**Table A1. Determinants of preferential vote – robustness check 1**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | | Model 3 | | | Model 4 | | |
|  | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. |
| Gender | -0.16 | 0.02 | \*\*\* | -0.05 | 0.06 |  | -0.16 | 0.02 | \*\*\* | -0.15 | 0.06 |  |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 | \*\* |
| Age² | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  |
| Distance (ln) | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| List position | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| First list place | 2.06 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.06 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.06 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* |
| Last list place | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* |
| Incumbent | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.65 | 0.06 | \*\*\* |
| Women on the list | -0.02 | 0.01 |  | -0.01 | 0.02 |  | -0.02 | 0.01 |  | -0.01 | 0.02 |  |
| List vote | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.30 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Ideology | 0.07 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.09 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.07 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.09 | 0.03 | \*\*\* |
| Dead HR | 0.04 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.14 | 0.05 | \*\* |
| Unemployment | 1.53 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.53 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.53 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.53 | 0.06 | \*\*\* |
| Education | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* | -0.04 | 0.02 | \*\* |
| Urbanization | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Croats | 0.08 | 0.06 |  | 0.08 | 0.06 |  | 0.08 | 0.06 |  | 0.07 | 0.06 |  |
| 2016 election | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.06 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  |
| 2020 election | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.12 | 0.08 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x Ideology |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.02 | \* |  |  |  | 0.67 | 0.03 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x Dead HR |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.07 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | 0.00 | 0.02 |  |
| Dead HR x Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x Dead HR x Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.20 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Intercept | 3.69 | 0.19 | \*\*\* | 3.63 | 0.21 | \*\*\* | 3.68 | 0.19 | \*\*\* | 3.63 | 0.21 | \*\*\* |
| n (Candidates, Lists, Municipalities) | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | |
| ∆ AIC | -1,576,359 (-38.09%) | | | -1,576,361 (-38.09%) | | | -1,576,368 (-38.09%) | | | -1,577,227 (-38.11%) | | |

Note: \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001; ∆ AIC indicates the change in AIC when comparing the model to an intercept only model. Principal explanatory variable of interest: Dead HR (Dead Croatian soldiers per 10,000 inhabitants).

**Table A2. Determinants of preferential vote – robustness check 2**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | | Model 3 | | | Model 4 | | |
|  | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. |
| Gender | -0.16 | 0.02 | \*\*\* | -0.05 | 0.06 |  | -0.23 | 0.03 | \*\*\* | -0.74 | 0.07 | \*\*\* |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  |
| Age² | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  |
| Distance (ln) | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| List position | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| First list place | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* |
| Last list place | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* |
| Incumbent | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.65 | 0.06 | \*\*\* |
| Women on the list | -0.02 | 0.02 |  | -0.02 | 0.01 |  | -0.02 | 0.02 |  | -0.01 | 0.02 |  |
| List vote | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.28 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Ideology | 0.07 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.09 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.07 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.12 | 0.03 | \*\*\* |
| War disabled (cr) | -0.04 | 0.02 | \* | -0.04 | 0.02 | \* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \* | 0.00 | 0.02 |  |
| Unemployment | 1.55 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.55 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.55 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.52 | 0.06 | \*\*\* |
| Education | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\*\* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\*\* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* |
| Urbanization | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Croats | 0.09 | 0.06 |  | 0.09 | 0.06 |  | 0.09 | 0.06 |  | 0.08 | 0.06 |  |
| 2016 election | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.06 |  |
| 2020 election | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.12 | 0.08 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x Ideology |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.02 | \* |  |  |  | 0.29 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x War disabled (cr) |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | 0.17 | 0.02 | \*\*\* |
| War disabled (cr) x Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x War disabled (cr) x Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.08 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| Intercept | 3.80 | 0.21 | \*\*\* | 3.74 | 0.20 | \*\*\* | 3.81 | 0.21 | \*\*\* | 3.66 | 0.22 | \*\*\* |
| n (Candidates, Lists, Municipalities) | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | |
| ∆ AIC | -1,576,364 (-38.09%) | | | -1,576,365 (-38.09%) | | | -1,576,402 (-38.09%) | | | -1,577,100 (-38.11%) | | |

Note: \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001; ∆ AIC indicates the change in AIC when comparing the model to an intercept only model. Principal explanatory variable of interest: War disabled (cr) (War disabled, cube root transformed).

**Table A3. Determinants of preferential vote – robustness check 3**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | | Model 3 | | | Model 4 | | |
|  | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. | B | S.E. | Sig. |
| Gender | -0.16 | 0.02 | \*\*\* | -0.05 | 0.06 |  | -0.11 | 0.03 | \*\*\* | -0.12 | 0.06 | \* |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  |
| Age² | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |  |
| Distance (ln) | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.62 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| List position | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | -0.10 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| First list place | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.06 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 2.07 | 0.05 | \*\*\* |
| Last list place | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* | 1.09 | 0.05 | \*\*\* |
| Incumbent | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 0.64 | 0.06 | \*\*\* |
| Women on the list | -0.02 | 0.02 |  | -0.01 | 0.02 |  | -0.02 | 0.02 |  | -0.01 | 0.02 |  |
| List vote | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.31 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.32 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.30 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Ideology | 0.07 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.09 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.07 | 0.03 | \*\* | 0.11 | 0.03 | \*\*\* |
| Dead HR (cr) | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.00 | 0.01 |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Unemployment | 1.53 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.53 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.53 | 0.06 | \*\*\* | 1.54 | 0.06 | \*\*\* |
| Education | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* | -0.05 | 0.02 | \*\* | -0.04 | 0.02 | \*\* |
| Urbanization | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* | -0.04 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Croats | 0.08 | 0.06 |  | 0.08 | 0.06 |  | 0.08 | 0.06 |  | 0.07 | 0.06 |  |
| 2016 election | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.03 | 0.06 |  | 0.03 | 0.05 |  |
| 2020 election | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* | -4.11 | 0.08 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x Ideology |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.02 | \* |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x Dead HR (cr) |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 | 0.00 | \*\*\* | 0.00 | 0.02 |  |
| Dead HR (cr) x Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| Gender x Dead HR (cr) x Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 | 0.00 | \*\*\* |
| Intercept | 3.68 | 0.21 | \*\*\* | 3.63 | 0.20 | \*\*\* | 3.70 | 0.28 | \*\*\* | 3.56 | 0.21 | \*\*\* |
| n (Candidates, Lists, Municipalities) | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | | 6986 / 97 / 556 | | |
| ∆ AIC | -1,576,359 (-38.09%) | | | -1,576,360 (-38.09%) | | | -1,576,428 (-38.10%) | | | -1,576,700 (-38.10%) | | |

Note: \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001; ∆ AIC indicates the change in AIC when comparing the model to an intercept only model. Principal explanatory variable of interest: Dead HR (cr) (Dead Croatian soldiers per 10,000 inhabitants. cube root transformed).