**Online Appendix**

**Table A1. The determinants of *Podemos*’ vote shares across municipalities in the 2014 EP Elections, robustness checks**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | | | | **Model 2** | | | | **Model 3** | | | | |
|  | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** |
| Women rate | 0.028 | -0.014 | -0.033 | -0.017 | 0.028 | -0.015 | -0.033 | -0.018 | 0.047\*\* | 0.007 | -0.010 | 0.005 | 0.007 |
|  | (0.019) | (0.011) | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.019) | (0.011) | (0.029) | (0.029) | (0.020) | (0.011) | (0.028) | (0.029) | (0.029) |
| Foreigners rate | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.002 | -0.000 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.002 | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.0002 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| # Eligible | 0.028 | -0.02 | 0.017 | -0.026 | -0.050 | -0.08\*\* | -0.042 | -0.1 | -0.333\*\* | -0.391\*\*\* | -0.340\*\* | -0.411\*\* | -0.393\*\* |
| Voters (logged) | (0.106) | (0.03) | (0.128) | (0.134) | (0.104) | (0.03) | (0.123) | (0.131) | (0.125) | (0.038) | (0.161) | (0.161) | (0.165) |
| Ideology | -1.370\*\*\* | -1.401\*\*\* | 6.057\*\*\* |  | -1.332\*\*\* | -1.372\*\*\* | 5.746\*\*\* |  | -1.286\*\*\* | -1.304\*\*\* | 5.382\*\*\* |  | -1.311\*\*\* |
|  | (0.205) | (0.07) | (1.702) |  | (0.201) | (0.07) | (1.731) |  | (0.204) | (0.069) | (1.777) |  | (0.306) |
| Ideology (squared) |  |  | -0.80\*\*\* |  |  |  | -0.77\*\*\* |  |  |  | -0.72\*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.187) |  |  |  | (0.192) |  |  |  | (0.195) |  |  |
| Ideology |  |  |  | -1.001\*\*\* |  |  |  | -0.988\*\*\* |  |  |  | -0.951\*\*\* |  |
| (provincial) |  |  |  | (0.156) |  |  |  | (0.156) |  |  |  | (0.151) |  |
| Unemployment rate |  |  |  |  | 0.170\*\*\* | 0.132\*\*\* | 0.111\*\*\* | 0.140\*\*\* | 0.160\*\*\* | 0.125\*\*\* | 0.105\*\* | 0.132\*\*\* | 0.125\*\*\* |
| (change) |  |  |  |  | (0.023) | (0.017) | (0.036) | (0.034) | (0.021) | (0.017) | (0.037) | (0.036) | (0.036) |
| Abstention rate 2009 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.085\*\*\* | 0.092\*\*\* | 0.089\*\*\* | 0.093\*\*\* | 0.092\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.009) | (0.005) | (0.012) | (0.013) | (0.012) |
| Constant | 10.225\*\*\* | 12.658\*\*\* | -6.388 | 8.428\*\*\* | 10.005\*\*\* | 12.579\*\*\* | -5.657 | 8.511\*\*\* | 6.189\*\*\* | 8.959\*\*\* | -8.669\* | 4.546\* | 6.256\*\* |
|  | (1.800) | (0.806) | (4.145) | (2.377) | (1.787) | (0.804) | (4.155) | (2.504) | (1.660) | (0.832) | (4.329) | (2.227) | (2.93) |
| Observations | 8106 | 8106 | 8106 | 8106 | 8106 | 8106 | 8106 | 8106 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 |
| *R*2 | 0.209 |  | 0.183 | 0.166 | 0.218 |  | 0.187 | 0.172 | 0.244 |  | 0.218 | 0.206 | 0.203 |

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|  | **Model 4** | | | | | **Model 5** | | | | | **Model 6** | | | | |
|  | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** |
| Women rate | 0.039\*\* | 0.003 | -0.012 | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.040\*\* | 0.005 | -0.01 | 0.004 | 0.005 | 0.039\*\* | 0.003 | -0.011 | 0.002 | 0.003 |
|  | (0.018) | (0.011) | (0.026) | (0.026) | (0.026) | (0.018) | (0.011) | (0.025) | (0.025) | (0.025) | (0.018) | (0.011) | (0.026) | (0.027) | (0.027) |
| Foreigners rate | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| # Eligible voters  (logged) | -0.64\*\*\* | -0.69\*\*\* | -0.63\*\*\* | -0.709\*\*\* | -0.692\*\*\* | -0.65\*\*\* | -0.71\*\*\* | -0.65\*\*\* | -0.728\*\*\* | -0.713\*\*\* | -0.642\*\*\* | -0.69\*\*\* | -0.63\*\*\* | -0.709\*\*\* | -0.693\*\*\* |
|  | (0.145) | (0.041) | (0.192) | (0.188) | (0.198) | (0.143) | (0.041) | (0.186) | (0.182) | (0.192) | (0.143) | (0.041) | (0.188) | (0.184) | (0.193) |
| Ideology | -1.13\*\*\* | -1.14\*\*\* | 4.837\*\* |  | -1.150\*\*\* | -1.12\*\*\* | -1.136\*\*\* | 5.195\*\* |  | -1.142\*\*\* | -1.133\*\*\* | -1.143\*\*\* | 4.904\*\* |  | -1.149\*\*\* |
|  | (0.207) | (0.068) | (1.836) |  | (0.294) | (0.208) | (0.068) | (1.832) |  | (0.293) | (0.209) | (0.068) | (1.811) |  | (0.299) |
| Ideology (squared) |  |  | -0.64\*\*\* |  |  |  |  | -0.68\*\*\* |  |  |  |  | -0.65\*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.198) |  |  |  |  | (0.197) |  |  |  |  | (0.195) |  |  |
| Ideology (provincial) |  |  |  | -0.840\*\*\* |  |  |  |  | -0.833\*\*\* |  |  |  |  | -0.840\*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.138) |  |  |  |  | (0.136) |  |  |  |  | (0.142) |  |
| Unemployment rate | 0.080\*\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.034 | 0.055 | 0.048 | -0.084 | -0.16 | -0.246\*\* | -0.147 | -0.162 | 0.12 | 0.077 | 0.164 | 0.072 | 0.076 |
| (change) | (0.023) | (0.017) | (0.038) | (0.037) | (0.037) | (0.056) | (0.053) | (0.092) | (0.092) | (0.095) | (0.142) | (0.103) | (0.207) | (0.23) | (0.229) |
| Abstention rate 2009 | 0.074\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* | 0.082\*\*\* | 0.085\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* | 0.062\*\*\* | 0.067\*\*\* | 0.060\*\*\* | 0.069\*\*\* | 0.067\*\*\* | 0.074\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* | 0.082\*\*\* | 0.085\*\*\* | 0.083\*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.004) | (0.014) | (0.015) | (0.014) | (0.010) | (0.006) | (0.017) | (0.019) | (0.018) | (0.009) | (0.004) | (0.014) | (0.015) | (0.014) |
| Mean age | -0.18\*\*\* | -0.17\*\*\* | -0.16\*\*\* | -0.170\*\*\* | -0.170\*\*\* | -0.182\*\*\* | -0.168\*\*\* | -0.16\*\*\* | -0.16\*\*\* | -0.168\*\*\* | -0.18\*\*\* | -0.167\*\*\* | -0.15\*\*\* | -0.168\*\*\* | -0.168\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.009) | (0.019) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.017) | (0.008) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.017) | (0.011) | (0.023) | (0.025) | (0.025) |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  |  | 0.004\*\*\* | 0.005\*\*\* | 0.007\*\*\* | 0.005\*\* | 0.005\*\* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Abstention 2009 |  |  |  |  |  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.001) |  |  |  |  |  |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 4** | | | | | **Model 5** | | | | | **Model 6** | | | | |
|  | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.003 | -0.001 | -0.0005 |
| Mean age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.003) |
| Constant | 16.877\*\*\* | 18.918\*\*\* | 1.937 | 14.219\*\*\* | 15.700\*\*\* | 17.325\*\*\* | 19.473\*\*\* | 1.677 | 14.610\*\*\* | 16.108\*\*\* | 16.741\*\*\* | 18.815\*\*\* | 1.278 | 14.152\*\*\* | 15.589\*\*\* |
|  | (1.991) | (0.987) | (4.497) | (2.579) | (3.456) | (1.935) | (0.995) | (4.492) | (2.479) | (3.322) | (2.172) | (1.055) | (4.678) | (3.236) | (4.115) |
| Observations | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 |
| *R*2 | 0.279 |  | 0.248 | 0.239 | 0.236 | 0.28 |  | 0.251 | 0.241 | 0.238 | 0.279 |  | 0.249 | 0.239 | 0.236 |

*Note*: Estimation is by ordinary least squares with robust standard errors clustered by region in parenthesis and fixed effects by region included but not shown in Models C, D and E, and robust standard errors clustered by province in parenthesis and fixed effects by province included but not shown in Models A. Models B are hierarchical linear specifications with random intercepts by region. The levels of statistical significance are: \*p<0.10, \*\*p<0.05 and \*\*\*p<0.01 (two-tailed tests).

**Table A2. The determinants of M5S’s vote shares across municipalities in the 2014 EP Elections, robustness checks**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | | | | **Model 2** | | | | **Model 3** | | | | |
|  | **Model A** | **Model**  **B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model**  **A** | **Model**  **B** | **Model C** | **Model**  **D** | **Model**  **A** | **Model**  **B** | **Model C** | **Model**  **D** | **Model**  **E** |
| Women rate | -0.38\*\*\* | -0.41\*\*\* | -0.458\*\* | -0.435\*\* | -0.387\*\*\* | -0.421\*\*\* | -0.46\*\*\* | -0.446\*\* | -0.388\*\*\* | -0.415\*\*\* | -0.45\*\*\* | -0.436\*\*\* | -0.416\*\* |
|  | (0.070) | (0.051) | (0.163) | (0.182) | (0.070) | (0.051) | (0.153) | (0.172) | (0.070) | (0.05) | (0.138) | (0.151) | (0.145) |
| Foreigners rate | -0.013 | -0.21\*\*\* | -0.234 | -0.217 | -0.013 | -0.191\*\*\* | -0.21 | -0.19 | -0.013 | -0.147\*\*\* | -0.166 | -0.148 | -0.147 |
|  | (0.025) | (0.021) | (0.198) | (0.197) | (0.025) | (0.021) | (0.188) | (0.187) | (0.025) | (0.02) | (0.126) | (0.129) | (0.13) |
| # Eligible voters | 1.25\*\*\* | 1.26\*\*\* | 1.08\*\*\* | 1.26\*\*\* | 1.256\*\*\* | 1.215\*\*\* | 1.05\*\*\* | 1.214\*\*\* | 1.260\*\*\* | 1.149\*\*\* | 0.99\*\*\* | 1.149\*\*\* | 1.147\*\*\* |
| (logged) | (0.102) | (0.069) | (0.211) | (0.215) | (0.102) | (0.068) | (0.208) | (0.213) | (0.103) | (0.067) | (0.223) | (0.23) | (0.219) |
| Ideology | -1.43\*\*\* | -2.50\*\*\* | 22.86\*\* |  | -1.438\*\*\* | -2.503\*\*\* | 21.35\*\* |  | -1.439\*\*\* | -2.164\*\*\* | 21.50\*\* |  | -2.208 |
|  | (0.399) | (0.153) | (8.033) |  | (0.399) | (0.151) | (7.962) |  | (0.399) | (0.149) | (7.522) |  | (1.796) |
| Ideology (squared) |  |  | -2.36\*\*\* |  |  |  | -2.22\*\*\* |  |  |  | -2.21\*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.62) |  |  |  | (0.607) |  |  |  | (0.599) |  |  |
| Ideology |  |  |  | -2.947 |  |  |  | -2.925 |  |  |  | -2.547 |  |
| (provincial) |  |  |  | (2.263) |  |  |  | (2.215) |  |  |  | (1.693) |  |
| Unemployment rate |  |  |  |  | 0.301\*\*\* | 0.390\*\*\* | 0.33\*\*\* | 0.383\*\*\* | 0.319\*\*\* | 0.383\*\*\* | 0.32\*\*\* | 0.377\*\*\* | 0.383\*\*\* |
| (change) |  |  |  |  | (0.037) | (0.034) | (0.068) | (0.079) | (0.049) | (0.033) | (0.082) | (0.086) | (0.084) |
| Abstention rate 2009 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.005 | 0.129\*\*\* | 0.129 | 0.126 | 0.129 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.010) | (0.006) | (0.099) | (0.096) | (0.098) |
| Constant | 40.9\*\*\* | 44.7\*\*\* | 9.247 | 37.9\*\*\* | 38.744\*\*\* | 43.19\*\*\* | 9.597 | 36.44\*\*\* | 38.757\*\*\* | 37.18\*\*\* | 4.289 | 46.77\*\*\* | 28.993\*\*\* |
|  | (4.550) | (2.83) | (15.651) | (12.491) | (4.755) | (2.812) | (15.425) | (11.987) | (4.756) | (2.773) | (12.186) | (14.768) | (8.016) |
| Observations | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 |
| *R*2 | 0.577 |  | 0.315 | 0.297 | 0.577 |  | 0.323 | 0.308 | 0.577 |  | 0.358 | 0.342 | 0.335 |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 4** | | | | | **Model 5** | | | | | **Model 6** | | | | |
|  | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** |
| Women rate | -0.310\*\*\* | -0.335\*\*\* | -0.37\*\*\* | -0.355\*\* | -0.335\*\*\* | -0.309\*\*\* | -0.34\*\*\* | -0.377\*\*\* | -0.361\*\* | -0.341\*\* | -0.30\*\*\* | -0.325\*\*\* | -0.362\*\*\* | -0.345\*\* | -0.325\*\* |
|  | (0.068) | (0.05) | (0.113) | (0.128) | (0.121) | (0.068) | (0.05) | (0.114) | (0.128) | (0.121) | (0.069) | (0.05) | (0.117) | (0.132) | (0.126) |
| Foreigners rate | -0.047\* | -0.171\*\*\* | -0.194 | -0.172 | -0.171 | -0.047\* | -0.16\*\*\* | -0.189 | -0.168 | -0.167 | -0.045\* | -0.168\*\*\* | -0.191 | -0.169 | -0.169 |
|  | (0.026) | (0.02) | (0.127) | (0.131) | (0.132) | (0.026) | (0.02) | (0.122) | (0.126) | (0.128) | (0.026) | (0.02) | (0.126) | (0.13) | (0.132) |
| # Eligible voters (logged) | 0.962\*\*\* | 0.850\*\*\* | 0.659\*\*\* | 0.843\*\*\* | 0.844\*\*\* | 0.961\*\*\* | 0.845\*\*\* | 0.654\*\*\* | 0.838\*\*\* | 0.84\*\*\* | 0.955\*\*\* | 0.834\*\*\* | 0.645\*\*\* | 0.825\*\*\* | 0.828\*\*\* |
|  | (0.103) | (0.073) | (0.211) | (0.216) | (0.207) | (0.103) | (0.072) | (0.213) | (0.216) | (0.208) | (0.103) | (0.072) | (0.208) | (0.211) | (0.203) |
| Ideology | -1.561\*\*\* | -2.200\*\*\* | 22.240\*\* |  | -2.242 | -1.561\*\*\* | -2.18\*\*\* | 22.214\*\* |  | -2.22 | -1.57\*\*\* | -2.254\*\*\* | 22.052\*\*\* |  | -2.297 |
|  | (0.420) | (0.148) | (7.788) |  | (1.824) | (0.420) | (0.148) | (7.764) |  | (1.804) | (0.416) | (0.148) | (7.579) |  | (1.769) |
| Ideology (squared) |  |  | -2.28\*\*\* |  |  |  |  | -2.278\*\*\* |  |  |  |  | -2.268\*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.622) |  |  |  |  | (0.623) |  |  |  |  | (0.606) |  |  |
| Ideology (provincial) |  |  |  | -2.586 |  |  |  |  | -2.563 |  |  |  |  | -2.647 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (1.709) |  |  |  |  | (1.693) |  |  |  |  | (1.651) |  |
| Unemployment rate | 0.306\*\*\* | 0.388\*\*\* | 0.328\*\*\* | 0.383\*\*\* | 0.389\*\*\* | 0.419\*\* | 0.593\*\*\* | 0.522\* | 0.577\* | 0.594\* | 1.132\* | 1.723\*\*\* | 1.506 | 1.82 | 1.728 |
| (change) | (0.051) | (0.033) | (0.089) | (0.093) | (0.091) | (0.185) | (0.067) | (0.298) | (0.3) | (0.301) | (0.606) | (0.337) | (0.872) | (1.06) | (1.024) |
| Abstention rate 2009 | 0.005 | 0.135\*\*\* | 0.136 | 0.132 |  | 0.018 | 0.173\*\*\* | 0.171 | 0.168 | 0.173 | 0.005 | 0.135\*\*\* | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.135 |
|  | (0.010) | (0.006) | (0.097) | (0.095) |  | (0.018) | (0.012) | (0.109) | (0.104) | (0.108) | (0.010) | (0.006) | (0.097) | (0.09) | (0.097) |
| Mean age | -0.279\*\*\* | -0.247\*\*\* | -0.27\*\*\* | -0.254\*\*\* | -0.25\*\*\* | -0.279\*\*\* | -0.24\*\*\* | -0.273\*\*\* | -0.253\*\*\* | -0.25\*\*\* | -0.176\*\* | -0.071 | -0.064 | -0.06 | -0.029 |
|  | (0.037) | (0.025) | (0.042) | (0.053) | (0.053) | (0.037) | (0.025) | (0.041) | (0.052) | (0.052) | (0.082) | (0.05) | (0.174) | (0.17) | (0.021) |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  |  | -0.002 | -0.01\*\*\* | -0.005 | -0.005 | -0.005 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Abstention 2009 |  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) | (0.001) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |  |  |  |  |  |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 4** | | | | | **Model 5** | | | | | **Model 6** | | | | |
|  | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** | **Model A** | **Model B** | **Model C** | **Model D** | **Model E** |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.018 | -0.02\*\*\* | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.029 |
| Mean age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.013) | (0.007) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.021) |
| Constant | 50.364\*\*\* | 46.730\*\*\* | 13.164 | 39.834\*\*\* | 37. 87\*\*\* | 49.606\*\*\* | 45.652\*\*\* | 12.216 | 38.826\*\*\* | 36.836\*\*\* | 45.274\*\*\* | 38.668\*\*\* | 6.018 | 48.107\*\* | 29.599\* |
|  | (5.466) | (2.949) | (13.359) | (9.844) | (9.571) | (5.748) | (2.962) | (13.308) | (9.974) | (9.671) | (7.380) | (3.557) | (16.415) | (21.549) | (14.382) |
| Observations | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 | 8050 |
| *R*2 | 0.586 |  | 0.368 | 0.35 | 0.343 | 0.586 |  | 0.368 | 0.35 | 0.344 | 0.587 |  | 0.368 | 0.351 | 0.344 |

*Note*: Estimation is by ordinary least squares with robust standard errors clustered by region in parenthesis and fixed effects by region included but not shown in Models C, D and E, and robust standard errors clustered by province in parenthesis and fixed effects by province included but not shown in Models A. Models B are hierarchical linear specifications with random intercepts by region. The levels of statistical significance are: \*p<0.10, \*\*p<0.05 and \*\*\*p<0.01 (two-tailed tests).

**Table A3. The determinants of *Ciudadanos*’ vote shares across municipalities in the 2014 EP Elections**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** | **Model 4** | **Model 5** | **Model 6** |
| Women rate | -0.017 | -0.017 | -0.013 | -0.014 | -0.011 | -0.012 |
|  | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.015) | (0.015) | (0.014) | (0.015) |
| Foreigners rate | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Ideology | -0.175\*\* | -0.171\*\* | -0.162\*\* | -0.117 | -0.109 | -0.107 |
|  | (0.074) | (0.075) | (0.073) | (0.073) | (0.07) | (0.072) |
| # Eligible | 0.169\* | 0.160\* | 0.105 | 0.022 | -0.001 | 0.012 |
| voters (logged) | (0.089) | (0.084) | (0.094) | (0.096) | (0.086) | (0.093) |
| Unemployment rate |  | 0.017 | 0.015 | -0.006 | -0.236\*\* | 0.297\*\* |
| (change) |  | (0.015) | (0.015) | (0.013) | (0.084) | (0.117) |
| Abstention rate 2009 |  |  | 0.017\*\*\* | 0.014\*\*\* | -0.003 | 0.014\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.01) | (0.004) |
| Mean age |  |  |  | -0.04\*\*\* | -0.04\*\*\* | -0.027\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  | 0.006\*\* |  |
| Abstention 2009 |  |  |  |  | (0.002) |  |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  |  | -0.006\*\* |
| Mean age |  |  |  |  |  | (0.002) |
| Constant | 1.628 | 1.624 | 0.909 | 3.522\*\*\* | 3.965\*\*\* | 2.326\* |
|  | (1.01) | (1.027) | (0.966) | (0.988) | (0.894) | (1.193) |
| Observations | 8106 | 8106 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 |
| *R*2 | 0.101 | 0.101 | 0.105 | 0.116 | 0.124 | 0.119 |

*Note*: Estimation is by ordinary least squares with robust standard errors by region in parenthesis. Fixed effects by region are included but not shown. The levels of statistical significance are: \*p<0.10, \*\*p<0.05 and \*\*\*p<0.01 (two-tailed tests).

**Table A4. The determinants of new parties’ (*Podemos and Ciudadanos*) vote shares across municipalities in the 2014 EP Elections**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** | **Model 4** | **Model 5** | **Model 6** |
| Women rate | -0.031 | -0.032 | -0.005 | -0.01 | -0.006 | -0.008 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.041) | (0.042) | (0.04) | (0.037) | (0.04) |
| Foreigners rate | 0.001 | 0.001 | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Ideology | -1.584\*\*\* | -1.551\*\*\* | -1.47\*\*\* | -1.268\*\*\* | -1.251\*\*\* | -1.257\*\*\* |
|  | (0.356) | (0.357) | (0.35) | (0.338) | (0.334) | (0.341) |
| # Eligible | 0.148 | 0.071 | -0.289 | -0.671\*\* | -0.715\*\* | -0.682\*\* |
| voters (logged) | (0.195) | (0.185) | (0.24) | (0.282) | (0.266) | (0.273) |
| Unemployment rate |  | 0.150\*\*\* | 0.140\*\*\* | 0.042 | -0.398\*\* | 0.373 |
| (change) |  | (0.044) | (0.045) | (0.046) | (0.159) | (0.311) |
| Abstention rate 2009 |  |  | 0.109\*\*\* | 0.098\*\*\* | 0.064\*\* | 0.098\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.015) | (0.017) | (0.027) | (0.017) |
| Mean age |  |  |  | -0.217\*\*\* | -0.214\*\*\* | -0.195\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.026) | (0.026) | (0.03) |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  | 0.011\*\*\* |  |
| Abstention 2009 |  |  |  |  | (0.004) |  |
| ∆ Unemployment \* |  |  |  |  |  | -0.007 |
| Mean age |  |  |  |  |  | (0.006) |
| Constant | 12.013\*\*\* | 11.982\*\*\* | 7.166\* | 19.223\*\*\* | 20.074\*\*\* | 17.915\*\*\* |
|  | (3.982) | (4.112) | (3.769) | (4.261) | (3.99) | (5.056) |
| Observations | 8106 | 8106 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 | 8102 |
| *R*2 | 0.154 | 0.159 | 0.192 | 0.231 | 0.237 | 0.232 |

*Note*: Estimation is by ordinary least squares with robust standard errors by region in parenthesis. Fixed effects by region are included but not shown. The levels of statistical significance are: \*p<0.10, \*\*p<0.05 and \*\*\*p<0.01 (two-tailed tests).