-sex unions					
Legalise soft drug	S			Keep s	oft drugs illegal					
Keep mandatory r vaccines	requirements for		Abolish n	nandatory requireme	nts for vaccines					
Legalise and regu	late prostitution		Kee	ep current legislation	on prostitution					
	abuse of self-defence			rent legislation on th	•					

#### List of valence issues

Fight unemployment

Fight corruption

Support economic growth

Protect Italy from terrorist attacks

Make Italy count more in Europe

Reduce poverty in Italy

Make citizens safer from crime

Reduce the costs of politics

Ensure the good functioning of healthcare system

Fight pollution and disruption of territory

Improve Italian education

Renew Italian politics

#### Credibility (for both valence and preferred positional goals)

Which parties do you think are credible for achieving [this goal]?

Please choose all that apply:

- o Partito Democratico
- o Movimento Cinque Stelle
- o Forza Italia
- o Lega
- o Fratelli d'Italia
- o Liberi e Uguali
- o Più Europa

### Priority (for both valence and preferred positional goals)

Do you think that achieving [this goal] should have a...

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- o High priority
- o Average priority
- Low priority