**ONLINE APPENDIX TO THE ARTICLE**

**Party system polarization and individual perceptions of party differences: Two divergent effects on turnout**

**by Sigrid Rossteutscher and Lars-Christopher Stövsand**

published in Government and Opposition

A1: List of Election Studies

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **CSES Wave 3** | | | | **CSES Wave 4** | | | |
| **Country** | **Year** | **Respon-dents** | **Party System Polarization** | **Country** | **Year** | **Respon-dents** | **Party System Polarization** |
| Australia | 2007 | 997 | 0.456 | Australia | 2013 | 3029 | 0.322 |
| Austria | 2008 | 911 | 0.466 | Austria | 2013 | 469 | 0.348 |
| Brazil | 2010 | 770 | 0.354 | Bulgaria | 2014 | 656 | 0.366 |
| Canada | 2008 | 1542 | 0.343 | Brazil | 2014 | 1296 | 0.328 |
| Croatia | 2007 | 541 | 0.361 | Canada | 2011 | 885 | 0.358 |
| Czech Rep. | 2006 | 1504 | 0.616 |  | 2015 | 1109 | 0.305 |
|  | 2010 | 1338 | 0.623 | Czech Rep. | 2013 | 1224 | 0.597 |
| Denmark | 2007 | 1105 | 0.395 | Germany | 2013 | 1496 | 0.325 |
| Estonia | 2011 | 681 | 0.398 | Greece | 2012 | 865 | 0.550 |
| Finland | 2007 | 1123 | 0.412 |  | 2015 | 887 | 0.514 |
|  | 2011 | 1143 | 0.300 | Hong Kong | 2012 | 568 | 0.268 |
| France | 2007 | 1898 | 0.396 | Iceland | 2013 | 1018 | 0.392 |
| Germany | 2005 | 1896 | 0.371 | Israel | 2013 | 779 | 0.361 |
|  | 2009 | 1687 | 0.100 | Japan | 2013 | 1411 | 0.473 |
| Greece | 2009 | 877 | 0.425 | Korea | 2012 | 600 | 0.499 |
| Hong Kong | 2008 | 467 | 0.374 | Latvia | 2011 | 678 | 0.389 |
| Ireland | 2007 | 545 | 0.285 |  | 2014 | 711 | 0.390 |
| Iceland | 2007 | 1152 | 0.440 | Mexico | 2012 | 1605 | 0.316 |
|  | 2009 | 1018 | 0.489 |  | 2015 | 735 | 0.351 |
| Israel | 2006 | 973 | 0.334 | Montenegro | 2012 | 301 | 0.629 |
| Japan | 2007 | 990 | 0.466 | New Zealand | 2011 | 696 | 0.418 |
| Korea | 2008 | 536 | 0.404 |  | 2014 | 580 | 0.412 |
| Latvia | 2010 | 445 | 0.362 | Norway | 2013 | 1601 | 0.512 |
| Mexico | 2006 | 1125 | 0.442 | Peru | 2016 | 1310 | 0.536 |
|  | 2009 | 1775 | 0.355 | Philippines | 2016 | 927 | 0.282 |
| Netherlands | 2006 | 1996 | 0.344 | Poland | 2011 | 1388 | 0.432 |
|  | 2010 | 1835 | 0.311 | Portugal | 2015 | 1097 | 0.397 |
| New Zealand | 2008 | 555 | 0.248 | Romania | 2012 | 1007 | 0.397 |
| Norway | 2005 | 1841 | 0.513 | Serbia | 2012 | 1017 | 0.265 |
|  | 2009 | 1664 | 0.534 | Slovakia | 2016 | 711 | 0.408 |
| Peru | 2011 | 1027 | 0.444 | Slovenia | 2011 | 536 | 0.408 |
| Philippines | 2010 | 649 | 0.272 | South Africa | 2014 | 752 | 0.271 |
| Poland | 2005 | 1614 | 0.428 | Sweden | 2014 | 762 | 0.407 |
|  | 2007 | 1085 | 0.318 | Switzerland | 2011 | 3902 | 0.497 |
| Portugal | 2009 | 898 | 0.389 | Turkey | 2015 | 882 | 0.507 |
| Romania | 2009 | 734 | 0.116 | UK | 2015 | 1124 | 0.373 |
| Slovakia | 2010 | 904 | 0.398 | USA | 2012 | 1509 | 0.500 |
| Slovenia | 2008 | 541 | 0.548 |  |  |  |  |
| South Africa | 2009 | 935 | 0.276 |  |  |  |  |
| Spain | 2008 | 881 | 0.400 |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 2006 | 997 | 0.390 |  |  |  |  |
| Switzerland | 2007 | 2702 | 0.454 |  |  |  |  |
| Taiwan | 2008 | 848 | 0.099 |  |  |  |  |
| Thailand | 2007 | 957 | 0.000 |  |  |  |  |
| Turkey | 2011 | 762 | 0.389 |  |  |  |  |
| Uruguay | 2009 | 766 | 0.442 |  |  |  |  |
| USA | 2008 | 1739 | 0.596 |  |  |  |  |
| Total |  | 52969 |  |  |  | 40123 |  |

A2: Descriptives

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Share (%)** | **Mean** | **Std. Dev.** | **Min** | **Max** |
| **Individual Level:** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Reported Vote | 81.3 |  |  | 52.7 | 100 |
| Age |  | 47.6 | 17.4 | 16 | 115 |
| Gender: Male | 47.6 |  |  | 39.6 | 59.7 |
| First-Time Voter | 6.3 |  |  | 0.5 | 13.4 |
| High Education | 66.1 |  |  | 25.1 | 98.8 |
| Unemployed | 6.2 |  |  | 0.3 | 35.0 |
| Satisfaction with Democracy |  | 2.6 | 0.8 | 1 | 4 |
| Non-Partisan | 48.0 |  |  | 12.8 | 94.1 |
| Weak Partisan | 29.0 |  |  | 4.5 | 67.6 |
| Strong Partisan | 11.9 |  |  | 1.4 | 45.9 |
| Moderate Left-Right Position | 36.1 |  |  | 22.5 | 71.9 |
| Left-Right Position |  | 5.5 | 2.5 | 0 | 10 |
| Perceived Party Differences |  | 4.9 | 2.3 | 0 | 10 |
| **Election Study Level:** |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate |  | 8.2 | 5.4 | 1.2 | 26.5 |
| GDP per Capita |  | 27457.0 | 15857.1 | 3364.2 | 101563.7 |
| Regime Age |  | 50.2 | 46.6 | 0 | 203 |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates |  | 46.1 | 10.0 | 22.5 | 71.9 |
| Aggregate Share of Non-Partisans |  | 54.4 | 15.1 | 12.8 | 94.1 |
| Vote Over-reporting |  | 18.9 | 9.4 | 3.1 | 55.6 |
| Corr. Number of Electoral Parties |  | 4.8 | 2.0 | 2.2 | 13.7 |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 11.9 |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization |  | 3.9 | 1.1 | 0 | 6.3 |

A3: Distribution of Party System Polarization



A4: Distribution of Perceived Party Differences



A5: Correlation of individual party difference perceptions and system polarization



A6: Correlation of aggregated individual party difference perceptions and system polarization

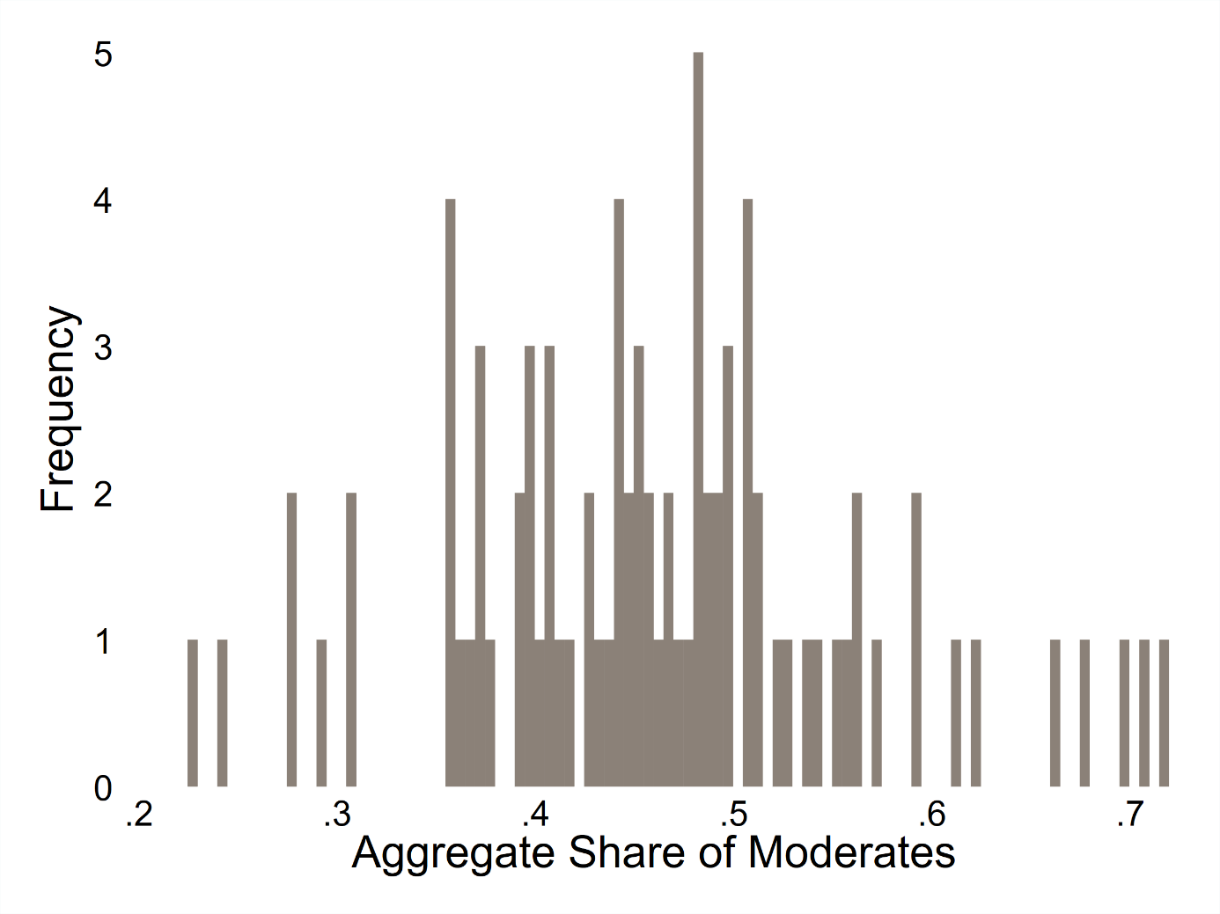


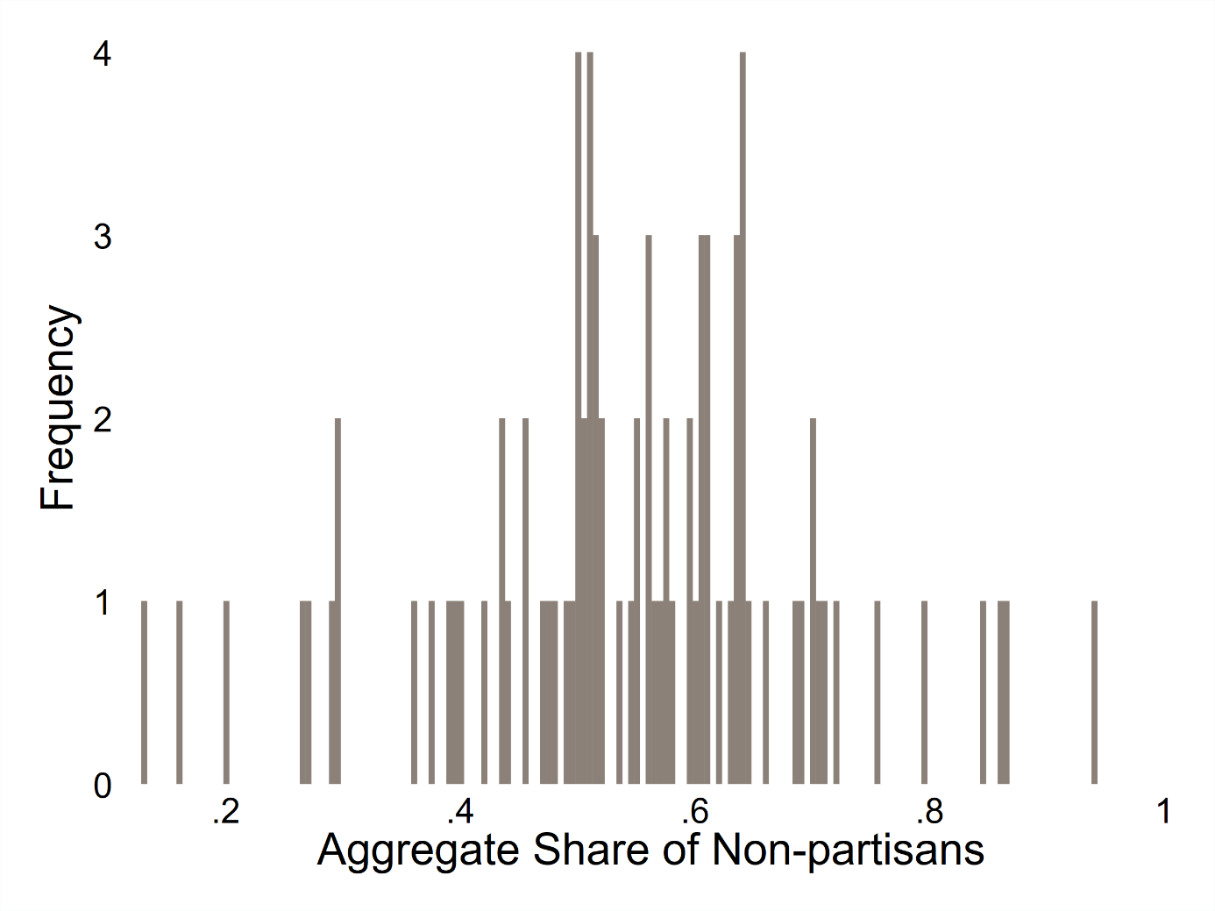
A7: Multi-level logistic regression models (logit coefficients with standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.24 | 1.28 | 1.24 | 1.36 | 1.25 | 1.25 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.15 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.08 | -0.01 | -0.00 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.04 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.30 | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.28 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.13) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  | \* | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.05 | -0.01 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.11) | (0.14) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.74 | 1.74 | 1.74 | 1.67 | 2.06 | 1.71 | 1.67 |
|  | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.28) | (0.27) | (0.27) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.18 | -0.23 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.18 | -0.17 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.08) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.36 | 0.22 | 0.20 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\*\* | \* | \* |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.05 | -0.04 | -0.05 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.21 | -0.16 | -0.24 | -0.23 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.08 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.01 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.14 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.48 | 1.48 | 1.49 | 1.47 | 1.48 | 1.48 | 1.48 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.42 | 0.44 | 0.43 | 0.43 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31185.7 | -31184.6 | -31180.4 | -31159.6 | -31088.3 | -31185.6 | -31185.5 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A8: Distribution of Aggregate Share of Moderates



A9: Distribution of Aggregate Share of Non-partisans

A10: Only studies without enforced compulsory voting (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.38 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.28 | -0.28 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Education: High | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 | 0.57 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.90 | 0.89 | 0.89 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.28 | 1.28 | 1.31 | 1.28 | 1.40 | 1.28 | 1.28 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.22 | -0.23 | -0.22 | -0.18 | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.22 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.08 | -0.02 | 0.04 | 0.03 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.01 | -0.04 | -0.05 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.33 | 0.33 | 0.33 | 0.35 | 0.378 | 0.32 | 0.33 |
|  | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.18) | (0.17) | (0.19) | (0.19) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | 0.02 | -0.10 | -0.01 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.14) | (0.12) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.17 | -0.24 | -0.20 | -0.21 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \* | \* | \* |  | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.23 | -0.28 | -0.24 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.38 | 0.27 | 0.27 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | 0.01 | -0.02 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.28 | -0.12 | -0.25 | -0.26 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* |  | \*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.10 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.11 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.03 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.13 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.05 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.47 | 1.47 | 1.47 | 1.43 | 1.48 | 1.47 | 1.47 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.41 | 0.42 | 0.41 | 0.39 | 0.42 | 0.41 | 0.41 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.08 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 81296 | 81296 | 81296 | 81296 | 81296 | 81296 | 81296 |
| N of Elections | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -29353.2 | -29351.6 | -29349.1 | -29331.0 | -29282.6 | -29353.0 | -29353.2 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A11: Only OECD countries (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.38 | 0.38 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.24 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Education: High | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 0.64 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.43 | -0.43 | -0.43 | -0.43 | -0.42 | -0.43 | -0.43 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.90 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.90 | 0.92 | 0.90 | 0.90 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.29 | 1.28 | 1.32 | 1.29 | 1.45 | 1.29 | 1.29 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.11) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.17 | -0.22 | -0.23 | -0.23 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.20 | 0.23 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.04 | -0.08 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.07 | -0.03 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.30 | 0.30 | 0.30 | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.30 |
|  | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.14) | (0.16) | (0.16) |
|  |  |  |  | \* | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.10 | -0.03 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.13) | (0.16) | (0.17) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.57 | 1.56 | 1.57 | 1.58 | 1.59 | 1.60 | 1.57 |
|  | (0.49) | (0.49) | (0.49) | (0.51) | (0.47) | (0.48) | (0.50) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.15 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.11) | (0.13) | (0.13) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.22 | -0.19 | -0.17 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.11) | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.38 | 0.27 | 0.27 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.13) | (0.12) | (0.12) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.01 | -0.04 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.12) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.34 | -0.34 | -0.34 | -0.40 | -0.15 | -0.35 | -0.34 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |  | \*\*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.05 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.07) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.08 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | -0.03 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.08) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.14) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.46 | 1.45 | 1.46 | 1.42 | 1.48 | 1.46 | 1.46 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.11) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.46 | 0.46 | 0.46 | 0.43 | 0.46 | 0.45 | 0.46 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 77564 | 77564 | 77564 | 77564 | 77564 | 77564 | 77564 |
| N of Elections | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -26408.5 | -26406.3 | -26403.9 | -26391.5 | -26330.1 | -26408.2 | -26408.5 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A12: Only multi-party systems (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.34 | 0.35 | 0.35 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.25 | 1.28 | 1.26 | 1.37 | 1.25 | 1.25 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.15 | -0.19 | -0.20 | -0.20 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.22 | 0.18 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | 0.05 | -0.05 | -0.00 | -0.01 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.03 | -0.05 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.25 | 0.24 | 0.22 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.14) | (0.13) | (0.15) | (0.16) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regime Age | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.20 | 0.12 | 0.18 | 0.17 |
|  | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.15) | (0.19) | (0.16) | (0.16) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.67 | 1.66 | 1.67 | 1.60 | 2.01 | 1.60 | 1.48 |
|  | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.28) | (0.30) | (0.27) | (0.24) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.23 | -0.22 | -0.25 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.19 | -0.17 | -0.17 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.18 | 0.34 | 0.19 | 0.15 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* | \* |  |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.27 | -0.13 | -0.22 | -0.17 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |  | \*\* |  |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.05 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.09 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.11 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | -0.01 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.07) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.20 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.12) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.13 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | \* |
| Intercept | 1.56 | 1.56 | 1.56 | 1.52 | 1.56 | 1.57 | 1.57 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.40 | 0.40 | 0.40 | 0.38 | 0.43 | 0.39 | 0.38 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.06 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.12 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 88115 | 88115 | 88115 | 88115 | 88115 | 88115 | 88115 |
| N of Elections | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -29078.3 | -29075.7 | -29074.6 | -29051.7 | -28981.7 | -29078.1 | -29077.0 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A13: Without party system polarization outliers, i.e. index values lower than 2 and higher than 6 (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.36 | 0.37 | 0.37 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.29 | -0.29 | -0.29 | -0.29 | -0.29 | -0.29 | -0.29 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.53 | 0.53 | 0.53 | 0.54 | 0.54 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.36 | -0.36 | -0.36 | -0.36 | -0.36 | -0.36 | -0.36 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.83 | 0.83 | 0.83 | 0.83 | 0.87 | 0.83 | 0.83 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.20 | 1.20 | 1.23 | 1.20 | 1.32 | 1.20 | 1.20 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.14 | -0.18 | -0.19 | -0.19 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.06 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.13 | -0.13 | -0.13 | -0.13 | -0.11 | -0.13 | -0.13 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.12) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.27 | 0.27 | 0.27 | 0.29 | 0.26 | 0.27 | 0.27 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.13) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.00 | -0.06 | -0.01 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.13) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.65 | 1.65 | 1.66 | 1.59 | 1.88 | 1.65 | 1.65 |
|  | (0.32) | (0.32) | (0.32) | (0.32) | (0.36) | (0.31) | (0.31) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.15 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |  | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.12 | -0.12 | -0.12 | -0.15 | -0.17 | -0.12 | -0.12 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 0.31 | 0.17 | 0.17 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.11 | -0.11 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.42 | -0.42 | -0.42 | -0.40 | -0.18 | -0.42 | -0.41 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.09) | (0.12) | (0.13) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \* | \*\*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.03) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.01 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.15 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.08) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization i |  |  |  |  | 0.14 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.11) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.12) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.53 | 1.53 | 1.53 | 1.51 | 1.52 | 1.53 | 1.52 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.41 | 0.42 | 0.43 | 0.43 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.10 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 85,723 | 85,723 | 85,723 | 85,723 | 85,723 | 85,723 | 85,723 |
| N of Elections | 77 | 77 | 77 | 77 | 77 | 77 | 77 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -28736.005 | -28735.995 | -28729.938 | -28721.311 | -28675.856 | -28736.005 | -28735.993 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A14: Only free countries, i.e. Freedom House scores lower than 3 (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.37 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Education: High | 0.59 | 0.59 | 0.59 | 0.58 | 0.58 | 0.59 | 0.59 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.26 | 1.26 | 1.28 | 1.26 | 1.38 | 1.26 | 1.26 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.16 | -0.21 | -0.22 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.09 | -0.02 | -0.01 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.01 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.29 | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.29 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.17) | (0.17) | (0.16) | (0.14) | (0.17) | (0.17) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | -0.05 | 0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.17) | (0.17) | (0.16) | (0.11) | (0.17) | (0.17) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.97 | 1.96 | 1.97 | 1.88 | 2.29 | 1.97 | 1.96 |
|  | (0.37) | (0.37) | (0.37) | (0.38) | (0.36) | (0.37) | (0.35) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.19 | -0.28 | -0.29 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.23 | -0.19 | -0.21 | -0.20 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.35 | 0.20 | 0.20 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.07 | -0.10 | -0.10 |
|  | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.13) | (0.12) | (0.13) | (0.12) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.20 | -0.14 | -0.23 | -0.23 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \* |  | \*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.10 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.08 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.10 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.05 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.43 | 1.43 | 1.43 | 1.41 | 1.44 | 1.43 | 1.43 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.47 | 0.47 | 0.47 | 0.45 | 0.48 | 0.47 | 0.46 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.12 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 85,540 | 85,540 | 85,540 | 85,540 | 85,540 | 85,540 | 85,540 |
| N of Elections | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -28932.169 | -28930.656 | -28928.752 | -28907.583 | -28836.04 | -28932.003 | -28931.903 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A15: Minimum party size 2 percent vote share (indices of party system polarization and perceived party differences) (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.24 | 1.28 | 1.24 | 1.35 | 1.25 | 1.25 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.15 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.05 | -0.01 | -0.00 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.02 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.27 | 0.28 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.13) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  | \* | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.05 | -0.01 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.11) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.73 | 1.73 | 1.73 | 1.66 | 2.13 | 1.70 | 1.67 |
|  | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.30) | (0.28) | (0.27) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.21 | -0.22 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.20 | -0.24 | -0.18 | -0.17 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.08) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.39 | 0.21 | 0.20 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\*\* | \* | \* |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.03 | 0.01 | -0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.21 | -0.14 | -0.24 | -0.23 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.03) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.07 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.01 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.15 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.49 | 1.48 | 1.49 | 1.47 | 1.46 | 1.49 | 1.49 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.41 | 0.44 | 0.43 | 0.43 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 93093 | 93093 | 93093 | 93093 | 93093 | 93093 | 93093 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31187.9 | -31187.0 | -31182.7 | -31161.9 | -31092.9 | -31187.8 | -31187.7 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A16: Mean imputation of missing party position perceptions (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.36 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.89 | 0.88 | 0.89 | 0.89 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.25 | 1.30 | 1.25 | 1.36 | 1.25 | 1.25 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.18 | -0.21 | -0.22 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.20 | 0.22 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.03 | -0.08 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.05 | -0.04 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.27 | 0.27 | 0.27 | 0.29 | 0.24 | 0.27 | 0.28 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.14) | (0.12) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  | \* | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | 0.04 | -0.03 | -0.01 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.11) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.75 | 1.75 | 1.75 | 1.69 | 2.02 | 1.73 | 1.69 |
|  | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.29) | (0.28) | (0.28) | (0.27) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.20 | -0.15 | -0.23 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.16 | -0.17 | -0.16 | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.17 | -0.17 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.09) | (0.08) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\*\* |  | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.29 | 0.20 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* |  |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.04 | -0.07 | -0.04 | -0.05 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.25 | -0.29 | -0.19 | -0.24 | -0.23 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.03) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.11 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.11 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.01 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.12 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.42 | 1.41 | 1.42 | 1.37 | 1.41 | 1.42 | 1.42 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.44 | 0.44 | 0.44 | 0.42 | 0.45 | 0.44 | 0.44 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.12 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 98091 | 98091 | 98091 | 98091 | 98091 | 98091 | 98091 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -33499.2 | -33497.6 | -33494.2 | -33467.8 | -33388.2 | -33499.2 | -33499.1 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A17: Distance from central ideological position as measure of moderateness (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.56 | 0.56 | 0.57 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.56 | 0.56 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.24 | 1.24 | 1.27 | 1.23 | 1.35 | 1.24 | 1.24 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Distance from Central LR Position | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.08 | -0.01 | -0.00 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.07 | -0.04 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.29 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.05 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.11) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.74 | 1.74 | 1.74 | 1.72 | 2.06 | 1.71 | 1.67 |
|  | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.27) | (0.28) | (0.27) | (0.27) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.23 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.23 | -0.19 | -0.23 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.17 | -0.19 | -0.20 | -0.18 | -0.17 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.08) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.36 | 0.22 | 0.20 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\*\* | \* |  |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.04 | -0.05 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.24 | -0.16 | -0.24 | -0.23 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences x Distance from Central LR Position |  | -0.01 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.13 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Distance from Central Left-Right Position |  |  |  | 0.06 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.01 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.14 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.10) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.38 | 1.39 | 1.39 | 1.40 | 1.38 | 1.38 | 1.38 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.44 | 0.43 | 0.43 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Distance from Central LR Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.01) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31199.7 | -31199.2 | -31193.8 | -31146.9 | -31101.5 | -31199.6 | -31199.6 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A18: Unweighted party system polarization index (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.24 | 1.28 | 1.25 | 1.35 | 1.25 | 1.28 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.17 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.00 | -0.00 | -0.00 | 0.02 | -0.03 | -0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.05 | -0.02 | -0.06 | -0.05 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.09) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.36 | 0.28 | 0.29 | 0.28 |
|  | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.16) | (0.17) | (0.13) | (0.16) | (0.16) |
|  |  |  |  | \* | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.17 | -0.07 | -0.05 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.12) | (0.11) | (0.15) | (0.15) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.77 | 1.77 | 1.78 | 1.75 | 2.13 | 1.83 | 1.71 |
|  | (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.26) | (0.28) | (0.29) | (0.27) | (0.29) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.24 | -0.21 | -0.27 | -0.24 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.17 | -0.21 | -0.13 | -0.15 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.08) |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.21 | 0.37 | 0.21 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.11) | (0.09) | (0.10) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\*\* | \* | \* |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.01 | 0.01 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.29 | -0.15 | -0.28 | -0.25 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.07) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.5 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.04) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | -0.00 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.06) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.14 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.09) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.48 | 1.48 | 1.49 | 1.42 | 1.46 | 1.48 | 1.48 |
|  | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.10) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.10) | (0.10) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.42 | 0.42 | 0.42 | 0.42 | 0.44 | 0.42 | 0.42 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31184.5 | -31183.4 | -31179.1 | -31160.1 | -31089.7 | -31184.2 | -31184.3 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A19: Ideological distance between most extreme parties as party system polarization and perceived party differences measures (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 | 0.54 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.38 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.05 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.87 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.24 | 1.24 | 1.26 | 1.24 | 1.36 | 1.24 | 1.24 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.15 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.04 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.22 | 0.23 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.22 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | -0.04 | 0.01 | 0.03 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.06 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.07 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.10 | -0.09 | -0.09 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.27 | 0.25 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.13 | -0.16 | -0.16 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.01 | -0.03 |
|  | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.14 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.76 | 1.76 | 1.76 | 1.69 | 2.06 | 1.70 | 1.59 |
|  | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.29 | -0.30 | -0.28 | -0.26 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.20 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.14 | -0.14 | -0.14 | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.14 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.08 |
|  |  |  |  | \* | \* |  |  |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.33 | 0.20 | 0.18 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.10 | -0.09 | -0.10 |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\*\* | \* |  |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | -0.02 |
|  | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.07 | -0.06 | -0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.18 | -0.18 | -0.18 | -0.17 | -0.11 | -0.15 | -0.15 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.09 |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* |  |  |  |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.01 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.01 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.09 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.06 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.03 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.21 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.09 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.05 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.49 | 1.49 | 1.49 | 1.48 | 1.50 | 1.49 | 1.49 |
|  | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.09 | -0.10 | -0.10 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.44 | 0.44 | 0.44 | 0.42 | 0.46 | 0.44 | 0.43 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.08 | -0.09 | -0.08 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31153.3 | -31153.1 | -31151.1 | -31127.6 | -31061.2 | -31152.9 | -31152.3 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A20: Aggregated perceived party differences as party system polarization measure (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.54 | 0.55 | 0.55 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.05 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.87 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.24 | 1.28 | 1.24 | 1.39 | 1.25 | 1.25 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.16 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.07 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.06 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.06 | 0.04 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.10 | -0.09 | -0.09 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.27 | 0.36 | 0.25 | 0.25 |
|  | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.15 | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.16 |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.16 | -0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.12 | -0.15 | -0.15 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.83 | 1.83 | 1.84 | 1.77 | 2.13 | 1.82 | 1.81 |
|  | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.28 | -0.34 | -0.28 | -0.24 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.09 | -0.20 | -0.19 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |  | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.21 | -0.28 | -0.20 | -0.19 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.10 | -0.09 |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.24 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.10 | -0.09 | -0.11 |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* |  |
| Vote Overreporting | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aggregated Perceived Party Differences | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.16 | -0.10 | -0.23 | -0.16 | -0.15 |
|  | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.07 | -0.09 |
|  | \* | \* | \* |  | \*\*\* | \* |  |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.05 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Aggregated Perceived Party Differences |  |  |  | -0.10 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Aggregated Perceived Party Differences |  |  |  |  | 0.00 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (.) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Aggregated Perceived Party Differences |  |  |  |  | 0.07 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.05 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aggregated Perceived Party Differences x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | 0.06 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.09 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aggregated Perceived Party Differences x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.05 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.47 | 1.46 | 1.47 | 1.45 | 1.46 | 1.46 | 1.46 |
|  | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.10 | -0.11 | -0.11 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.46 | 0.46 | 0.46 | 0.45 | 0.41 | 0.46 | 0.46 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.09 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.01 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.13 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31188.1 | -31187.0 | -31182.8 | -31160.2 | -31086.4 | -31188.1 | -31188.1 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A21: Models with both aggregated perceived party differences and party system polarization (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.05 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.24 | 1.28 | 1.24 | 1.37 | 1.25 | 1.25 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.16 | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | 0.04 | -0.06 | -0.01 | 0.00 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.06 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.06 | -0.05 | -0.01 | -0.06 | -0.06 |
|  | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.29 | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.28 |
|  | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.15 | -0.13 | -0.15 | -0.16 |
|  |  |  |  | \* | \* |  |  |
| Regime Age | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.04 | 0.00 | -0.02 |
|  | -0.14 | -0.14 | -0.14 | -0.14 | -0.11 | -0.14 | -0.14 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 1.75 | 1.75 | 1.75 | 1.69 | 2.14 | 1.72 | 1.69 |
|  | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.28 | -0.30 | -0.27 | -0.27 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.18 | -0.19 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.19 | -0.21 | -0.26 | -0.20 | -0.19 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.10 | -0.08 |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \*\*\* | \* | \* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 0.18 | 0.37 | 0.20 | 0.19 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.10 | -0.09 | -0.10 |
|  | \* | \* | \* |  | \*\*\* | \* |  |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.03 | 0.00 | -0.04 | -0.05 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.09 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aggregated Perceived Party Differences | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.07 | -0.06 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.24 | -0.08 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.09 | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |  | \* | \* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.05 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.10 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.16 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.11 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | -0.03 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.05 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 1.48 | 1.48 | 1.48 | 1.44 | 1.47 | 1.48 | 1.48 |
|  | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.10 | -0.08 | -0.10 | -0.10 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Random Part: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept Variance | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.41 | 0.42 | 0.43 | 0.43 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.08 | -0.09 | -0.09 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position Slope Variance |  |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |
| Partisanship Slope Variance |  |  |  |  | 0.12 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.03 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 | 93092 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31185.4 | -31184.3 | -31180.1 | -31159.2 | -31090.3 | -31185.3 | -31185.3 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A22: Election-fixed effects models (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.36 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.55 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 | -0.39 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.24 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 | 0.88 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.25 | 1.24 | 1.28 | 1.24 | 1.23 | 1.25 | 1.25 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.18 | -0.21 | -0.21 | -0.21 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | -0.70 | -0.70 | -0.71 | -0.68 | -0.71 | -0.70 | -0.70 |
|  | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.34) | (0.34) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* |
| Unemployment Rate | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 |
|  | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.11) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | 0.63 | 0.63 | 0.63 | 0.63 | 0.64 | 0.63 | 0.63 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Regime Age | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.22 | -0.21 | -0.23 | -0.22 | -0.22 |
|  | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | 2.02 | 2.01 | 2.02 | 1.99 | 2.01 | 2.02 | 2.02 |
|  | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) | (0.25) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.13 | -0.13 | -0.14 | -0.14 | -0.14 | -0.13 | -0.13 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.28 | -0.31 | -0.29 | -0.28 | -0.28 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.06) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.29 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 |
|  | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) | (0.14) |
|  | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* | \* |
| Vote Overreporting | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) | (0.19) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.26 | -0.31 | -0.31 | -0.31 |
|  | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) | (0.12) |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.10 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.02) |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.03) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | omitted |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | omitted |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Study Dummy Variables | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 0.96 | 0.96 | 0.96 | 0.97 | 0.96 | 0.96 | 0.96 |
|  | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) | (0.23) |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -30988.9 | -30987.8 | -30983.6 | -30979.0 | -30987.9 | -30988.9 | -30988.9 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A23: Country-fixed effects models (logit coefficients and standard errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 | M7 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.35 |
|  | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Gender: Male | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| First-Time Voter | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 | -0.32 |
|  | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Education: High | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.50 | 0.53 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Unemployed | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.38 | -0.37 |
|  | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Satisfaction with Democracy | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.23 |
|  | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Weak Partisan | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.86 | 0.87 | 0.87 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Strong Partisan | 1.26 | 1.26 | 1.29 | 1.26 | 1.24 | 1.26 | 1.26 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Moderate Position | -0.20 | -0.21 | -0.20 | -0.18 | -0.20 | -0.20 | -0.20 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Left-Right Position | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
|  | -0.01 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Election Year | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.28 | 0.30 | 0.52 | 0.27 |
|  | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.26 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployment Rate | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| GDP per capita | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.03 | -0.04 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regime Age | -4.97 | -4.89 | -4.91 | -4.68 | -4.99 | -8.98 | -4.31 |
|  | -4.56 | -4.56 | -4.56 | -4.58 | -4.57 | -4.60 | -4.54 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Enforced Compulsory Voting | -5.44 | -5.32 | -5.35 | -4.95 | -5.48 | -12.41 | -4.00 |
|  | -8.02 | -8.02 | -8.02 | -8.05 | -8.03 | -8.09 | -7.98 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Corrected Effective Number of Electoral Parties | -0.18 | -0.18 | -0.18 | -0.18 | -0.18 | -0.22 | -0.16 |
|  | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Moderates | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.21 | -0.23 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Aggregate Share of Non-partisans | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.29 | 0.30 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Vote Overreporting | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.20 | 0.18 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Party System Polarization | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.01 | -0.06 | -0.04 | -0.07 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  | \* |  | \* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.02 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.13 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.05 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.08 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.02 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.03 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Moderates |  |  |  |  |  | 0.13 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |  |
| Party System Polarization x Aggregate Share of Non-partisans |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.14 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | \*\*\* |
| Country Dummy Variables | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | 14.09 | 13.89 | 13.96 | 13.31 | 14.16 | 24.84 | 12.19 |
|  | -12.32 | -12.33 | -12.33 | -12.37 | -12.34 | -12.44 | -12.27 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | \* |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 | 92326 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -31212.1 | -31210.4 | -31206.6 | -31204.6 | -31210.9 | -31196.3 | -31204.4 |

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001

A24: The effects of perceived party differences and party system polarization on turnout and their relation to political sophistication

We conducted further analyses to test whether our results are conditional on levels of political sophistication. First, we re-ran the analyses in subsets by education level (as a proxy for political sophistication), which confirms our results (see Tables A24.1 and A24.2): In both subsets, perceiving party differences motivates citizens to vote and the party system polarization decreases the probability of turnout. Also with regard to interactions, we find patterns known from the model specifications of the main models and robustness checks. Party system polarization particularly demotivates moderates. In the high education subset, we also find the previously seen pattern that the mobilization by perceived party differences is less pronounced among citizens with strong party attachment, which is probably the consequence of ceiling effects. Furthermore, we see a new pattern in the low education subset, which indicates that perceiving party system polarization motivates moderate citizens to a lesser degree than citizens with extreme ideological position. Whether this results from a Downsian logic, in which moderate citizens are less attracted to extreme positions, is rather speculative, even more so because we would rather expect this logic from higher education segments.

Second, we conducted analyses with interaction terms between education level and system polarization as well as between education and perceived party differences (see interaction effects presented below in Figure A24.3). The results resemble the interaction effects of a moderate position (left panels of Figures 2 and 3 in the paper). Both education groups are motivated by perceiving party differences, but for highly educated citizens this effect is a bit more pronounced (p-value of the interaction effect = 0.001). Both education groups are demotivated by increasing party system polarization, but this negative effect is more pronounced among citizens with a low education level (p=0.07).

Third, we operationalized political sophistication as the correct/incorrect ranking of the ideological positions of the two largest parties (, correct meaning the same ranking as the experts’ party position estimations,) and re-ran the analyses controlling for this measure (in addition to education level) (see Table A24.4). The results confirm our results: Perceived party differences increase turnout among all citizens, party system polarization decreases turnout, particularly among moderate citizens. The correct ideological ranking of the two largest parties increases turnout independently from education level; however, the effect size is smaller than the effect of education. Although the effect sizes of perceived party differences are not strictly comparable across different models, the effect in this model specification is smaller compared to the corresponding effect size in the main models of the paper (Table A7).

Fourth, we conducted the analyses in subsets defined according to the measure of correct ranking (see Tables A24.5 and A24.6). The diverging effects of perceived party differences and party system polarization remain highly robust in both subsets. Also the patterns of interactions resemble the analyses in the paper. The only exception is that we see a less mobilizing effect of moderates in the correct ideological ranking subsample (in analogy to the low education subsample discussed above). Other interaction effects are insignificant.

Looking at the correlations between perceived party differences, education, and the measure of correct ranking, we see lower correlations than one might expect (see Table A24.7).

To sum up, the results of the analyses are largely independent from political sophistication.

Table A24.1: Analyses in low education subset (logit coefficients with std. errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.13 | 0.18 | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.13 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.04 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.29 | -0.29 | -0.29 | -0.33 | -0.21 |
|  | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.09 | -0.08 | -0.09 |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\*\* | \* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.11 |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.05 |  |  |  |
|  |  | \* |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.05 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.00 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.07 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.11 |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.05 |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.08 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.21 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.14 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 27097 | 27097 | 27097 | 27097 | 27097 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -10436.8 | -10432.4 | -10436.1 | -10418.3 | -10387.3 |

Note: Models contain all control variables of the main models (see Table A7 in the appendix). For a better overview, estimates of control variables, intercepts and random parameters are not presented in this table.

Table A24.2: Analyses in high education subset (logit coefficients with std. errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.23 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.23 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.24 | -0.19 | -0.16 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* | \* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | 0.00 |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.01 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.21 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.07 |  |  |
|  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.09 |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.11 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 65995 | 65995 | 65995 | 65995 | 65995 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -20695.9 | -20695.9 | -20688.5 | -20684.8 | -20667.7 |

Note: Models contain all control variables of the main models (see Table A7 in the appendix). For a better overview, estimates of control variables, intercepts and random parameters are not presented in this table.

Figure A24.3: The effects of perceived party differences and party system polarization on turnout by education level



Note: Graph based on models with all control variables of the main models (see Table A7 in the appendix).

Table A24.4: Models with measure of correct ideological ranking as control variable.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education | 0.53 | 0.53 | 0.53 | 0.52 | 0.52 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Correct Ideological Ranking | 0.42 | 0.43 | 0.42 | 0.42 | 0.42 |
|  | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.05 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.13 | 0.16 | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.13 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.26 | -0.23 | -0.15 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \*\* | \* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.06 |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.03 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.04 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.09 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.05 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.08 |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |
|  |  |  |  | \* |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.11 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 92148 | 92148 | 92148 | 92148 | 92148 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -30966.4 | -30962.5 | -30962.1 | -30938.4 | -30874.9 |

Note: Models contain all control variables of the main models (see Table A7 in the appendix). For a better overview, estimates of control variables, intercepts and random parameters are not presented in this table.

Table A24.5: Analyses in correct ideological ranking subset (logit coefficients with std. errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.14 | 0.20 | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.14 |
|  | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.03 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.25 | -0.19 | -0.11 |
|  | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.07 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\* |  |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | -0.12 |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.05  \*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | 0.04 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.05 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.03 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.07 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | -0.11 |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.04 |  |
|  |  |  |  | \*\* |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | -0.01 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.08 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.10 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.12 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 65995 | 65995 | 65995 | 65995 | 67588 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -20579.4 | -20571.8 | -20578.6 | -20561.5 | -20510.8 |

Note: Models contain all control variables of the main models (see Table A7 in the appendix). For a better overview, estimates of control variables, intercepts and random parameters are not presented in this table.

Table A24.6: Analyses in incorrect ideological ranking subset (logit coefficients with std. errors)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 |
| Micro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | 0.12 | 0.1 | 0.14 | 0.12 | 0.12 |
|  | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.02 | -0.02 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Macro-Level Covariates: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party System Polarization | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.27 | -0.28 | -0.29 |
|  | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 | -0.08 |
|  | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* | \*\*\* |
| Interactions: |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Perceived Party Differences |  | 0.03 |  |  |  |
|  |  | -0.04 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.01 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.05 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Perceived Party Differences |  |  | -0.2 |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.06 |  |  |
|  |  |  | \*\* |  |  |
| Moderate Position x Party System Polarization |  |  |  | 0.02 |  |
|  |  |  |  | -0.06 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.03 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strong Partisan x Party System Polarization |  |  |  |  | 0.1 |
|  |  |  |  |  | -0.09 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Model: |  |  |  |  |  |
| N of Respondents | 24560 | 24560 | 24560 | 24560 | 24560 |
| N of Elections | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Log Pseudolikelihood | -10343.4 | -10342.9 | -10336.8 | -10340.4 | -10339.8 |

Note: Models contain all control variables of the main models (see Table A7 in the appendix). For a better overview, estimates of control variables, intercepts and random parameters are not presented in this table.

Table A24.7: Pearson’s r correlation coefficient between perceived party differences, education, and political sophistication (correct ranking measure)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Education | Correct Ideological Ranking | Perceived Party Differences |
| Education | - |  |  |
| Correct Ideological Ranking | 0.12 | - |  |
| Perceived Party Differences | -0.02 | 0.28 | - |