

# A New Wave of Social Democracy? Policy Change across the Social Democratic Party Family, 1970s–2010s

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## Appendices

### Appendix A - RILE index: MARPOR issue variables

Left-wing policy variables	Right-wing policy variables
Anti-imperialism	Military: positive
Military: negative	Freedom and human rights
Peace	Constitutionalism: positive
Internationalism: positive	Political authority
Market regulation	Free market economy
Economic planning	Incentives: positive
Protectionism: positive	Protectionism: negative
Controlled economy	Economic orthodoxy
Nationalisation	Welfare state limitation
Welfare state expansion	National way of life: positive
Education expansion	Traditional morality: positive
Labour groups: positive	Law and order: positive
Democracy	Civic mindedness: positive

*Note:* RILE scores are calculated by subtracting the total salience of 'left' variables from the total salience of 'right' variables

## Appendix B. Left-right policy distance: social democrats and right-wing competitors

Mean left-right distance by decade: SDs and RWPs								
Country	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
Sweden	51.8	39.2	28.7	10.5	61.7	35.8	42.2	35.4
Norway	52.1	47.2	33.6	19.9	25.8	27.9	45	
Denmark	26.8	31.3	31.1	38.2	51.4	45.5	28.4	6.7
Finland	39.5	31.7	7.7	45.2	22.5	13.6	19.2	25.2
Iceland	29.9	53.6	40.3	21.3	34.7	42.3	34	24.4
Belgium	48.1	22	6.9					
Flanders				21.3	31.2	12.4	26.1	24.3
Wallonia				8	34.4	11	3.6	26.4
Netherlands	22.5	30.3	24.5	26	11.5	11.2	6.2	24.3
Luxembourg	40.2	35.7	14.8	21	19	6.4	15.3	16.8
France	62.8	48.6	60.6	54.8	43.2	17.5	8.2	29.6
Germany	6.8	45.9	4.9	27.4	34.1	30.9	23.9	25.2
Austria	45.8	49.6	23.2	24.3	29.3	19.3	11.5	33
Switzerland	0.4	44	37.8	33.1	50.2	52.9	72.9	64.2
Italy	41	6.5	16.7	20.7	2.1	24.7	37.9	10.7
Spain				10	22.8	14.4	21.3	21.8
Greece				46.8	46.3	38.9	2.6	26
Portugal				8	17.5	10.8	11.4	12.6
United Kingdom	46.5	18.4	20.1	39.2	56.1	38	15.5	17.8
Ireland	7.6	45	44.7	44.1	13.8	11	12.6	10.5
Canada	44.7	43.5	29.3	20.3	39	32.6	23.9	21.6
Australia	39.9	52.4	16.3	43.6	24.7	27.5	36.4	58
New Zealand	35.7	44.3	27.9	13.8	29	26.1	48.7	19.7

## Appendix B. Left-right policy distance: social democrats and right-wing competitors (by Country)

Country	Party	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
Sweden	SD	-35.6	-32.4	-46	-18.9	-21.2	4.71	-21.2	-42.5
	RWP	16.2	6.8	-17.3	-8.4	40.5	40.5	21	-7.1
	Distance	-51.8	-39.2	-28.7	-10.5	-61.7	-35.79	-42.2	-35.4
Norway	SD	-34.7	-31.7	-33.6	-34.1	-28.1	-18.9	-33.8	
	RWP	17.4	15.5	0	-14.2	-2.3	9	11.2	
	Distance	-52.1	-47.2	-33.6	-19.9	-25.8	-27.9	-45	
Denmark	SD	-16.9	-13	-16.8	-13.6	-19.7	-14.6	-19.4	-6.5
	RWP	9.9	18.3	14.3	24.6	31.7	30.9	9	-13.2
	Distance	-26.8	-31.3	-31.1	-38.2	-51.4	-45.5	-28.4	6.7
Finland	SD	40.0	-14.8	-17.9	-41.5	-1.1	-4.6	-30.6	-11.4
	RWP	0.5	16.9	-10.2	3.7	-23.6	9	-11.4	13.8
	Distance	39.5	-31.7	-7.7	-45.2	22.5	-13.6	-19.2	-25.2
Iceland	SD	-13.3	-15.6	-23.3	-4.5	-0.4	-17.1	-18.7	-11
	RWP	16.6	38	17	16.8	34.3	25.2	15.3	13.4
	Distance	-29.9	-53.6	-40.3	-21.3	-34.7	-42.3	-34	-24.4
Belgium	SD	-31.75	-21.3	-16.7					
	RWP	16.3	0.7	-9.8					
	Distance	-48.05	-22	-6.9					
<i>Flanders</i>	SD				-29.5	-23.5	-9.4	-20.2	-12.6
	RWP				-8.2	7.7	3	5.9	11.7
	Distance				-21.3	-31.2	-12.4	-26.1	-24.3
<i>Wallonia</i>	SD				0.5	-16	-15.8	-28.8	-26.6
	RWP				-7.5	18.4	-4.8	-25.2	-0.2
	Distance				8	-34.4	-11	-3.6	-26.4
Netherlands	SD	-17.3	-23.9	-27.6	-43.3	-22.5	-8.9	-3.2	-6.6
	RWP	5.2	6.4	-3.1	-17.3	-11	2.3	3	17.7
	Distance	-22.5	-30.3	-24.5	-26	-11.5	-11.2	-6.2	-24.3
Luxembourg	SD	-34.0	-29.8	-35.3	-35.7	-22.8	-20.6	-27.1	-24.6
	RWP	6.2	5.9	-20.5	-14.7	-3.8	-14.2	-11.8	-7.8
	Distance	-40.2	-35.7	-14.8	-21.0	-19.0	-6.4	-15.3	-16.8
France	SD	-14.4	-25.4	-43.3	-40.4	-16.7	-18.2	-18.7	-30.8
	RWP	48.4	23.2	17.3	14.4	26.5	-0.7	-10.5	-1.2
	Distance	-62.8	-48.6	-60.6	-54.8	-43.2	-17.5	-8.2	-29.6
Germany	SD	-18.367	-24.2	-6.4	-17.6	-13.8	-17	-5.5	-22.5
	RWP	-11.6	21.7	-1.5	9.8	20.3	13.9	18.4	2.7
	Distance	-6.767	-45.9	-4.9	-27.4	-34.1	-30.9	-23.9	-25.2
Austria	SD	-13.6	-16.5	-14.7	-23.2	-14.2	-2.8	-18.1	-38.5
	RWP	32.2	33.1	8.5	1.1	15.1	16.5	-6.6	-5.5
	Distance	-45.8	-49.6	-23.2	-24.3	-29.3	-19.3	-11.5	-33

Switzerland	SD	10.0	-19.5	-28.8	-22.4	-21.8	-25.2	-30.8	-63.4
	RWP	10.4	24.5	9	10.7	28.4	27.7	42.1	0.8
	Distance	-0.4	-44.0	-37.8	-33.1	-50.2	-52.9	-72.9	-64.2
Italy	SD	-22.8	-17.7	-25	-20.6	-1.3	10.6	-11	-6.9
	RWP	18.2	-11.2	-8.3	0.1	0.8	35.3	26.9	3.8
	Distance	-41.0	-6.5	-16.7	-20.7	-2.1	-24.7	-37.9	-10.7
Spain	SD				-10	-15	-13.7	-18.3	-25.8
	RWP				0	7.8	0.7	3	-4
	Distance				-10	-22.8	-14.4	-21.3	-21.8
Greece	SD				-32.4	-21.3	-20.8	-15.5	-12.3
	RWP				14.4	25	18.1	-12.9	13.7
	Distance				-46.8	-46.3	-38.9	-2.6	-26
Portugal	SD				-6.7	-4.9	-15.4	-8.2	0.2
	RWP				1.3	12.6	-4.6	3.2	12.8
	Distance				-8	-17.5	-10.8	-11.4	-12.6
United Kingdom	SD	-31.3	-32.2	-19.3	-28.2	-26.4	-11.2	-0.8	-9.8
	RWP	15.2	-13.8	0.8	11	29.7	26.8	14.7	8
	Distance	-46.5	-18.4	-20.1	-39.2	-56.1	-38	-15.5	-17.8
Ireland	SD	-19.2	-30.5	-22.3	-17.6	-24	-10.3	-20.6	-19.2
	RWP	-11.6	14.5	22.4	26.5	-10.2	0.7	-8	-8.7
	Distance	-7.6	-45	-44.7	-44.1	-13.8	-11	-12.6	-10.5
Canada	SD	-37.1	-40.6	-37.5	-24.5	-29.6	-27.4	-23.7	-18.8
	RWP	7.6	2.9	-8.2	-4.2	9.4	5.2	0.2	2.8
	Distance	-44.7	-43.5	-29.3	-20.3	-39	-32.6	-23.9	-21.6
Australia	SD	-21.1	-23.2	-14.2	-22.1	3.2	5.6	-0.7	-25.6
	RWP	18.8	29.2	2.1	21.5	27.9	33.1	35.7	32.4
	Distance	-39.9	-52.4	-16.3	-43.6	-24.7	-27.5	-36.4	-58
New Zealand	SD	-34.6	-34.5	-29.4	-16.4	-11.2	-22.8	-18	-23.7
	RWP	1.1	9.8	-1.5	-2.6	17.8	3.3	30.7	-4
	Distance	-35.7	-44.3	-27.9	-13.8	-29	-26.1	-48.7	-19.7

## **Appendix C Third Way Index Variables – MARPOR**

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### **Third Way index: MP issue variables**

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PER107 Internationalism: Positive

PER301 Decentralisation

PER303 Govt and Admin efficiency

PER304 Corruption (—)

PER411 Technology & Infrastructure

PER501 Environmental protection

PER602 National way of life: negative

PER604 Traditional morality: negative

PER607 Multiculturalism: positive

PER705 Underprivileged minority groups

PER706 Non-economic demographic groups

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## Appendix C Third Way Index – By Country

Third way index scores: mean salience per decade									
Country	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	Average
Sweden	4.4	8.6	6.9	13.7	21.6	20.0	26.6	12.5	14.3
Norway	18.3	22.6	27.1	34.5	36.0	36.4	29.8		29.2
Denmark	9.3	7.2	15.0	6.1	17.1	21.1	24.5	18.9	14.9
Finland	0.0	2.6	4.1	5.0	36.7	19.6	24.3	24.3	14.6
Iceland	13.3	17.7	26.3	12.3	20.8	20.8	16.5	16.9	18.1
Belgium	10.9	27.2	31.2	30.8					25.0
Flanders				21.4	28.5	32.0	23.4	28.2	26.7
Wallonia				40.8	41.8	35.1	22.0	24.6	32.9
Netherlands	19.6	18.6	17.5	26.9	34.1	32.1	29.2	23.9	25.2
Luxembourg	3.7	10.3	17.7	26.4	36.4	36.7	35.1	27.0	24.2
France	20.3	12.4	25.1	22.8	22.2	16.6	22.1	19.3	20.1
Italy	14.9	9.7	16.2	19.6	31.8	29.0	39.8	14.7	22.0
Spain				30.1	31.8	44.5	36.0	28.1	34.1
Greece				18.4	18.7	28.1	32.9	17.5	23.1
Portugal				10.3	16.6	33.1	35.0	21.7	23.4
Germany	22.5	19.2	23.3	19.9	29.5	37.4	27.8	22.2	25.2
Austria	20.4	24.8	29.6	32.7	26.8	33.0	24.4	22.3	26.8
Switzerland	4.4	14.1	23.3	21.2	36.2	26.5	28.4	11.3	20.7
United Kingdom	12.7	10.6	14.6	21.8	23.4	29.6	29.5	24.7	20.9
Ireland	11.4	15.8	15.8	14.7	15.9	22.8	33.0	31.4	20.1
Canada	21.2	24.0	24.9	26.4	26.2	23.3	28.3	27.1	25.2
Australia	12.6	16.9	16.4	18.1	14.1	24.4	13.4	43.0	19.8
New Zealand	23.7	21.1	24.5	25.2	27.5	29.4	23.9	12.8	23.5
<b>Average</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>21.7</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>28.7</b>	<b>27.5</b>	<b>22.5</b>	