**Supplementary Material**

***Back to the Future? The Electoral Breakthrough of Far-Right Parties***

**Published by Government and Opposition**

*Luca Manucci*

To observe the radicalisation or moderation of the four parties under investigation we report here below the data obtained from two separate datasets: the Chapel Hill expert survey (Table 1) and the Manifesto Project dataset (Table 2).

Concerning the **Sweden Democrats** (SD) the data is contradictory. The Chapel Hill expert survey (Table 1) shows that the party did not moderate between 2010 and 2019. Their party manifestos, however, became increasingly moderate between 2010 and 2018 (Table 2).

Concerning **Alternative for Germany** (AfD) the Chapel Hill expert survey (Table 1) shows that the party became increasingly radical and authoritarian between 2014 and 2019, and the Party Manifesto dataset shows that also their manifestos became increasingly radical and conservative between 2013 and 2021 (Table 2).

Using these datasets, unfortunately, it is not possible to observe the temporal evolution of the radicalisation/moderation of **VOX** and **Chega** due to a lack of longitudinal data. At the same time, however, the data presented here shows that these are two radical, authoritarian, and conservative parties. Hence, according to the theory presented in the manuscript, they were expected to be ostracized and stigmatized in 2019.

**Table 1 - CHES Data**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Party** | **LRGEN** | **GALTAN** | **Year** |
| AfD | 8.92 | 8.69 | 2014 |
| AfD | 9.23 | 9.52 | 2019 |
| SD | 8.38 | 8.25 | 2010 |
| SD | 7.76 | 9.23 | 2014 |
| SD | 8.47 | 8.76 | 2019 |
| VOX | 9.71 | 9.66 | 2019 |

Note: CHES (Jolly et al. 2022) is an expert survey, the table reports the values for 1) left-right positioning (LRGEN) where 0 is extreme left and 10 extreme right; 2) parties' position on social and cultural values (GALTAN) on an axis going from 0 being the most libertarian or postmaterialist and 10 being the most traditional or authoritarian.

**Table 2 - Manifesto Project data**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Party** | **rile** | **SOC** | **Year** |
| AfD | -2.74 | -4.11 | 2013 |
| AfD | 17.43 | 28.883 | 2017 |
| AfD | 26.048 | 22.046 | 2021 |
| Chega | 47.822 | 17.922 | 2019 |
| SD | 15.686 | 27.452 | 2010 |
| SD | -6.984 | 13.333 | 2014 |
| SD | -9.091 | 9.791 | 2018 |
| VOX | 34.783 | 36.759 | April 2019 |
| VOX | 33.005 | 37.438 | November 2019 |

Note: The Manifesto Project Dataset (Lehmann et al. 2023) measures the position of parties based on their electoral manifestos. The table reports the values for 1) left-right positioning (rile) where values below 0 lean towards the left and values above 0 lean towards the right; 2) parties' position on social issues (SOC) where values below 0 indicate progressive parties and values above 0 indicate conservative parties.

**References**

Jolly, S, R Bakker, L. Hooghe, G Marks, J Polk, J Rovny, M Steenbergen, and M. A. Vachudova. 2022. ‘Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2019’. *Electoral Studies* 75 (February). https://doi.org/10.1016/j. electstud.2021.1024203.

Lehmann, P., S. Franzmann, T. Burst, S. Regel, F. Riethmüller, A. Volkens, B. Weßels, and L. Zehnter. 2023. ‘The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG / CMP / MARPOR). Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin Für Sozialforschung (WZB) / Göttingen: Institut Für Demokratieforschung (IfDem).’ Berlin. https://doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpds.2023a.