

APPENDIX

Who Benefits from the Social Democratic March to the Middle?

Appendix

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A1a List of Countries and Elections (Aggregate Level)

Country	Start and End Date	Number of Elections
Australia	1966 – 2016	20
Austria	1966 – 2019	17
Belgium	1965 – 2014	16
Canada	1965 – 2015	16
Denmark	1966 – 2019	20
Finland	1966 – 2019	15
France	1967 – 2017	13
Germany	1965 – 2017	15
Greece	1974 – 2015	17
Ireland	1965 – 2016	15
Israel	1965 – 2015	15
Italy	1968 – 2018	14
Luxembourg	1968 – 2013	10
Netherlands	1967 – 2017	16
New Zealand	1966 – 2017	18
Norway	1965 – 2017	14
Portugal	1975 – 2015	15
Spain	1977 – 2019	14
Sweden	1968 – 2018	16
Switzerland	1967 – 2015	13
United Kingdom	1966 – 2017	14

A1b List of Countries and Elections (Individual Level)

Country	Elections	Number of Elections
Australia	2004, 2007, 2013, 2019	4
Austria	2013, 2017	2
Belgium	2003	1
Canada	2008, 2011, 2015	3
Denmark	2001, 2007	2
Finland	2003, 2007, 2011, 2015	4
France	2002, 2012, 2017	3
Germany	2002, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017	5
Greece	2009, 2012, 2015, 2015	4
Ireland	2002, 2007, 2011, 2016	4
Israel	2003, 2006, 2013	3
Italy	2006, 2018	2
Netherlands	2002, 2006, 2010	3
New Zealand	2002, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2017	5
Norway	2001, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017	5
Portugal	2002, 2005, 2015	3
Spain	2004	1
Sweden	2002, 2006, 2014	3
Switzerland	2003, 2007, 2011	3
United Kingdom	2005, 2015	2

A2 Mean Social Democrat Positions vs Radical Left and Greens Over Time

Average social democrat economic and socio-cultural positions (left–right) over time, with trend lines. Compared to radical left on economic dimension and greens on socio-cultural position. Calculated from MARPOR (Volgens et al. 2020).

Figure A2a: Average SD vs Far Left Economic Position, 1965–2019

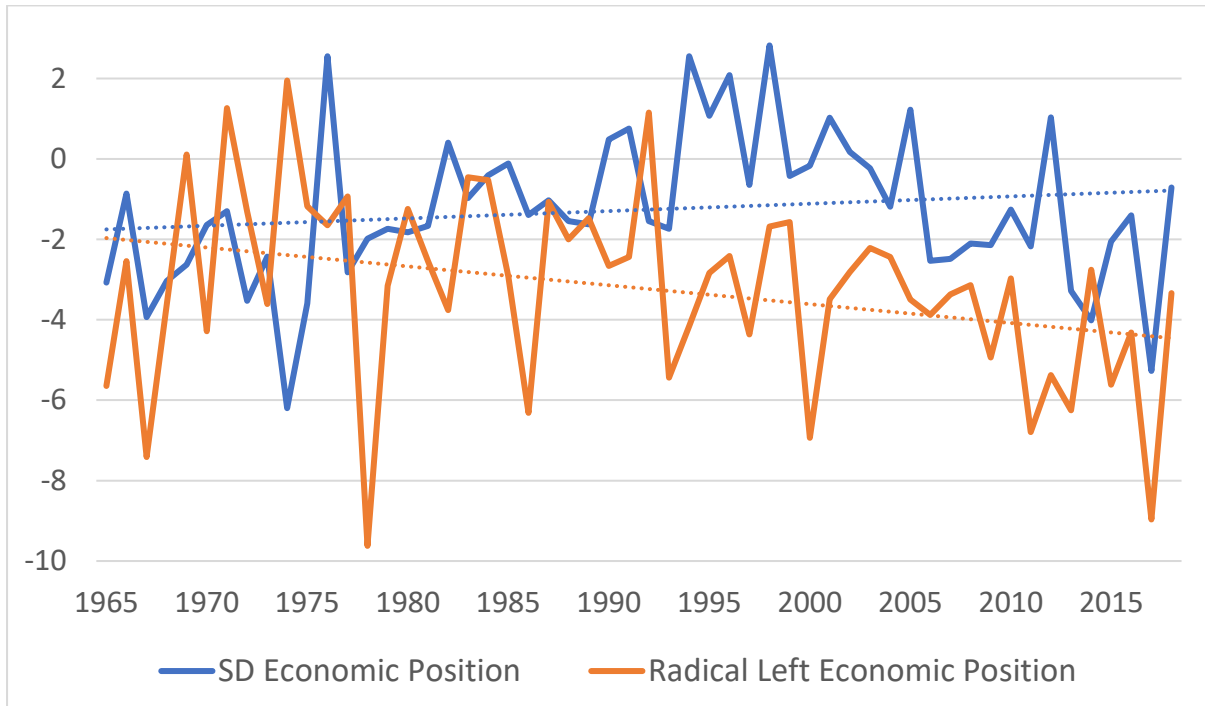
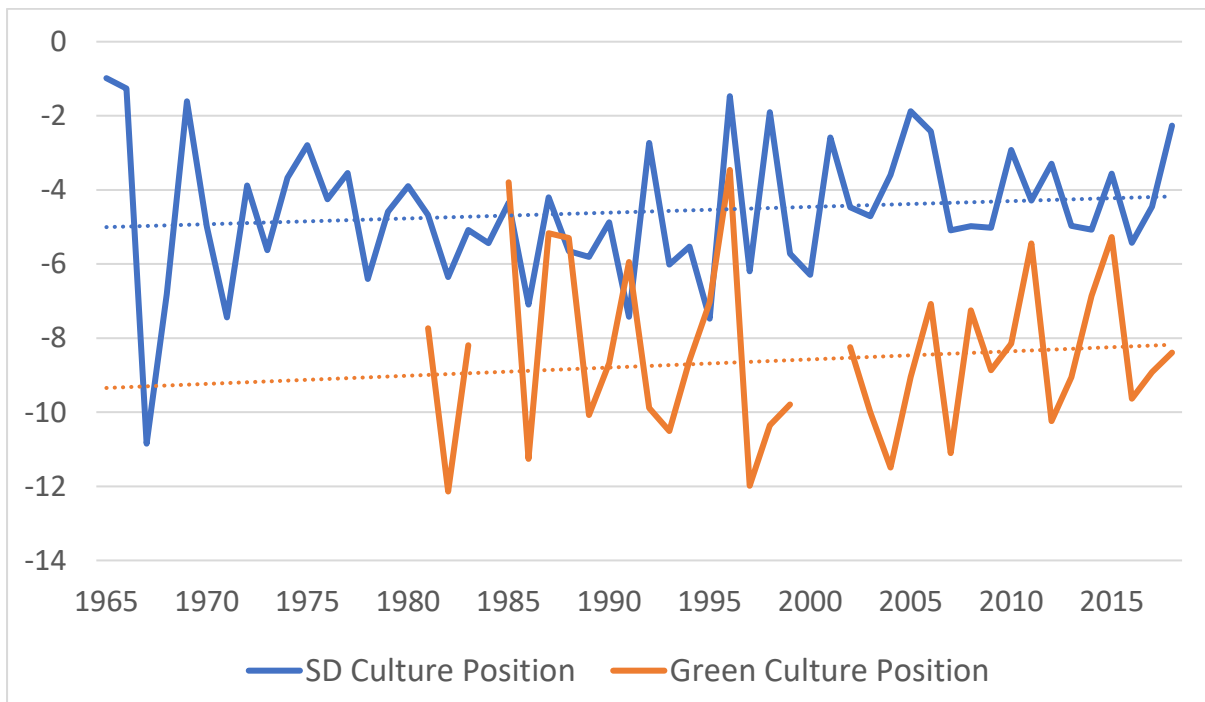


Figure A2b: Average SD vs Green Culture Position, 1965–2019



A3 Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
SD Leave	25,259	0.3617799	0.4805251	0	1
Radical Left Voted	17,499	0.0820047	0.2743797	0	1
Green Voted	17,207	0.0626489	0.2423375	0	1
Liberal Voted	17,348	0.0740143	0.2618017	0	1
Conservative Voted	17,730	0.093965	0.2917883	0	1
Far Right Voted	16,789	0.043183	0.203275	0	1
Abstain	18,392	0.1265768	0.3325073	0	1
Age	24,971	52.48568	15.82118	20	102
Female	25,087	0.5173994	0.4997071	0	1
Education	24,530	2.424582	1.21017	0	4
Income	21,129	2.913247	1.349583	1	5
Rural	21,336	0.2089426	0.4065629	0	1
Union	23,299	0.317181	0.4653886	0	1
Political Ideology	22,406	4.034455	2.022098	0	10
SD Vote	327	30.14869	10.81434	4.429288	51.028
Radical Left Vote	327	7.714159	7.728806	0	52.09
Green Vote	327	2.73419	3.766997	0	21.32
Liberal Vote	327	16.65434	14.24627	0	56
Conservative Vote	327	32.11459	11.20946	0	58.8
Far Right Vote	327	6.317309	7.155925	0	30.71
SD Vote e-1	323	30.89615	10.66795	4.573	51.028
Radical Left Vote e-1	324	7.589475	7.52359	0	52.09
Green Vote e-1	324	2.343704	3.447035	0	14.29
Liberal Vote e-1	324	16.52235	14.39114	0	56
Conservative Vote e-1	324	32.56127	11.35429	0	62.7
Far Right Vote e-1	324	5.840185	6.978003	0	30.71
SD Economic Position	326	-1.454081	3.294687	-10.51697	9.319901
SD Culture Position	327	-4.497253	3.75588	-14.59629	5.21253
Mean Economic Position	327	1.21344	2.432847	-5.50631	9.152488
Mean Culture Position	327	-2.173659	2.91409	-11.90565	7.176226
Rad Left Economic Position	211	-3.206642	2.721363	-10.90536	7.427739
Rad Left Culture Position	211	-4.968498	4.734403	-18.73507	6.900627
Green Economic Position	127	-2.472262	2.691847	-9.072273	3.554683
Green Culture Position	127	-8.479592	3.590722	-17.68828	0.5034688
Liberal Economic Position	248	3.268672	3.884169	-8.381349	13.70267
Liberal Culture Position	248	-2.263651	4.078004	-13.92603	11.31275
Conservative Econ Position	325	4.168511	3.443	-6.260617	13.76316
Conservative Culture Position	325	0.1186334	3.819833	-9.833445	11.24646
Far Right Economic Position	178	3.705071	3.881967	-7.082054	12.79898
Far Right Culture Position	178	4.746179	5.676466	-8.913645	17.20502
Gini t-1	278	28.85179	4.01105	20.27872	37.74593
Government Spending t-1	294	44.35573	8.062504	23.12152	68.54779

GDP Growth t-1	316	2.672466	2.791434	-9.169651	25.48517
Unemployment t-1	317	6.342817	4.395574	0	26.5
Union Density	321	41.41442	19.50313	8.5	97.17
Incumbent	327	0.3455657	0.4762812	0	1
Turnout	327	75.75933	11.6185	34.94	95.43
Disproportionality	327	5.571011	4.870128	0.41833	24.61331
Globalization t-1	295	75.93802	9.735029	50.02024	91.01247
Foreigner Share	320	11.98745	8.887716	0.704124	50.37776

A4 List of Social Democratic Parties

Country	Social Democrat Party/Bloc	Abbreviation
Australia	Australian Labor Party	ALP
Austria	Austrian Social Democratic Party	SPÖ
Belgium	Belgian Socialist Party > Flemish/Francophone Socialist Party	BSP > sp.a/PS
Canada	New Democratic Party	NDP
Denmark	Social Democratic Party	SD
Finland	Finnish Social Democrats	SSDP
France	Socialist Party	PS
Germany	Social Democratic Party of Germany	SPD
Greece	Panhellenic Socialist Movement	PASOK
Ireland	Labour Party	Labour
Israel	Israeli Labor Party	HaAvoda
Italy ¹	Italian Communist Party > Democrats of the Left > Democratic Party	PCI > PDS > PD
Luxembourg	Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party	LSAP
Netherlands	Labour Party	PvdA
New Zealand	New Zealand Labour Party	Labour
Norway	Norwegian Labour Party	DnA
Portugal	Socialist Party	PS
Spain	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party	PSOE
Sweden	Social Democratic Labour Party	SAP
Switzerland	Social Democratic Party of Switzerland	SPS/PSS
United Kingdom	Labour Party	Labour

¹ The Italian Communist Party (PCI) gradually moved away from Moscow, largely becoming a social democratic party in the late 1960s (Urban 1986). The party then evolved into the Democrats of the Left (PDS) in the early 1990s, and then into the Democratic Party (PD) ahead of the 2008 election.

A5 Classification of Party Families

Country	Radical Left	Green	Liberal	Conservative	Far Right
Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Labour Party • Australian Democrats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australian Greens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia Party • Country Liberal Party • Liberal National Party of Queensland • Nick Xenophon Team • Palmer United Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Democratic Party • Liberal Party of Australia • Family First Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Party of Australia • One Nation Party
Austria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party of Austria • The Citizens' Forum Austria 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative List Austria • United Greens Austria • The Greens -- The Green Alternative • JETZT / Pilz List 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal Forum • NEOS - The New Austria 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Austrian People's Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom Party of Austria • Democratic Progressive Party • Alliance for the Future of Austria
Belgium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party • Workers' Party of Belgium 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecolo • Agalev / Green 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal Party • Francophone Democratic Front • Party of Liberty and Progress • Flemish Liberals and Democrats • Liberal Reformist Party • Alive • Reformist Movement • List Dedecker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Francophone Christian Social Party • Flemish Christian People's Party • New Flemish Alliance • People's Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People's Union • Respect for Labour • Flemish Block • National Front • Belgians, Rise Up!
Canada		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Party of Canada 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal Party of Canada 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive Conservative Party of Canada • Reform Party of Canada • Conservative Party of Canada 	
Denmark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party of Denmark • Left Socialists • Common Course • Red-Green Alliance • Socialist People's Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greens • The Alternative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Danish Social Liberal Party • Liberal Party • Justice Party • Liberal Centre • Independents Party • New-Liberal Alliance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian People's Party • Conservatives • Centre Democrats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progress Party • Danish Peoples Party • Hard Line • The New Right

Finland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Left Alliance • Social Democratic League of Workers and Smallholders • Communist Party of Finland • Pirate Party Finland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green League • Ecological Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centre Party • National Progressive Party • Swedish People's Party • Young Finns • Movement Now 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Democrats • National Coalition Party • Constitutional People's Party • Finnish People's Unity Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finnish Party / True Finns • Blue Reform
France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French Communist Party • Unified Socialist Party • Radical Party of the Left • Workers' Struggle • Party of Presidential Majority • Citizens' Movement • Revolutionary Communist League • Unbowed France 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greens • Ecology Generation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Centre • Centrist Alliance • The Republic Onwards! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Centre • Centre Democracy and Progress • Reformers Movement • Centre of Social Democrats • Gaullists • Independent Republicans • Radical Socialist Party • Rally for the Republic • Union for French Democracy • Movement for France • The Republicans • Rally for France • Union of Democrats and Independents • Republic Arise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Front • National Republican Movement
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • German Peace Union • PDS / The Left • German Pirate Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance 90 - Greens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free Democratic Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Social Union • Christian Democratic Union • Free Voters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Democratic Party • The Republicans • German People's Union • Alternative for Germany
Greece	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party of Greece • Coalition of the Left • Democratic Social Movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative Ecologists • Ecologist Greens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Union of the Democratic Centre • Party of New Liberals • Action / Liberal Alliance • Democratic Alliance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Democracy • National Alignment • Progressive Party • Democratic Renewal • Political Spring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Democratic Union • Popular Orthodox Rally • Peoples Association / Golden Dawn

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Front of the Greek Anticapitalist Left • Democratic Left • The River • Dot / Apostolos Gkletsos • Movement of Democratic Socialists • Popular Unity 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Union of Centrists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recreate Greece 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independent Greeks
Ireland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sinn Fein • Democratic Socialist Party • Democratic Left • Socialist Party • People Before Profit Alliance • Independents 4 Change • Social Democrats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fianna Fail • Progressive Democrats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fine Gael • National Party • Renua Ireland 	
Israel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This World / New Force • New Communist List / Democratic Front • Communist Party / Moked / Sheli • Israeli Workers List • United Workers Party • Movement for Civil Rights and Peace • Progressive List for Peace • Energy • One Nation • Meimad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Leaf • The Greens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independent Liberals • Free Centre • Democratic Movement for Change • Change • Courage • Together (Yahad) • Israel for Immigration • The Third Way • Centre Party • Forward • There is a Future • The Movement • All of Us • Blue and White • Bridge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Consolidation • National List • Peace / Zion • Movement for the Heritage of Israel • Revival • Sfarad's guards of the Torah • Homeland • Banner of the Torah • United Torah Judaism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Religious Party • Flatto / Sharon • Thus • Crossroads • Israel is Our Home • Herut / The National Movement • National Union / Tkuma • Strength to Israel • Together (Yachad) • Zehut • Right
Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Italian Democratic Socialist Party • Italian Socialist Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Lists • Federation of the Greens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Republican Party • Italian Liberal Party • Liberal Democratic Pole 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Democrats • Movement for Democracy / The Net 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Italian Social Movement • North League • Southern Action League

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity • Radicals • List for Trieste • Sardinian Action Party • Communist Refoundation Party • Democratic Alliance • Dini List / Italian Renewal • Popular Party for Prodi • New PSI • The Union / Prodi • Left 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Union of the Centre • Democracy is Freedom / The Daisy • Italy of Values • Autonomy Liberty Democracy • Civic Choice • Stop the Decline • Democratic Centre • More Europe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Italian People's Party • Social Christians • European Democracy • Union of Democrats for Europe • Union / Centre • Movement for Autonomy • Italian Democratic Party of Monarchist Unity • National Alliance • Go Italy / The People of Freedom • Centre Right • Brothers of Italy / National Centre-right • South American Union Italian Emigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fiamma Tricolore
Luxembourg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party of Luxembourg • Social Democratic Party • Jean Gremling List / Independent Socialists • The Left 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Greens • Green Left Ecological Initiative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Social People's Party • Alternative Democratic Reform Party • Party for Full Democracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Movement
Netherlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party of the Netherlands • Pacifist Socialist Party • Democratic Socialists 70 • Socialist Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radical Political Party • GreenLeft 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People's Party for Freedom and Democracy • Democrats 66 • 50PLUS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-Revolutionary Party • Christian Historical Union • Catholic Peoples Party • Christian Democratic Appeal • Reformatory Political Federation • Christian Union • Reformed Political League • Farmers Party • Middle Party • Forum for Democracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centre Party • Centre Democrats • Livable Netherlands • Fortuyn List • Party for Freedom

New Zealand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Labour Party • Alliance • Progressive Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Values Party • Green Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Zealand Party • ACT New Zealand • United Future New Zealand • The Opportunities Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Heritage Party of New Zealand • National Party • United New Zealand • Conservative Party of New Zealand 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Zealand First Party
Norway	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party of Norway • Socialist People's Party • Socialist Left Party • Red Electoral Alliance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal Party of Norway • Liberal People's Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Democratic Party • Conservative Party • Coastal Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progress Party
Portugal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Movement • Popular Democratic Union • People's Socialist Front • Portuguese Communist Party • Movement of Socialist Left • Reformists • United People Alliance • Workers Party of Socialist Unity • Leftwing Union for the Socialist Democracy • Independent Social Democrats • Revolutionary Socialist Party • Unified Democratic Coalition • Democratic Intervention • Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers • Bloc of the Left • Livre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecology Party / Greens • Party for Animals and Nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Democratic Party • Democratic Alliance • Liberal Initiative • Alliance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic and Social Centre / People's Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enough

Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist Party / United Left • People's Socialist Party • Basque Left • Party of Labour of Spain • Andalusian Party • Workers' Party of Spain / Communist Unity • We Can (Podemos) • En Masse / Common Group of the Left • In Common We Can • Compromise / A la valenciana 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Union of the Democratic Centre • Union, Progress and Democracy • Citizens / Party of the Citizenry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basque Nationalist Party • Electoral Coalition of Christian Democratic Team • Union of Centre and Christian Democracy of Catalonia • Democratic and Social Centre • Convergence and Union • People's Alliance Party • Democratic Convergence / Together for Catalonia • Sum Navarre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Union • Voice (Vox)
Sweden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Left Party (Communists) • Pirate Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People's Party • Centre Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian Democrats • Moderate Party • Citizens Coalition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Democracy • Sweden Democrats
Switzerland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swiss Party of Labour • Democratic Group • Progressive Organisations of Switzerland • Autonomous Socialist Party • Solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greens • Feminists and Green / Alternative Groups • Green Liberal Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal Party of Switzerland • Radical Democratic Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Catholic Conservative / Christian Democratic Peoples Party • Protestant Peoples Party • Christian Social Party • Federal Democratic Union of Switzerland • Conservative Democratic Party of Switzerland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swiss People's Party • Republican Movement • National Action / Swiss Democrats • Automobile Party / Freedom Party of Switzerland • Ticino League • Geneva Citizens' Movement
United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Republican Labour Party • Social Democratic and Labour Party • Respect / The Unity Coalition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberals • Alliance Party of Northern Ireland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservatives • Ulster Unionist Party • Democratic Unionist Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Front • United Kingdom Independence Party • British National Party • Brexit Party

A6 Coding Policy Variables

Economic and socio-cultural policy positions were constructed using the state-market (economic) and (progressive-conservative) society dimensions, which comprise the following components from MARPOR (Volkens et al. 2020):

Economic (State-Market) Dimension			
Left-Wing		Right-Wing	
per403	Market Regulation	per401	Free Market Economy
per404	Economic Planning	per402	Incentives: Positive
per405	Corporatism/Mixed Economy	per407	Protectionism: Negative
per406	Protectionism: Positive	per414	Economic Orthodoxy
per409	Keynesian Demand Management	per505	Welfare State Limitation
per412	Controlled Economy		
per413	Nationalisation		
per415	Marxist Analysis		
per416	Anti-Growth Economy: Positive		
per504	Welfare State Expansion		
Society (Progressive-Conservative) Dimension			
Left-Wing		Right-Wing	
per105	Military: Negative	per104	Military: Positive
per106	Peace	per109	Internationalism: Negative
per107	Internationalism: Positive	per110	European Community/Union: Negative
per108	European Community/Union: Positive	per601	National Way of Life: Positive
per501	Environmental Protection	per603	Traditional Morality: Positive
per503	Equality: Positive	per605	Law and Order: Positive
per602	National Way of Life: Negative	per608	Multiculturalism: Negative
per604	Traditional Morality: Negative		
per607	Multiculturalism: Positive		
per705	Underprivileged Minority Groups		

A7ab Excluding Decade Fixed Effects Robustness Check

Two alternative model specifications are undertaken at the aggregate-level. Including a lagged dependent variable with fixed effects can potentially introduce bias and inconsistent estimations (Nickell 1981). Therefore, the aggregate-level estimations are re-run excluding: 1) decade fixed effects; and 2) the lagged dependent variable. The main results hold for each specification (see Tables A7a–A7d). When the lagged dependent variable is removed, we also see much stronger effects when social democrats move rightwards on the economic dimension, and somewhat stronger effects when they move rightwards simultaneously on both dimensions.

Table A7a: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share (no decade fixed effects)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1) Rad Left	(2) SD	(3) Green	(4) Liberal	(5) Con	(6) Far Right
DV e-1	0.490*** (0.085)	0.383*** (0.062)	0.052 (0.111)	0.337* (0.122)	0.412*** (0.066)	0.269* (0.105)
SD Econ Position	0.262+ (0.136)	0.108 (0.201)	-0.026 (0.072)	-0.365 (0.289)	-0.049 (0.195)	0.204 (0.164)
SD Culture Position	0.051 (0.176)	-0.142 (0.243)	0.100 (0.081)	0.073 (0.225)	-0.080 (0.233)	-0.141 (0.256)
Mean Econ Position	-0.333+ (0.174)	0.361 (0.259)	-0.283 (0.164)	0.229 (0.386)	0.266 (0.288)	-0.097 (0.395)
Mean Culture Position	-0.048 (0.230)	0.130 (0.381)	-0.145 (0.124)	-0.609 (0.483)	-0.714+ (0.360)	1.030* (0.426)
Family Econ Position	-0.097 (0.175)		0.089 (0.090)	-0.232 (0.211)	-0.204 (0.193)	0.062 (0.200)
Family Culture Position	0.178 (0.157)		0.069 (0.052)	0.592* (0.215)	0.115 (0.198)	0.018 (0.115)
Gini t-1	-0.677** (0.200)	0.006 (0.331)	-0.164 (0.282)	0.371 (0.387)	-0.075 (0.283)	0.067 (0.370)
Government Spend t-1	-0.359* (0.144)	0.261+ (0.140)	-0.122+ (0.061)	-0.131 (0.105)	0.157 (0.133)	0.028 (0.246)
GDP Growth t-1	-0.160 (0.229)	0.135 (0.202)	-0.107 (0.070)	-0.111 (0.194)	-0.007 (0.175)	0.080 (0.336)
Unemployment t-1	0.835*** (0.182)	-0.751* (0.270)	0.117 (0.120)	-0.209 (0.126)	-0.093 (0.166)	-0.248 (0.225)
Union Density	0.034 (0.075)	-0.092 (0.091)	0.129* (0.049)	0.247+ (0.136)	-0.062 (0.074)	-0.019 (0.097)
SD Incumbent	-1.869** (0.639)	-0.844 (0.901)	-0.598 (0.470)	1.408 (1.395)	1.478+ (0.815)	-0.369 (1.360)
Turnout	-0.129 (0.089)	0.114 (0.123)	-0.170* (0.059)	-0.082 (0.147)	0.231* (0.104)	-0.091 (0.128)
Disproportionality	0.049 (0.251)	-0.357* (0.126)	0.069 (0.106)	0.331 (0.224)	-0.188+ (0.107)	0.107 (0.219)
Globalization t-1	-0.112 (0.088)	-0.038 (0.092)	0.089 (0.065)	0.158 (0.222)	0.020 (0.117)	0.077 (0.187)
Foreigners Share	0.204 (0.180)	-0.387 (0.236)	0.360+ (0.187)	-0.389 (0.352)	-0.063 (0.260)	0.040 (0.223)
Constant	52.086*** (12.075)	15.347 (23.385)	11.990 (12.101)	-2.929 (25.324)	-2.371 (16.753)	8.546 (24.183)
<i>Decade fixed effects</i>	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
<i>R² within</i>	0.63	0.46	0.53	0.30	0.36	0.38
<i>Countries</i>	17	21	18	21	21	18
<i>N</i>	174	254	122	193	252	145

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A7b: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share with Interaction (no decade fixed effects)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.463*** (0.094)	0.384*** (0.064)	0.031 (0.110)	0.336* (0.131)	0.412*** (0.070)	0.280* (0.110)
SD Econ Position	0.705** (0.234)	-0.181 (0.291)	-0.149 (0.118)	-0.380 (0.538)	-0.049 (0.236)	0.433 (0.269)
SD Culture Position	0.118 (0.171)	-0.228 (0.226)	0.091 (0.073)	0.070 (0.243)	-0.080 (0.262)	-0.094 (0.256)
SD Econ. # SD Cult.	0.100* (0.038)	-0.062+ (0.032)	-0.265 (0.172)	-0.003 (0.059)	0.000 (0.042)	0.057 (0.035)
Mean Econ Position	-0.382+ (0.190)	0.415 (0.260)	-0.265 (0.172)	0.235 (0.460)	0.266 (0.287)	-0.104 (0.388)
Mean Culture Position	0.031 (0.237)	0.109 (0.387)	-0.139 (0.117)	-0.611 (0.473)	-0.714+ (0.357)	1.006* (0.420)
Family Econ Position	-0.106 (0.168)		0.107 (0.094)	-0.235 (0.204)	-0.204 (0.198)	0.043 (0.192)
Family Culture Position	0.155 (0.144)		0.052 (0.047)	0.593* (0.211)	0.115 (0.200)	0.005 (0.116)
Gini t-1	-0.733** (0.221)	0.024 (0.325)	-0.154 (0.287)	0.373 (0.403)	-0.075 (0.288)	0.095 (0.392)
Government Spend t-1	-0.344* (0.130)	0.249+ (0.133)	-0.127+ (0.062)	-0.130 (0.106)	0.157 (0.134)	0.038 (0.249)
GDP Growth t-1	-0.121 (0.216)	0.102 (0.188)	-0.110 (0.072)	-0.113 (0.194)	-0.007 (0.173)	0.109 (0.337)
Unemployment t-1	0.875*** (0.191)	-0.744* (0.263)	0.101 (0.113)	-0.210 (0.123)	-0.093 (0.167)	-0.250 (0.211)
Union Density	0.044 (0.069)	-0.096 (0.087)	0.132* (0.053)	0.246 (0.143)	-0.062 (0.076)	0.004 (0.096)
SD Incumbent	-1.755* (0.630)	-0.855 (0.884)	-0.653 (0.479)	1.405 (1.370)	1.478+ (0.817)	-0.306 (1.352)
Turnout	-0.131 (0.086)	0.128 (0.120)	-0.159* (0.063)	-0.080 (0.146)	0.231* (0.109)	-0.110 (0.129)
Disproportionality	0.108 (0.231)	-0.360** (0.121)	0.066 (0.111)	0.333 (0.221)	-0.188+ (0.107)	0.112 (0.210)
Globalization t-1	-0.120 (0.082)	-0.037 (0.091)	0.100 (0.076)	0.159 (0.211)	0.020 (0.117)	0.049 (0.199)
Foreigners Share	0.146 (0.175)	-0.352 (0.242)	0.385+ (0.190)	-0.389 (0.351)	-0.063 (0.257)	0.092 (0.227)
Constant	53.696*** (11.792)	13.627 (22.976)	9.982 (12.350)	-3.212 (23.503)	-2.369 (17.117)	9.416 (23.876)
<i>Decade Fixed Effects</i>	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
<i>R² within</i>	0.66	0.47	0.54	0.30	0.36	0.39
<i>N</i>	174	254	122	193	252	145

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A7cd Excluding Lagged Dependent Variable Robustness Check

Table A7c: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share (no lagged DVs)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
SD Econ Position	0.620*** (0.142)	0.077 (0.255)	-0.058 (0.076)	-0.396 (0.352)	-0.173 (0.232)	0.243 (0.188)
SD Culture Position	-0.104 (0.233)	-0.008 (0.217)	0.099 (0.089)	0.005 (0.212)	-0.062 (0.194)	-0.207 (0.262)
Mean Econ Position	-0.593* (0.218)	0.121 (0.233)	-0.287+ (0.157)	0.171 (0.371)	0.343 (0.316)	0.141 (0.396)
Mean Culture Position	0.152 (0.341)	-0.016 (0.359)	-0.171 (0.136)	-0.400 (0.458)	-0.911* (0.398)	1.220* (0.515)
Family Econ Position	-0.111 (0.183)		0.114 (0.086)	-0.388 (0.243)	-0.258 (0.190)	0.031 (0.258)
Family Culture Position	0.082 (0.202)		0.062 (0.052)	0.570* (0.244)	-0.029 (0.262)	0.025 (0.150)
Gini t-1	-1.000** (0.318)	-0.079 (0.408)	-0.158 (0.285)	0.562 (0.437)	0.135 (0.394)	-0.224 (0.411)
Government Spend t-1	-0.585** (0.155)	0.384* (0.156)	-0.129* (0.059)	0.004 (0.144)	0.283+ (0.157)	-0.226 (0.241)
GDP Growth t-1	-0.243 (0.217)	0.144 (0.169)	-0.107 (0.077)	-0.120 (0.316)	0.183 (0.253)	-0.016 (0.360)
Unemployment t-1	1.259*** (0.305)	-0.948* (0.335)	0.129 (0.129)	-0.289 (0.231)	-0.098 (0.251)	-0.162 (0.279)
Union Density	0.021 (0.117)	-0.103 (0.111)	0.121* (0.053)	0.199 (0.150)	0.018 (0.074)	-0.025 (0.124)
SD Incumbent	-2.951** (0.773)	1.179 (0.910)	-0.561 (0.475)	0.715 (1.583)	0.867 (1.077)	-1.338 (1.461)
Turnout	-0.113 (0.158)	0.106 (0.144)	-0.143+ (0.068)	-0.027 (0.195)	0.247+ (0.130)	-0.040 (0.132)
Disproportionality	-0.011 (0.276)	-0.288+ (0.161)	0.067 (0.108)	0.505+ (0.269)	-0.251 (0.176)	0.101 (0.230)
Globalization t-1	0.103 (0.150)	-0.034 (0.220)	0.080 (0.104)	-0.027 (0.356)	-0.058 (0.217)	0.208 (0.281)
Foreigners Share	0.384 (0.301)	0.015 (0.272)	0.387 (0.232)	-0.802* (0.369)	0.088 (0.305)	0.020 (0.323)
Constant	53.593** (17.656)	16.047 (27.829)	11.021 (16.786)	12.109 (34.962)	-1.422 (18.225)	18.527 (31.950)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.52	0.42	0.54	0.23	0.24	0.35
<i>Countries</i>	17	21	18	21	21	18
<i>N</i>	174	254	122	193	252	145

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A7d: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share with Interaction (no lagged DVs)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
SD Econ Position	1.136*** (0.237)	-0.268 (0.294)	-0.189 (0.136)	-0.561 (0.591)	-0.081 (0.294)	0.431 (0.295)
SD Culture Position	-0.009 (0.233)	-0.111 (0.198)	0.089 (0.077)	-0.033 (0.226)	-0.035 (0.221)	-0.173 (0.263)
SD Econ. # SD Cult.	0.122* (0.043)	-0.073* (0.027)	-0.028 (0.021)	-0.032 (0.061)	0.020 (0.049)	0.044 (0.036)
Mean Econ Position	-0.616* (0.241)	0.176 (0.234)	-0.271 (0.164)	0.236 (0.449)	0.331 (0.322)	0.138 (0.392)
Mean Culture Position	0.218 (0.361)	-0.036 (0.368)	-0.161 (0.123)	-0.430 (0.438)	-0.906* (0.392)	1.211* (0.510)
Family Econ Position	-0.121 (0.170)		0.130 (0.086)	-0.419 (0.225)	-0.263 (0.202)	0.020 (0.251)
Family Culture Position	0.062 (0.189)		0.048 (0.048)	0.590* (0.234)	-0.031 (0.262)	0.015 (0.152)
Gini t-1	-1.056** (0.295)	-0.049 (0.407)	-0.149 (0.287)	0.573 (0.433)	0.125 (0.409)	-0.206 (0.425)
Government Spend t-1	-0.551** (0.145)	0.371* (0.149)	-0.133* (0.059)	0.008 (0.137)	0.286+ (0.158)	-0.221 (0.247)
GDP Growth t-1	-0.186 (0.203)	0.101 (0.159)	-0.110 (0.077)	-0.132 (0.313)	0.193 (0.250)	0.017 (0.370)
Unemployment t-1	1.275*** (0.301)	-0.939** (0.326)	0.106 (0.121)	-0.289 (0.235)	-0.101 (0.251)	-0.159 (0.272)
Union Density	0.034 (0.105)	-0.110 (0.106)	0.126* (0.057)	0.191 (0.157)	0.020 (0.076)	-0.009 (0.126)
SD Incumbent	-2.701** (0.798)	1.158 (0.896)	-0.611 (0.482)	0.683 (1.548)	0.878 (1.089)	-1.317 (1.465)
Turnout	-0.113 (0.157)	0.122 (0.140)	-0.128 (0.074)	-0.003 (0.182)	0.243+ (0.132)	-0.057 (0.135)
Disproportionality	0.056 (0.245)	-0.285+ (0.153)	0.061 (0.114)	0.521* (0.241)	-0.252 (0.176)	0.106 (0.222)
Globalization t-1	0.073 (0.164)	-0.027 (0.222)	0.100 (0.116)	-0.018 (0.352)	-0.058 (0.216)	0.177 (0.293)
Foreigners Share	0.275 (0.304)	0.083 (0.279)	0.420 (0.249)	-0.797* (0.362)	0.063 (0.306)	0.049 (0.322)
Constant	56.504** (18.157)	12.789 (27.701)	7.649 (17.607)	9.257 (33.274)	-0.413 (19.476)	20.814 (31.975)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.56	0.43	0.55	0.23	0.24	0.36
<i>N</i>	174	254	122	193	252	145

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A8 Panel Data Case Study (The Netherlands LISS)

To test whether vote movements away from social democrats hold up over the course of multiple elections, panel data from the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS) in the Netherlands is explored (Scherpenzeel and Das 2010). The LISS is the highest quality panel data available that includes survey items on party voting. The Netherlands also provides an ideal test case since each of the major party families are viable in the country and its social democratic party (PvdA), experienced a pronounced decline in vote share from 19.6% to 5.7% over the available data period (2010–2021).

The sample begins in 2010 with 784 social democrat voters, which we can track over 4 elections. Unfortunately, due to attrition the sample drops by over half by 2021, which leaves a continuous sample of 348. Figure A8 shows that the PvdA kept a strong 76% of its voters in 2012, before dropping precipitously to 40% and 43% in 2017 and 2021, when the party's overall vote share total collapsed to just 5.7% in both elections. In 2012, the radical left received the most former PvdA voters, followed closely the center-left (D66). In 2017, the first election of the PvdA's collapse, it was the greens and D66 that benefitted the most, before a majority of green voters moved to other parties in 2021, while D66 became the new most popular home for former PvdA voters. These results largely mirror the growth of D66 in overall vote share totals over the 4 elections.

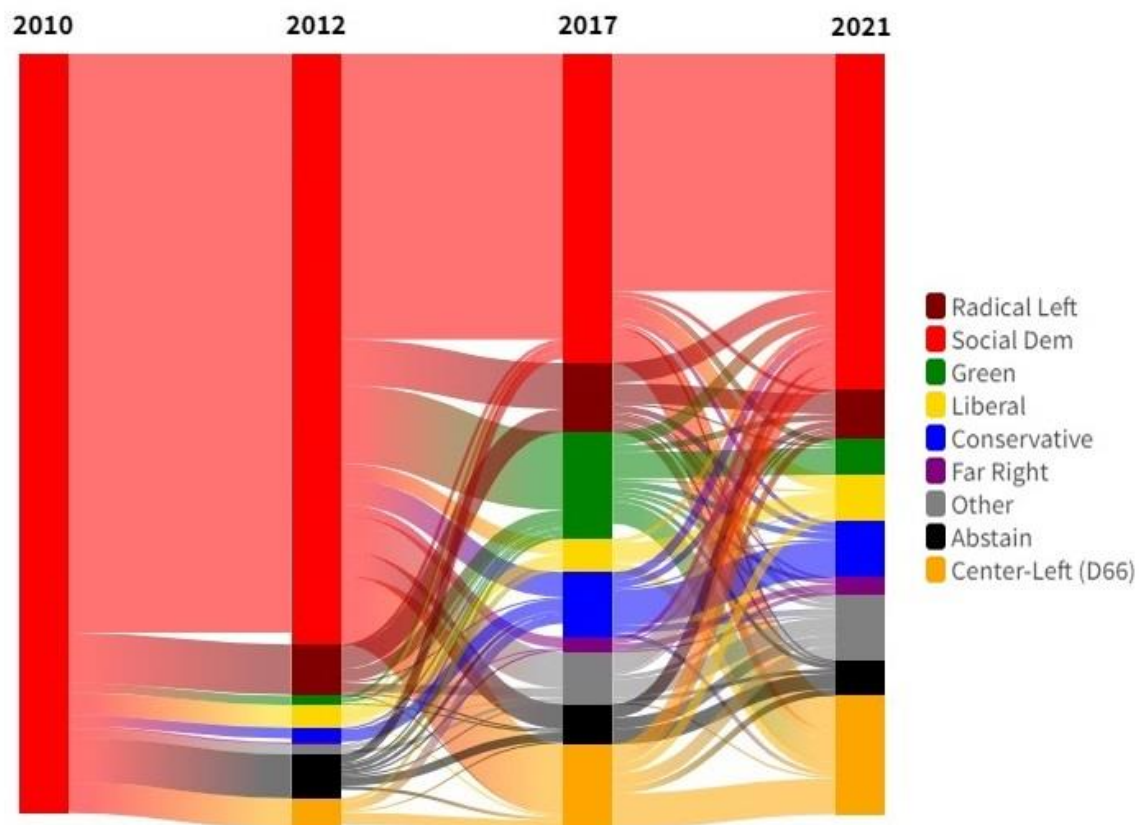


Figure A8: Transition away from social democrats (PvdA) across elections in the Netherlands, 2010–2021

Importantly, we see that the far right has gained the least amount of social democratic voters of any party in each election, despite the party attaining the second or third highest overall vote share totals in each election. We do see a slight increase over time, which somewhat

confirms the findings of Evans and Mellon (2016) regarding UKIP in the United Kingdom. However, there is little variation for the radical left over the entire period and the party family maintains 6.6% of former social democratic voters in both 2012 and 2021. Overall, it does not appear that there is a great deal of further transition of voters away from the social democrats to different parties over time, despite an extremely volatile party system where the social democratic vote share collapsed after 2 elections.

Breaking down further into types of PvdA leavers, over time the party has lost a greater percentage of its female voters than men. PvdA voters leaving the party have also increasingly been more leftist. In 2012, PvdA voters who left the party scored 4.15 on the 0-10 left-right scale, while those who stayed scored 3.42. However, by 2021, this difference largely flipped, as former PvdA voters scored 3.36, while those who stayed with the party scored 3.98. The biggest changes occur over socio-economic status (SES), as over time the party has increasingly lost individuals with lower income, and they have increasingly lost them in larger numbers to the radical left and far right. In 2012, the party retained 3.1 percentage points more of their voters from the lowest income quintile, compared to their average, but by 2021, they were retaining 3.3 percentage points less of these voters compared to their average – a drop of 6.4 percentage points. The radical left has consistently attracted lower income PvdA voters, but the proportion of lowest income quintile former PvdA voters moving to the radical left, increased by 9 percentage points over time. The far right did not attract any lowest income quintile voters in 2012, but by 2021, over half of the former PvdA voters they did attract, were from the bottom income quintile. The party movements to these challenger parties are even more pronounced over education. The proportion of low education former PvdA voters that moved to the radical left increases 20 percentage points over time, and by 32 percentage points for the far right.

Overall, the Dutch panel results largely align with the results from the paper, although they show that the transition of leftist and lower SES voters away from social democrats in recent years could be underestimated in the CSES. In countries without a viable leftist alternative to social democrats, it is quite possible that lower SES individuals are increasingly transitioning away from the social democrats to the far right.

A9 Spatial Results (Disaggregated by Region)

Individual-Level Results

Figure A9 disaggregates Figure 4’s breakdown of the net gains and losses for the social democrats by region. The 4 regions are as follows:

Anglosphere	Central Europe	Mediterranean	Scandinavia
Australia	Belgium	Greece	Denmark
Canada	France	Israel	Finland
Ireland	Germany	Italy	Norway
New Zealand	Luxembourg	Portugal	Sweden
United Kingdom	Netherlands	Spain	
	Switzerland		

Figure A9 shows that radical left gains are largely restricted to central Europe and the Mediterranean regions, while the far right has gained in all regions. In Scandinavia, the social democrats have lost out nearly entirely to parties to the right of the political spectrum. In the Anglosphere, the greens have gained the most, just edging the far right. The only party family to lose out to the social democrats has been the conservatives in the Anglosphere.

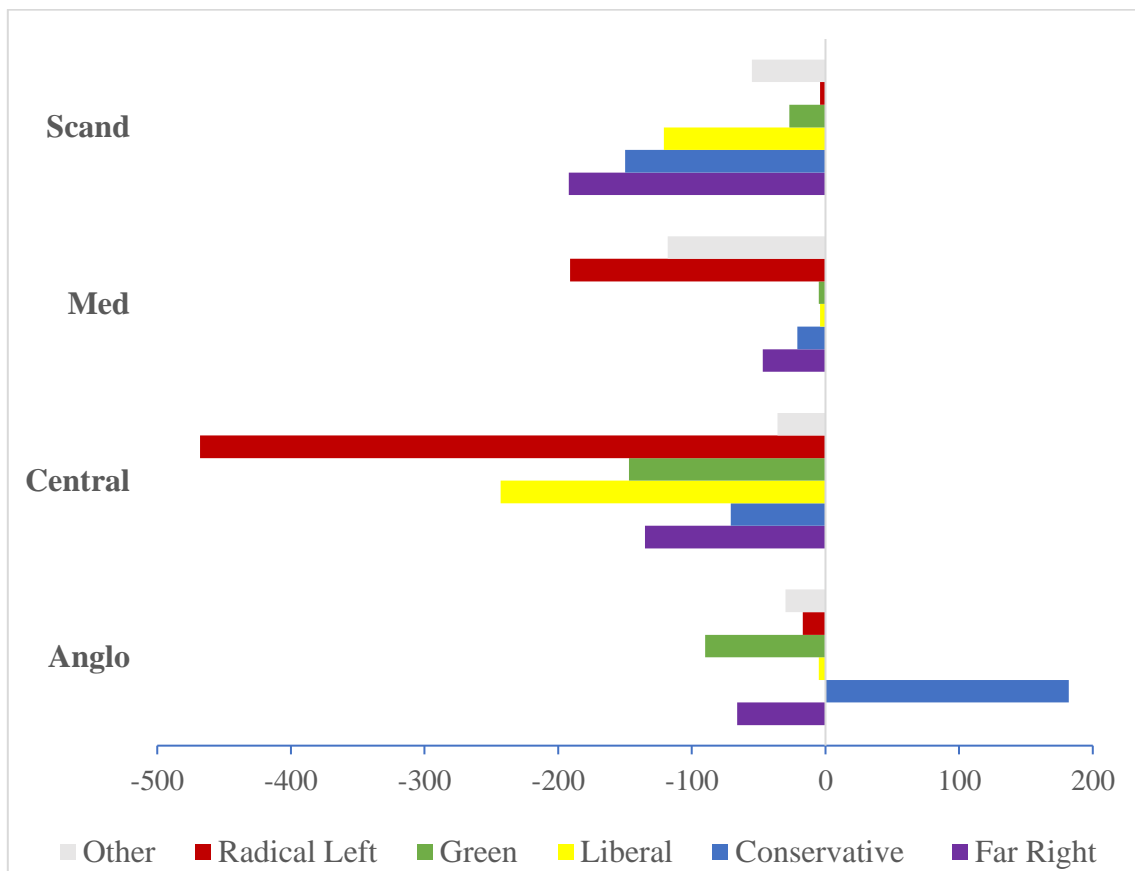


Figure A9: Social Democratic raw vote switching net loss (left) and net gain (right) totals to other party families by region, 2001–2019.

Tables A9a-d further probe the individual-level determinants of former social democratic voters and where they moved to, by disaggregating by region. The results are fairly consistent with Table 2, with some notable variation. In the Anglosphere, leftist former social democrats significantly prefer the greens to the radical left, likely owing to the weak radical left alternatives in the region. There are also strong gender and educational divides in that social democrats lose a much greater portion of male voters and the lower educated to the far right in every region, except the Mediterranean, where females and the higher educated are much more likely to move to the far right.

Tables A9a-d: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting Social Democratic Voters Recent Party Family Voting by Region

Table A9a: Anglosphere

<i>SD = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rad Left	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.019 (0.011)	-0.009* (0.005)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.007+ (0.004)	0.007 (0.008)	-0.020*** (0.006)
Female	-0.600+ (0.335)	0.270* (0.133)	-0.064 (0.205)	-0.022 (0.120)	-0.306 (0.218)	0.027 (0.161)
Education	0.010 (0.159)	0.342*** (0.074)	0.370*** (0.110)	0.029 (0.062)	-0.169+ (0.102)	-0.153+ (0.080)
Income	-0.250+ (0.129)	0.068 (0.052)	-0.001 (0.084)	0.197*** (0.049)	-0.078 (0.094)	-0.106 (0.067)
Rural	0.155 (0.428)	0.045 (0.204)	0.528* (0.256)	0.126 (0.183)	0.792** (0.274)	0.282 (0.210)
Union	0.003 (0.355)	-0.304* (0.147)	-0.388 (0.238)	-0.458** (0.142)	-0.069 (0.271)	-0.129 (0.195)
Political Ideology	-0.081 (0.075)	-0.214*** (0.037)	0.163** (0.052)	0.397*** (0.032)	0.180*** (0.053)	0.122** (0.039)
Constant	-20.133 (2262.083)	-5.201*** (1.368)	-23.798 (986.319)	-10.749*** (1.049)	-5.064 (4747.391)	-4.528*** (1.072)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.42	0.10	0.21	0.16	0.14	0.18
<i>N</i>	2736	2960	2794	3060	2773	2868

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9b: Central Europe

<i>SD = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rad Left	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.025*** (0.003)	-0.026*** (0.004)	-0.017*** (0.005)	-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.021*** (0.006)	-0.019*** (0.004)
Female	-0.040 (0.102)	0.343** (0.117)	-0.076 (0.142)	0.194 (0.120)	-0.553** (0.172)	0.000 (0.113)
Education	-0.068 (0.052)	0.302*** (0.062)	-0.006 (0.078)	-0.039 (0.066)	-0.424*** (0.104)	-0.205** (0.066)
Income	-0.009 (0.040)	0.098* (0.044)	0.157** (0.057)	0.011 (0.046)	-0.061 (0.070)	-0.277*** (0.045)
Rural	0.174 (0.123)	-0.305* (0.150)	-0.031 (0.169)	0.235+ (0.138)	0.144 (0.182)	0.085 (0.131)
Union	0.027 (0.119)	-0.211 (0.139)	-0.722*** (0.196)	-0.229 (0.152)	-0.450* (0.221)	-0.591*** (0.159)
Political Ideology	-0.184*** (0.030)	-0.049 (0.034)	0.365*** (0.038)	0.361*** (0.030)	0.490*** (0.044)	0.158*** (0.028)
Constant	-4.703*** (1.057)	-2.269*** (0.476)	-7.028*** (0.602)	-5.456*** (0.559)	-4.858*** (0.655)	-2.080*** (0.426)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.23	0.08	0.36	0.12	0.26	0.16
<i>N</i>	4166	3934	3920	3921	3761	4000

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9c: Mediterranean

<i>SD = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rad Left	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.026*** (0.006)	-0.066+ (0.037)	-0.015+ (0.008)	-0.011 (0.009)	-0.007 (0.020)	-0.022*** (0.005)
Female	0.342+ (0.180)	0.233 (1.009)	-0.415 (0.263)	-0.344 (0.284)	0.492 (0.581)	-0.036 (0.159)
Education	0.108 (0.091)	0.080 (0.451)	-0.019 (0.138)	0.005 (0.139)	0.380 (0.305)	-0.079 (0.086)
Income	-0.117 (0.087)	-0.337 (0.408)	0.073 (0.125)	-0.084 (0.123)	-0.490* (0.244)	-0.187* (0.081)
Rural	-0.089 (0.217)	-0.633 (1.253)	-0.320 (0.290)	-0.106 (0.325)	0.763 (0.659)	0.082 (0.180)
Union	-0.031 (0.249)	1.368 (1.099)	-0.588+ (0.328)	-0.159 (0.402)	-0.530 (0.907)	-0.231 (0.240)
Political Ideology	-0.216*** (0.048)	0.071 (0.251)	0.220*** (0.062)	0.593*** (0.075)	0.727*** (0.189)	0.116** (0.039)
Constant	0.227 (0.749)	-20.578 (15941.24)	14.227 (1788.500)	-4.767*** (1.218)	-8.189 (5908.857)	0.332 (0.636)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.32	0.33	0.38	0.35	0.48	0.16
<i>N</i>	1663	1445	1533	1520	1459	1663

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9d: Scandinavia

<i>SD = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rad Left	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.021*** (0.005)	-0.048*** (0.010)	-0.032*** (0.006)	-0.027*** (0.005)	-0.026*** (0.006)	-0.039*** (0.005)
Female	0.192 (0.137)	0.231 (0.260)	0.184 (0.149)	-0.094 (0.139)	-0.346* (0.157)	-0.294* (0.131)
Education	0.269*** (0.069)	0.557*** (0.137)	0.182* (0.072)	0.152* (0.066)	-0.102 (0.076)	-0.270*** (0.068)
Income	-0.036 (0.055)	-0.008 (0.099)	0.137* (0.060)	0.106+ (0.055)	-0.058 (0.063)	-0.262*** (0.054)
Rural	-0.395+ (0.207)	-0.900+ (0.535)	0.013 (0.189)	0.063 (0.181)	-0.001 (0.195)	0.076 (0.167)
Union	0.339* (0.158)	0.102 (0.295)	-0.345* (0.168)	-0.238+ (0.144)	0.195 (0.168)	-0.383** (0.134)
Political Ideology	-0.340*** (0.043)	0.029 (0.077)	0.421*** (0.045)	0.832*** (0.046)	0.485*** (0.044)	0.274*** (0.037)
Constant	-1.349** (0.474)	-20.125 (1404.896)	-2.662*** (0.488)	-6.137*** (0.523)	-2.830*** (0.517)	-0.683 (0.440)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.09	0.26	0.19	0.33	0.17	0.13
<i>N</i>	3268	3121	3244	3354	3222	3309

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Aggregate-Level Results

Tables A9e-l display the aggregate-level results when a region is excluded one at a time. Notably, when either the Anglosphere or Mediterranean regions are excluded, *SD economic position* fails to reach statistical significance for the radical left, but the interactions remain significant in all 4 cases when a region is excluded. This suggests that these two regions are driving the (H4a) finding that it is the radical left who benefit from social democrat economic moderation. *SD economic position* is also positive and statistically significant for the far right when either the Anglosphere or Scandinavia are excluded, but the interaction has little effect, especially when excluding Scandinavia.

Tables A9e-l: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Social Democratic Voters Recent Party Family Voting Excluding 1 Region at a Time

Table A9e: Excluding Anglosphere

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1) Rad Left	(2) SD	(3) Green	(4) Liberal	(5) Con	(6) Far Right
DV e-1	0.488*** (0.090)	0.368** (0.106)	0.062 (0.121)	0.363* (0.150)	0.453*** (0.072)	0.191 (0.111)
SD Econ Position	0.153 (0.159)	0.022 (0.251)	0.019 (0.097)	-0.151 (0.390)	-0.091 (0.292)	0.469* (0.186)
SD Culture Position	0.064 (0.164)	-0.182 (0.286)	0.106 (0.092)	0.085 (0.185)	-0.093 (0.258)	-0.168 (0.231)
Mean Econ Position	-0.220 (0.234)	0.456 (0.313)	-0.363 (0.228)	-0.357 (0.361)	0.629+ (0.313)	-0.288 (0.462)
Mean Culture Position	0.009 (0.257)	0.111 (0.464)	-0.167 (0.166)	-0.795* (0.359)	-0.817 (0.497)	0.936* (0.371)
Family Econ Position	0.067 (0.144)		0.160 (0.128)	0.036 (0.177)	-0.348 (0.211)	0.043 (0.224)
Family Culture Position	0.384* (0.153)		0.044 (0.071)	0.416* (0.186)	0.200 (0.273)	-0.053 (0.138)
Gini t-1	-0.644* (0.239)	0.175 (0.280)	-0.242 (0.318)	0.179 (0.425)	0.128 (0.312)	0.381 (0.409)
Government Spend t-1	-0.385* (0.150)	0.395+ (0.185)	-0.091 (0.085)	-0.091 (0.123)	0.021 (0.110)	0.170 (0.255)
Unemployment t-1	0.838*** (0.192)	-0.932** (0.286)	0.112 (0.126)	-0.247 (0.245)	0.054 (0.161)	-0.268 (0.232)
Union Density	0.018 (0.073)	-0.141 (0.121)	0.105+ (0.049)	0.185 (0.140)	-0.138 (0.107)	-0.344*** (0.075)
SD Incumbent	-1.589* (0.649)	-0.256 (1.450)	-0.707 (0.406)	1.790 (1.470)	1.776 (1.016)	0.293 (1.703)
Turnout	-0.192+ (0.090)	0.186 (0.147)	-0.153* (0.059)	-0.176 (0.201)	0.309* (0.144)	-0.058 (0.131)
Disproportionality	-0.248 (0.165)	-0.440* (0.164)	0.081 (0.139)	0.464 (0.391)	-0.165 (0.165)	-0.227 (0.239)
Globalization t-1	-0.058 (0.079)	-0.071 (0.108)	0.070 (0.075)	-0.010 (0.237)	0.109 (0.091)	0.065 (0.195)
Foreigners Share	0.042 (0.168)	-0.324 (0.204)	0.447 (0.252)	-0.051 (0.355)	-0.218 (0.219)	0.014 (0.209)
Constant	58.661*** (13.684)	3.251 (20.594)	13.068 (12.225)	17.195 (25.439)	-14.748 (22.336)	10.318 (24.291)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.66	0.54	0.55	0.30	0.42	0.47
<i>Countries</i>	14	16	13	16	16	15
<i>N</i>	150	185	97	143	183	118

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9f: Excluding Anglosphere (Interaction)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.458*** (0.101)	0.365** (0.105)	0.048 (0.122)	0.361* (0.167)	0.453*** (0.078)	0.198 (0.117)
SD Econ Position	0.605* (0.241)	-0.222 (0.388)	-0.077 (0.156)	-0.191 (0.720)	-0.089 (0.377)	0.705+ (0.374)
SD Culture Position	0.136 (0.160)	-0.226 (0.284)	0.096 (0.082)	0.079 (0.211)	-0.093 (0.277)	-0.136 (0.229)
SD Econ # SD Culture	0.098* (0.045)	-0.053 (0.040)	-0.019 (0.023)	-0.009 (0.084)	0.000 (0.059)	0.051 (0.044)
Mean Econ Position	-0.240 (0.201)	0.463 (0.307)	-0.349 (0.235)	-0.354 (0.376)	0.629+ (0.318)	-0.323 (0.478)
Mean Culture Position	0.072 (0.278)	0.088 (0.466)	-0.151 (0.156)	-0.800* (0.341)	-0.817 (0.498)	0.940* (0.363)
Family Econ Position	0.036 (0.145)		0.168 (0.133)	0.033 (0.168)	-0.348 (0.223)	0.032 (0.224)
Family Culture Position	0.342* (0.128)		0.031 (0.064)	0.422* (0.195)	0.200 (0.273)	-0.063 (0.136)
Gini t-1	-0.615* (0.271)	0.149 (0.266)	-0.223 (0.313)	0.180 (0.438)	0.129 (0.309)	0.409 (0.417)
Government Spend t-1	-0.372* (0.141)	0.387* (0.181)	-0.096 (0.088)	-0.090 (0.124)	0.021 (0.115)	0.170 (0.249)
Unemployment t-1	0.880** (0.216)	-0.942** (0.282)	0.112 (0.124)	-0.253 (0.236)	0.054 (0.160)	-0.233 (0.233)
Union Density	0.016 (0.071)	-0.134 (0.121)	0.108+ (0.053)	0.185 (0.140)	-0.138 (0.106)	-0.341*** (0.075)
SD Incumbent	-1.524* (0.608)	-0.287 (1.411)	-0.763+ (0.426)	1.772 (1.433)	1.777 (1.053)	0.300 (1.704)
Turnout	-0.176+ (0.089)	0.184 (0.144)	-0.148* (0.060)	-0.171 (0.180)	0.309* (0.144)	-0.072 (0.132)
Disproportionality	-0.175 (0.152)	-0.481** (0.163)	0.078 (0.146)	0.461 (0.399)	-0.165 (0.156)	-0.229 (0.227)
Globalization t-1	-0.046 (0.076)	-0.075 (0.107)	0.074 (0.081)	-0.006 (0.216)	0.109 (0.093)	0.055 (0.196)
Foreigners Share	-0.059 (0.171)	-0.274 (0.214)	0.451+ (0.253)	-0.049 (0.342)	-0.218 (0.217)	-0.007 (0.232)
Constant	55.831** (13.248)	4.163 (19.766)	11.970 (12.212)	16.414 (21.022)	-14.756 (22.290)	11.408 (24.010)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.69	0.55	0.55	0.30	0.42	0.48
<i>Countries</i>	14	16	13	16	16	15
<i>N</i>	150	185	97	143	183	118

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9g: Excluding Central Europe

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.459*** (0.095)	0.406*** (0.053)	0.011 (0.097)	0.369* (0.128)	0.432*** (0.076)	0.340*** (0.070)
SD Econ Position	0.318* (0.129)	0.089 (0.232)	-0.084 (0.087)	-0.419 (0.358)	0.085 (0.235)	0.076 (0.161)
SD Culture Position	0.112 (0.176)	-0.162 (0.254)	0.053 (0.070)	0.136 (0.267)	-0.118 (0.256)	-0.158 (0.294)
Mean Econ Position	-0.356 (0.205)	0.301 (0.341)	-0.045 (0.170)	0.337 (0.548)	0.248 (0.304)	-0.094 (0.407)
Mean Culture Position	-0.158 (0.189)	0.128 (0.446)	-0.171 (0.166)	-0.584 (0.606)	-0.674 (0.408)	1.123* (0.481)
Family Econ Position	-0.131 (0.203)		0.037 (0.089)	-0.193 (0.237)	-0.216 (0.233)	0.011 (0.264)
Family Culture Position	0.273 (0.161)		0.082 (0.111)	0.602* (0.212)	0.016 (0.221)	0.049 (0.075)
Gini t-1	-0.734** (0.200)	0.106 (0.264)	0.490* (0.200)	0.338 (0.470)	-0.033 (0.250)	0.198 (0.298)
Government Spend t-1	-0.319** (0.093)	0.234+ (0.117)	0.014 (0.048)	-0.175* (0.069)	0.195+ (0.108)	0.068 (0.232)
Unemployment t-1	0.863** (0.201)	-0.808** (0.262)	-0.153+ (0.085)	-0.190 (0.150)	-0.140 (0.172)	-0.273 (0.174)
Union Density	0.038 (0.079)	-0.076 (0.099)	0.050 (0.057)	0.248 (0.167)	-0.063 (0.070)	-0.018 (0.115)
SD Incumbent	-2.234** (0.699)	-0.562 (1.116)	-0.885 (0.523)	1.566 (1.444)	1.896* (0.724)	-0.890 (1.073)
Turnout	-0.131 (0.090)	0.113 (0.138)	-0.192* (0.078)	0.064 (0.182)	0.174 (0.105)	-0.089 (0.181)
Disproportionality	0.067 (0.268)	-0.337* (0.136)	0.156 (0.101)	0.427+ (0.225)	-0.255* (0.104)	0.133 (0.256)
Globalization t-1	-0.148+ (0.076)	-0.060 (0.111)	-0.023 (0.058)	0.335 (0.257)	-0.024 (0.113)	0.076 (0.239)
Foreigners Share	0.219 (0.177)	-0.282 (0.266)	0.145 (0.161)	-0.511 (0.404)	-0.114 (0.272)	-0.120 (0.225)
Constant	55.395*** (12.034)	14.273 (21.953)	3.100 (9.226)	-26.033 (35.358)	3.939 (16.253)	3.232 (31.778)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.65	0.47	0.56	0.33	0.38	0.44
<i>Countries</i>	13	15	12	15	15	13
<i>N</i>	150	199	68	144	197	106

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9h: Excluding Central Europe (Interaction)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.427** (0.106)	0.406*** (0.056)	0.014 (0.111)	0.367* (0.139)	0.430*** (0.081)	0.353*** (0.070)
SD Econ Position	0.745** (0.241)	-0.214 (0.316)	-0.076 (0.109)	-0.475 (0.638)	0.130 (0.256)	0.286 (0.269)
SD Culture Position	0.147 (0.175)	-0.240 (0.235)	0.051 (0.082)	0.127 (0.271)	-0.107 (0.279)	-0.159 (0.284)
SD Econ # SD Culture	0.107* (0.043)	-0.069+ (0.034)	0.002 (0.022)	-0.012 (0.072)	0.010 (0.050)	0.059 (0.034)
Mean Econ Position	-0.372 (0.222)	0.371 (0.341)	-0.046 (0.170)	0.367 (0.668)	0.239 (0.310)	-0.118 (0.394)
Mean Culture Position	0.020 (0.217)	0.071 (0.467)	-0.168 (0.172)	-0.603 (0.595)	-0.665 (0.400)	1.163* (0.473)
Family Econ Position	-0.165 (0.196)		0.035 (0.087)	-0.207 (0.218)	-0.219 (0.243)	0.016 (0.264)
Family Culture Position	0.223 (0.144)		0.082 (0.112)	0.608* (0.206)	0.013 (0.225)	0.031 (0.086)
Gini t-1	-0.844** (0.241)	0.132 (0.262)	0.486+ (0.221)	0.348 (0.490)	-0.036 (0.257)	0.221 (0.327)
Government Spend t-1	-0.321** (0.085)	0.231+ (0.113)	0.014 (0.048)	-0.171* (0.078)	0.196+ (0.108)	0.081 (0.231)
Unemployment t-1	0.909*** (0.210)	-0.796** (0.253)	-0.152 (0.091)	-0.191 (0.149)	-0.142 (0.171)	-0.283+ (0.150)
Union Density	0.048 (0.075)	-0.083 (0.094)	0.050 (0.058)	0.245 (0.181)	-0.062 (0.075)	0.002 (0.115)
SD Incumbent	-2.251** (0.681)	-0.551 (1.101)	-0.887 (0.534)	1.578 (1.473)	1.894* (0.721)	-0.938 (1.089)
Turnout	-0.133 (0.086)	0.128 (0.134)	-0.193* (0.076)	0.075 (0.190)	0.172 (0.110)	-0.108 (0.173)
Disproportionality	0.120 (0.247)	-0.336* (0.129)	0.157 (0.102)	0.436+ (0.228)	-0.256* (0.105)	0.130 (0.251)
Globalization t-1	-0.127 (0.075)	-0.081 (0.108)	-0.022 (0.061)	0.336 (0.255)	-0.020 (0.122)	0.078 (0.239)
Foreigners Share	0.101 (0.194)	-0.198 (0.289)	0.140 (0.195)	-0.500 (0.384)	-0.129 (0.272)	-0.141 (0.255)
Constant	57.550*** (12.503)	13.021 (21.155)	3.249 (9.226)	-27.418 (33.247)	4.105 (16.400)	2.665 (29.395)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.68	0.48	0.56	0.33	0.38	0.46
<i>Countries</i>	13	15	12	15	15	13
<i>N</i>	150	199	68	144	197	106

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9i: Excluding Mediterranean

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.413*** (0.065)	0.231** (0.078)	0.016 (0.107)	0.466*** (0.106)	0.384** (0.098)	0.202+ (0.107)
SD Econ Position	0.102 (0.162)	0.452* (0.157)	-0.090 (0.079)	-0.175 (0.288)	-0.284 (0.177)	0.243 (0.148)
SD Culture Position	-0.140 (0.138)	0.124 (0.210)	0.106 (0.105)	-0.177 (0.227)	0.244 (0.193)	-0.554* (0.204)
Mean Econ Position	-0.203 (0.313)	0.151 (0.217)	-0.286 (0.178)	0.171 (0.486)	0.371 (0.300)	0.088 (0.303)
Mean Culture Position	0.132 (0.264)	-0.239 (0.293)	-0.099 (0.149)	-0.102 (0.499)	-0.950** (0.289)	1.377** (0.384)
Family Econ Position	-0.155 (0.094)		0.130 (0.109)	-0.361 (0.251)	-0.181 (0.187)	0.067 (0.157)
Family Culture Position	-0.129 (0.127)		0.087 (0.067)	0.576* (0.231)	-0.049 (0.153)	-0.016 (0.134)
Gini t-1	-0.254 (0.166)	-0.418 (0.280)	-0.164 (0.267)	0.312 (0.441)	-0.104 (0.200)	0.283 (0.426)
Government Spend t-1	-0.219* (0.080)	0.033 (0.058)	-0.082 (0.057)	-0.122 (0.144)	0.099 (0.158)	-0.135 (0.232)
Unemployment t-1	0.471*** (0.092)	0.073 (0.155)	0.044 (0.121)	-0.275* (0.111)	0.091 (0.211)	-0.344 (0.344)
Union Density	0.061 (0.114)	-0.044 (0.087)	0.145* (0.060)	0.250 (0.177)	0.057 (0.059)	0.129+ (0.066)
SD Incumbent	-1.230 (0.692)	-0.848 (0.892)	-0.670 (0.472)	-0.254 (1.235)	1.428 (1.307)	-1.127 (1.224)
Turnout	-0.157 (0.095)	0.033 (0.117)	-0.207** (0.065)	-0.034 (0.149)	0.132 (0.097)	0.020 (0.166)
Disproportionality	0.239 (0.239)	-0.420** (0.121)	-0.018 (0.141)	0.073 (0.264)	-0.180 (0.157)	0.341* (0.133)
Globalization t-1	-0.275* (0.103)	-0.231* (0.080)	0.149* (0.068)	0.199 (0.197)	-0.074 (0.116)	0.161 (0.166)
Foreigners Share	0.529* (0.236)	-0.145 (0.220)	0.311 (0.226)	-0.381 (0.347)	0.387 (0.280)	0.481* (0.189)
Constant	42.053* (16.517)	54.376** (17.747)	8.803 (10.683)	-9.221 (25.783)	5.213 (15.075)	-17.036 (26.350)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.51	0.43	0.56	0.38	0.36	0.46
<i>Countries</i>	12	16	16	16	16	13
<i>N</i>	114	191	108	157	191	120

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9j: Excluding Mediterranean (Interaction)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.381*** (0.082)	0.230** (0.076)	-0.019 (0.100)	0.470*** (0.105)	0.380** (0.106)	0.204+ (0.109)
SD Econ Position	0.331 (0.240)	0.408* (0.147)	-0.272* (0.116)	0.022 (0.405)	-0.219 (0.233)	0.347 (0.251)
SD Culture Position	-0.110 (0.121)	0.110 (0.195)	0.088 (0.085)	-0.143 (0.257)	0.266 (0.226)	-0.530* (0.207)
SD Econ # SD Culture	0.048+ (0.027)	-0.009 (0.026)	-0.039+ (0.021)	0.035 (0.040)	0.013 (0.034)	0.026 (0.037)
Mean Econ Position	-0.248 (0.307)	0.162 (0.213)	-0.261 (0.187)	0.077 (0.510)	0.358 (0.304)	0.086 (0.294)
Mean Culture Position	0.168 (0.290)	-0.241 (0.300)	-0.087 (0.129)	-0.072 (0.491)	-0.950** (0.286)	1.361** (0.380)
Family Econ Position	-0.161+ (0.087)		0.158 (0.111)	-0.323 (0.243)	-0.185 (0.192)	0.052 (0.149)
Family Culture Position	-0.149 (0.126)		0.058 (0.063)	0.564* (0.228)	-0.051 (0.155)	-0.024 (0.138)
Gini t-1	-0.337 (0.220)	-0.406 (0.307)	-0.168 (0.277)	0.297 (0.442)	-0.123 (0.226)	0.298 (0.440)
Government Spend t-1	-0.223* (0.073)	0.032 (0.059)	-0.078 (0.054)	-0.138 (0.141)	0.099 (0.158)	-0.132 (0.230)
Unemployment t-1	0.530** (0.120)	0.069 (0.158)	0.002 (0.103)	-0.260+ (0.124)	0.099 (0.210)	-0.342 (0.331)
Union Density	0.058 (0.100)	-0.044 (0.088)	0.144* (0.062)	0.271 (0.181)	0.057 (0.059)	0.142+ (0.074)
SD Incumbent	-1.185 (0.701)	-0.839 (0.883)	-0.747 (0.468)	-0.282 (1.267)	1.411 (1.318)	-1.098 (1.217)
Turnout	-0.169 (0.095)	0.037 (0.117)	-0.196* (0.069)	-0.061 (0.145)	0.126 (0.097)	0.010 (0.167)
Disproportionality	0.251 (0.237)	-0.418** (0.118)	-0.014 (0.153)	0.041 (0.261)	-0.185 (0.155)	0.341* (0.131)
Globalization t-1	-0.289* (0.100)	-0.231* (0.079)	0.183* (0.083)	0.176 (0.189)	-0.074 (0.116)	0.142 (0.174)
Foreigners Share	0.504* (0.204)	-0.138 (0.234)	0.318 (0.219)	-0.366 (0.370)	0.378 (0.266)	0.520* (0.172)
Constant	46.824* (18.381)	53.619* (18.720)	5.331 (11.159)	-5.258 (24.927)	6.496 (14.980)	-16.354 (26.466)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.53	0.43	0.57	0.38	0.36	0.47
<i>Countries</i>	12	16	16	15	16	13
<i>N</i>	114	191	108	157	191	120

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9k: Excluding Scandinavia

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.479*** (0.094)	0.410*** (0.059)	0.034 (0.118)	0.104+ (0.053)	0.348*** (0.069)	0.138 (0.106)
SD Econ Position	0.363+ (0.174)	0.120 (0.247)	0.013 (0.088)	-0.850** (0.289)	0.151 (0.254)	0.441* (0.168)
SD Culture Position	0.125 (0.206)	-0.189 (0.285)	0.153+ (0.079)	0.032 (0.265)	-0.181 (0.262)	0.004 (0.195)
Mean Econ Position	-0.415 (0.234)	0.421 (0.286)	-0.440* (0.153)	0.615 (0.411)	0.083 (0.460)	-0.969* (0.398)
Mean Culture Position	-0.079 (0.363)	0.201 (0.430)	-0.169 (0.135)	-0.524 (0.539)	-0.803+ (0.430)	0.972* (0.367)
Family Econ Position	-0.101 (0.234)		0.097 (0.102)	-0.234 (0.202)	-0.183 (0.313)	0.471* (0.197)
Family Culture Position	0.223 (0.218)		0.050 (0.074)	0.630* (0.276)	0.316 (0.208)	0.051 (0.166)
Gini t-1	-0.629 (0.367)	-0.145 (0.341)	-0.277 (0.298)	0.981+ (0.557)	-0.266 (0.322)	-0.523 (0.461)
Government Spend t-1	-0.323** (0.098)	0.227+ (0.127)	-0.138** (0.042)	-0.087 (0.078)	0.241+ (0.120)	0.099 (0.211)
Unemployment t-1	0.897*** (0.175)	-0.860** (0.272)	0.222 (0.158)	-0.198 (0.242)	-0.231 (0.175)	0.074 (0.178)
Union Density	0.104 (0.118)	-0.122 (0.103)	0.116 (0.090)	0.229 (0.179)	-0.097 (0.071)	-0.235 (0.139)
SD Incumbent	-2.596* (0.968)	-1.268 (0.989)	-0.077 (0.447)	2.769+ (1.430)	0.958 (0.890)	0.967 (1.473)
Turnout	-0.149 (0.115)	0.156 (0.136)	-0.166* (0.071)	-0.205 (0.175)	0.262* (0.115)	-0.231* (0.098)
Disproportionality	0.033 (0.259)	-0.334* (0.144)	0.049 (0.113)	0.384+ (0.197)	-0.169 (0.114)	-0.038 (0.145)
Globalization t-1	-0.081 (0.110)	-0.038 (0.098)	0.038 (0.090)	0.077 (0.271)	-0.018 (0.120)	-0.175 (0.246)
Foreigners Share	0.280 (0.189)	-0.265 (0.264)	0.357 (0.209)	-0.908** (0.238)	-0.055 (0.237)	-0.382 (0.254)
Constant	45.155** (13.396)	18.457 (20.013)	20.115 (12.635)	5.302 (33.013)	6.002 (17.428)	66.116* (24.463)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.68	0.48	0.55	0.37	0.37	0.34
<i>Countries</i>	13	17	14	17	17	14
<i>N</i>	121	201	99	140	199	102

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9I: Excluding Scandinavia (Interaction)

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.427** (0.105)	0.410*** (0.062)	0.023 (0.123)	0.080 (0.065)	0.347*** (0.073)	0.137 (0.106)
SD Econ Position	0.994*** (0.186)	-0.167 (0.360)	-0.109 (0.116)	-1.267* (0.444)	0.197 (0.278)	0.511+ (0.245)
SD Culture Position	0.183 (0.185)	-0.281 (0.258)	0.137+ (0.070)	-0.067 (0.267)	-0.167 (0.299)	0.010 (0.195)
SD Econ # SD Culture	0.139** (0.044)	-0.063+ (0.036)	-0.026+ (0.013)	-0.078 (0.051)	0.010 (0.047)	0.018 (0.030)
Mean Econ Position	-0.549+ (0.273)	0.480 (0.292)	-0.419* (0.162)	0.807+ (0.448)	0.076 (0.460)	-0.967* (0.400)
Mean Culture Position	0.077 (0.335)	0.173 (0.439)	-0.160 (0.122)	-0.580 (0.544)	-0.797+ (0.425)	0.977* (0.371)
Family Econ Position	-0.056 (0.250)		0.114 (0.105)	-0.315 (0.204)	-0.187 (0.326)	0.470* (0.197)
Family Culture Position	0.188 (0.190)		0.031 (0.068)	0.649* (0.264)	0.311 (0.221)	0.048 (0.169)
Gini t-1	-0.688 (0.423)	-0.116 (0.344)	-0.279 (0.309)	1.057+ (0.558)	-0.270 (0.334)	-0.520 (0.466)
Government Spend t-1	-0.334** (0.091)	0.227+ (0.126)	-0.138** (0.042)	-0.056 (0.073)	0.241+ (0.121)	0.092 (0.212)
Unemployment t-1	0.972*** (0.202)	-0.849** (0.268)	0.189 (0.156)	-0.227 (0.254)	-0.233 (0.175)	0.072 (0.178)
Union Density	0.096 (0.117)	-0.120 (0.099)	0.125 (0.097)	0.216 (0.191)	-0.097 (0.072)	-0.232 (0.141)
SD Incumbent	-2.635* (0.938)	-1.197 (1.001)	-0.108 (0.442)	2.945* (1.281)	0.943 (0.877)	0.879 (1.498)
Turnout	-0.134 (0.119)	0.165 (0.131)	-0.161* (0.072)	-0.158 (0.188)	0.261* (0.119)	-0.234* (0.100)
Disproportionality	0.122 (0.235)	-0.341* (0.138)	0.048 (0.116)	0.429* (0.190)	-0.169 (0.112)	-0.031 (0.140)
Globalization t-1	-0.048 (0.105)	-0.051 (0.102)	0.049 (0.101)	0.076 (0.266)	-0.015 (0.125)	-0.174 (0.247)
Foreigners Share	0.081 (0.232)	-0.195 (0.284)	0.374+ (0.210)	-0.848** (0.229)	-0.068 (0.251)	-0.379 (0.263)
Constant	46.016** (14.129)	16.554 (19.877)	18.616 (12.817)	-1.897 (32.778)	6.290 (17.976)	66.356* (25.386)
<i>R</i> ² within	0.72	0.48	0.56	0.38	0.37	0.34
<i>Countries</i>	13	17	14	17	17	14
<i>N</i>	121	201	99	140	199	102

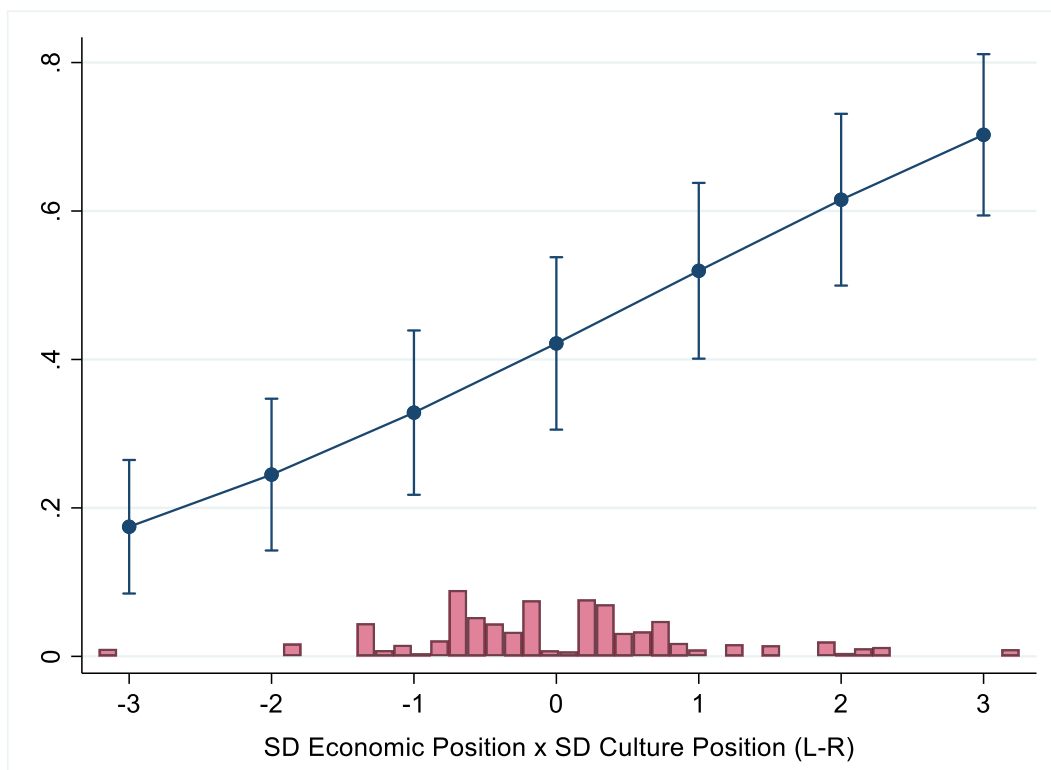
Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A10 Average Marginal Effects of Individual Level Interaction

Model 3 from Table 1 tests for Hypothesis 1c – that social democratic voters are more likely to abandon the party if the party adopts rightward positions on both dimensions simultaneously – via an interaction between *SD economic position* and *SD culture position*. The interaction is positive and statistically significant at ($p < 0.001$). Figure A10 displays the predicted mean likelihood of social democrats deserting the party by the combined position on both dimensions. To aid in interpretation of the substantive magnitude of the interaction, I standardize the combined party position. When the party family is 1 standard deviation right-wing of their mean on both dimensions, they are roughly 1 percentage point less likely to retain their voters. Similarly, when the party family is 1 standard deviation left-wing of their mean on both dimensions, they are roughly 1 percentage point less likely to lose their voters. Although the magnitude is not strong, I find support for (H1c).

Figure A10: Effects of SD Economic Position x SD Culture Position on Leaving Social Democrats with 95% C.I.



A11

Multinomial Logit of Social Democrat Vote Migration

As a robustness check on social democratic vote migration (Table 2), a multinomial logit model is also run, which includes each party family, as well as abstainers, with ‘Other’ parties as the base. Table A11 displays the results. Overall, the pattern is very similar. Age is only positive for the social democrats and along with the effect reaching statistical significance, confirms further the age problem the party family is having with younger voters. Females and the highly educated social democrats are significantly moving to the greens. Low-income social democrats are moving to the far right and especially abstention. The conservatives and far right are attaining right-leaning social democrats in large numbers. Importantly, we can see that the greens and especially the radical left are gaining left-leaning social democratic voters.

Figure A11a displays the marginal effects by gender, education, income, place, and political ideology, for each party family and abstention. Figure A11b displays the marginal effects by age for each party family and abstention.

Table A11: Individual-Level Multinomial Logit Regression Results Predicting Family Voting

<i>Base = Other</i>	Rad Left	Soc Dem	Green	(4) Liberal	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.013** (0.005)	0.011** (0.004)	-0.012* (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.013** (0.005)
Female	0.190 (0.134)	0.156 (0.120)	0.423** (0.141)	0.165 (0.140)	0.157 (0.133)	-0.230 (0.150)	0.066 (0.133)
Education	0.045 (0.066)	0.002 (0.059)	0.373*** (0.072)	0.143* (0.070)	0.077 (0.066)	-0.162* (0.074)	-0.162* (0.067)
Income	0.120* (0.054)	0.122* (0.048)	0.174** (0.056)	0.240*** (0.056)	0.223*** (0.053)	0.029 (0.060)	-0.080 (0.054)
Rural	-0.345* (0.162)	-0.316* (0.143)	-0.575** (0.180)	-0.204 (0.168)	-0.198 (0.161)	-0.011 (0.177)	-0.163 (0.159)
Union	0.176 (0.150)	0.026 (0.131)	-0.134 (0.156)	-0.515** (0.160)	-0.278+ (0.148)	-0.043 (0.167)	-0.347* (0.151)
Political Ideology	-0.326*** (0.032)	-0.106** (0.032)	-0.218*** (0.039)	0.206*** (0.038)	0.387*** (0.036)	0.319*** (0.040)	0.062+ (0.036)
Constant	-15.402 (961.420)	2.942*** (0.592)	-14.802 (1247.403)	-2.144** (0.734)	-0.514 (0.640)	-1.310+ (0.735)	0.892 (0.698)
<i>Pseudo R²</i>				0.16			
<i>Log likelihood</i>				-17938.503			
<i>N</i>				16,433			

Note: beta coefficients from a multinomial logit two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure A11a: Marginal Effects of Demographic Variables Predicting Party Family Voting

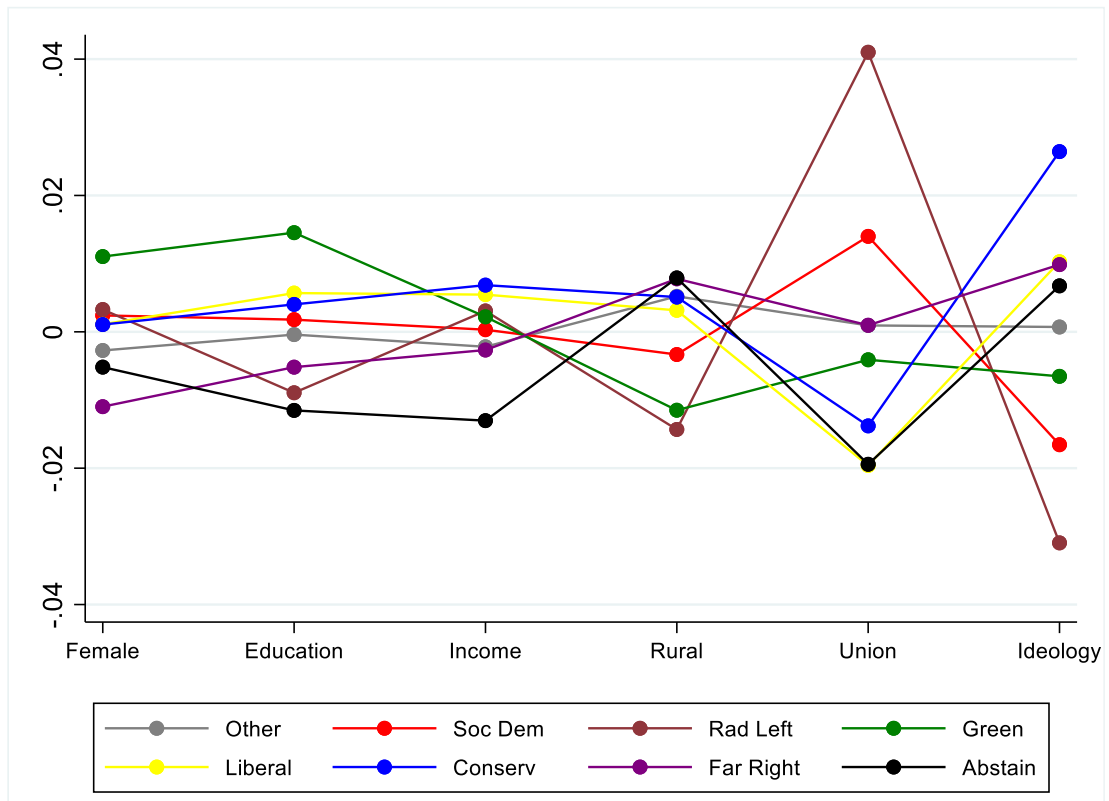
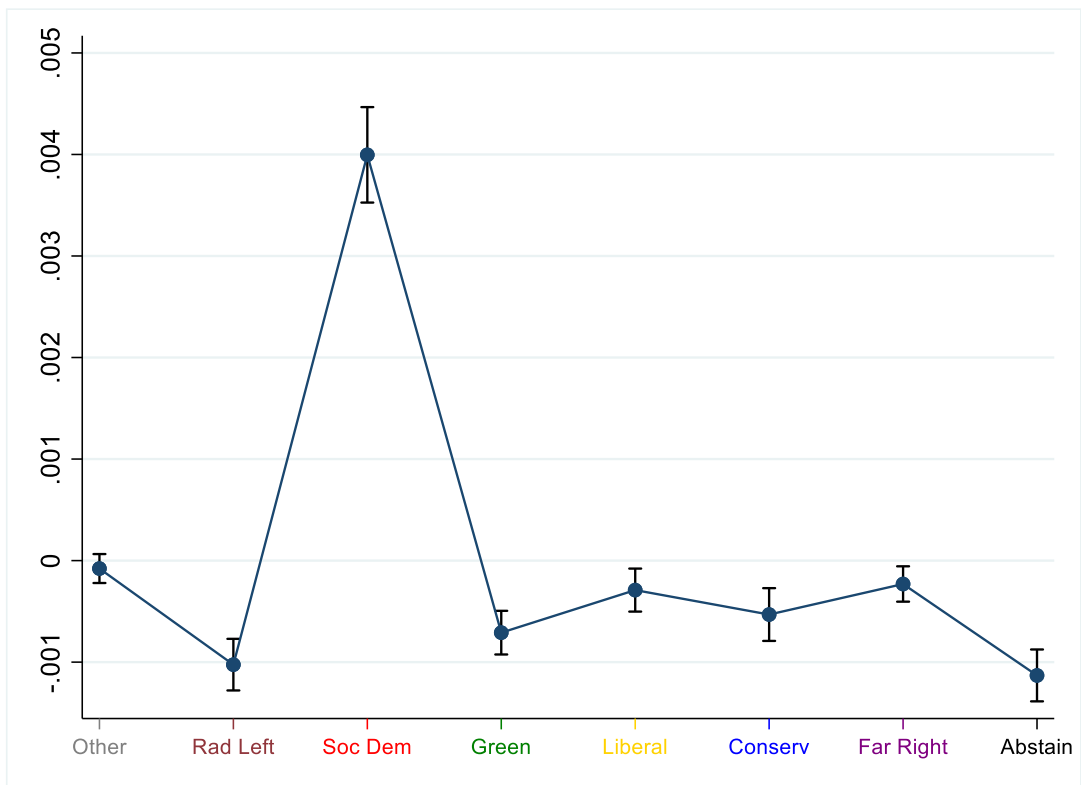


Figure A11b: Marginal Effects of Age Predicting Party Family Voting with 95% C.I.



A12a-e Individual-Level Results Predicting Each Party Family's Leavers

Table A12a: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting **Radical Left** Voters Recent Party Family Voting

<i>Rad Left = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4) SD	(5) Green	(6) Liberal	(7) Con	(8) Far Right	(9) Abstain
Age	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.032*** (0.006)	-0.018* (0.008)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.033*** (0.009)	-0.017*** (0.004)
Female	0.168 (0.108)	0.090 (0.178)	0.036 (0.229)	-0.142 (0.206)	-0.485+ (0.257)	0.084 (0.123)
Education	-0.074 (0.053)	0.266** (0.091)	0.126 (0.115)	-0.141 (0.110)	-0.399** (0.145)	-0.087 (0.066)
Income	0.115** (0.042)	-0.030 (0.066)	0.098 (0.089)	0.024 (0.080)	-0.037 (0.102)	-0.172*** (0.051)
Rural	0.084 (0.139)	-0.239 (0.245)	0.476+ (0.272)	-0.219 (0.305)	0.098 (0.329)	-0.151 (0.178)
Union	-0.388** (0.127)	-0.242 (0.207)	-0.379 (0.270)	-0.260 (0.262)	-0.228 (0.315)	-0.821*** (0.177)
Political Ideology	0.239*** (0.030)	0.123* (0.051)	0.456*** (0.054)	0.651*** (0.051)	0.659*** (0.063)	0.185*** (0.031)
Constant	14.792 (1095.502)	14.693 (102230.7)	-3.174* (1.347)	27.465 (833719.9)	11.128 (499424.3)	1.030 (0.888)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.17	0.27	0.26	0.31	0.43	0.09
<i>N</i>	3,190	2,855	2,780	2,814	2,778	3,008

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A12b: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting **Green** Voters Recent Party Family Voting

<i>Green = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4) Rad Left	(5) SD	(6) Liberal	(7) Con	(8) Far Right	(9) Abstain
Age	-0.012* (0.006)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.011 (0.007)	0.006 (0.006)	0.020+ (0.011)	-0.014+ (0.007)
Female	-0.180 (0.159)	0.159 (0.110)	0.069 (0.205)	0.176 (0.180)	-0.361 (0.336)	0.488* (0.205)
Education	-0.221* (0.087)	-0.103+ (0.061)	-0.027 (0.110)	-0.163+ (0.098)	-0.440* (0.179)	-0.483*** (0.106)
Income	-0.165** (0.061)	-0.007 (0.040)	-0.086 (0.076)	0.013 (0.067)	-0.390** (0.134)	-0.143+ (0.073)
Rural	-0.592* (0.263)	0.114 (0.153)	-0.257 (0.289)	0.203 (0.234)	-0.179 (0.431)	0.348 (0.255)
Union	0.219 (0.179)	0.069 (0.128)	-0.355 (0.256)	0.039 (0.210)	0.297 (0.388)	0.158 (0.236)
Political Ideology	-0.212*** (0.054)	0.081* (0.033)	0.507*** (0.062)	0.658*** (0.058)	0.559*** (0.096)	0.146** (0.056)
Constant	-5.639 (3658.016)	-0.511 (1900.093)	-6.034 (122874.3)	17.352 (22340.9)	-10.151 (159577.7)	23.340 (24750.13)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.43	0.12	0.29	0.23	0.44	0.22
<i>N</i>	1,943	2,108	1,716	1,750	1,625	1,713

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A12c: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting **Liberal** Voters Recent Party Family Voting

<i>Liberal = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.020*** (0.006)	-0.007+ (0.004)	-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.006* (0.003)	-0.010* (0.004)	-0.026*** (0.004)
Female	-0.043 (0.165)	0.326** (0.115)	0.065 (0.187)	0.222** (0.079)	-0.480*** (0.135)	0.065 (0.106)
Education	-0.130 (0.088)	-0.067 (0.061)	0.362** (0.113)	-0.024 (0.041)	-0.317*** (0.073)	-0.230*** (0.057)
Income	-0.235*** (0.064)	-0.024 (0.047)	-0.163* (0.072)	0.062* (0.031)	-0.238*** (0.050)	-0.147*** (0.043)
Rural	-0.407+ (0.228)	-0.197 (0.148)	-0.284 (0.248)	0.005 (0.096)	0.045 (0.147)	-0.041 (0.125)
Union	0.163 (0.199)	0.308* (0.138)	0.318 (0.226)	-0.013 (0.100)	0.122 (0.162)	-0.162 (0.134)
Political Ideology	-0.620*** (0.047)	-0.555*** (0.036)	-0.740*** (0.062)	0.081** (0.025)	0.244*** (0.041)	-0.247*** (0.031)
Constant	-14.648 (5055.558)	3.806** (0.721)	-13.826 (868.576)	-14.938 (609.662)	3.058** (1.049)	2.117* (0.976)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.34	0.25	0.30	0.16	0.20	0.14
<i>N</i>	4,373	4,605	4,311	5,129	4,468	4,621

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A12d: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting **Conservative** Voters Recent Party Family Voting

<i>Con = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.027*** (0.004)	-0.007** (0.002)	-0.024*** (0.005)	-0.014*** (0.002)	-0.016*** (0.002)	-0.020*** (0.002)
Female	-0.002 (0.115)	0.044 (0.074)	0.294* (0.138)	0.035 (0.065)	-0.517*** (0.076)	0.147* (0.066)
Education	-0.078 (0.061)	0.042 (0.037)	0.388*** (0.073)	0.134*** (0.033)	-0.138*** (0.037)	-0.071* (0.033)
Income	-0.064 (0.045)	-0.038 (0.029)	-0.012 (0.053)	0.059* (0.026)	-0.126*** (0.029)	-0.213*** (0.026)
Rural	-0.301* (0.146)	-0.270** (0.094)	-0.552** (0.183)	-0.018 (0.080)	0.383*** (0.083)	-0.187* (0.081)
Union	0.362* (0.150)	0.282** (0.091)	-0.044 (0.176)	-0.047 (0.078)	0.016 (0.097)	-0.039 (0.089)
Political Ideology	-0.573*** (0.032)	-0.531*** (0.021)	-0.476*** (0.038)	-0.126*** (0.019)	0.024 (0.022)	-0.211*** (0.019)
Constant	-15.851 (898.779)	-0.255 (0.390)	-16.924 (727.300)	-3.562*** (0.428)	-2.375*** (0.373)	-1.117** (0.387)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.33	0.17	0.19	0.16	0.12	0.13
<i>N</i>	12,151	12,684	11,993	12,954	12,613	12,907

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A12e: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting **Far Right** Voters Recent Party Family Voting

<i>Far Right = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Abstain
Age	-0.016 ⁺ (0.009)	-0.011 ⁺ (0.006)	-0.035* (0.016)	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.009* (0.005)	-0.036*** (0.005)
Female	-0.127 (0.280)	0.200 (0.177)	-0.172 (0.484)	0.327 (0.222)	0.101 (0.136)	0.022 (0.145)
Education	0.250 ⁺ (0.143)	-0.050 (0.100)	0.462 ⁺ (0.268)	0.503*** (0.126)	-0.014 (0.069)	-0.179* (0.087)
Income	-0.085 (0.107)	0.226** (0.071)	-0.059 (0.183)	0.104 (0.084)	0.215*** (0.053)	-0.123* (0.057)
Rural	-0.497 (0.357)	-0.306 (0.196)	0.333 (0.493)	-0.239 (0.257)	-0.113 (0.151)	-0.026 (0.155)
Union	-0.227 (0.362)	0.344 (0.229)	0.814 (0.548)	-0.584* (0.286)	-0.089 (0.161)	-0.307 (0.191)
Political Ideology	-0.506*** (0.064)	-0.478*** (0.047)	-0.472*** (0.113)	-0.095 (0.058)	-0.050 (0.036)	-0.182*** (0.035)
Constant	-16.412 (1638.049)	1.689 (1.053)	-33.153 (4142.059)	-5.781*** (1.735)	-0.850 (0.585)	-12.615 (778.911)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.40	0.27	0.33	0.24	0.18	0.13
<i>N</i>	2,028	2,133	1,965	2,050	2,279	2,211

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A13 Average Marginal Effects of Radical Left Vote Share (Aggregate Level)

Figure A13a displays graphically the average marginal effects of *SD economic position* for radical left family vote share at the aggregate level (Model 1 from Table 3) for (H2). It shows the predicted mean vote share for the radical left by social democratic economic position. We can see when moving from the most leftist to rightist *SD economic position*, that the radical left nearly double their vote share from 8 to 14 percent. By standardizing we can also see that when social democrats are 1 standard deviation right-wing of their economic mean, the radical left gains roughly 1.5 percent vote share. When social democrats are 1 standard deviation left-wing of their economic mean, the radical left loses roughly 1.5 percent vote share.

Figure A13b displays graphically the average marginal effects of *SD culture position* for radical left family vote share. We can see that although there is a positive effect it is marginal.

Figure A13a: Effects of SD Economic Position on Predicted Radical Left Vote Share with 95% C.I.

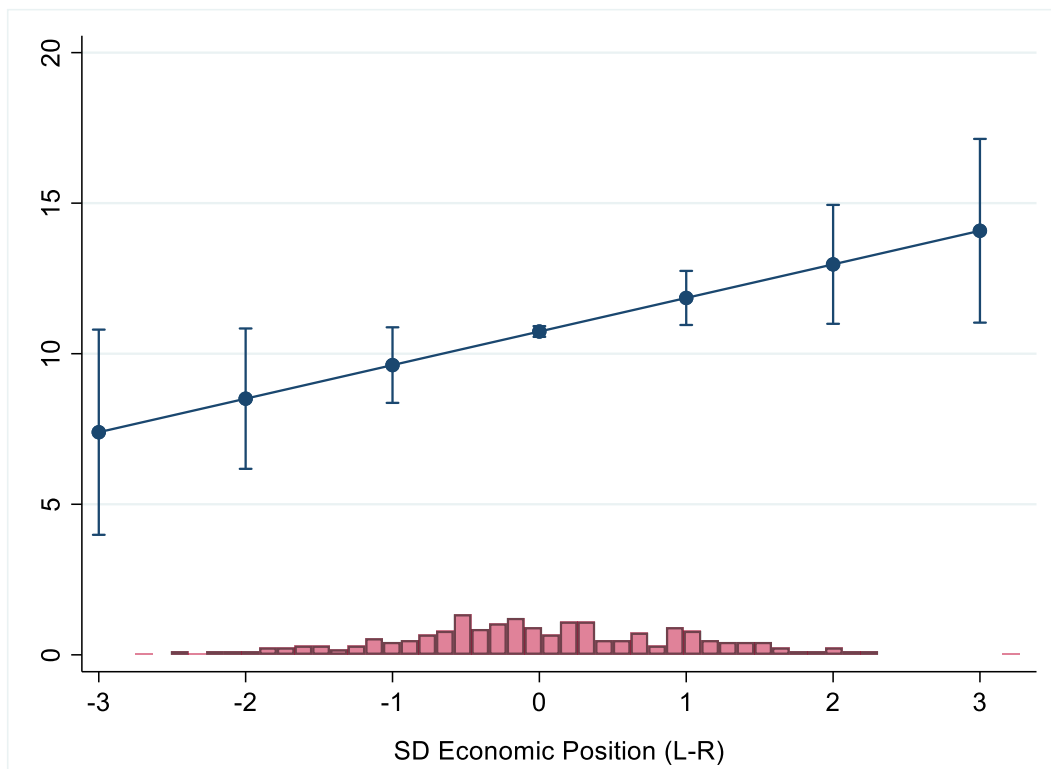
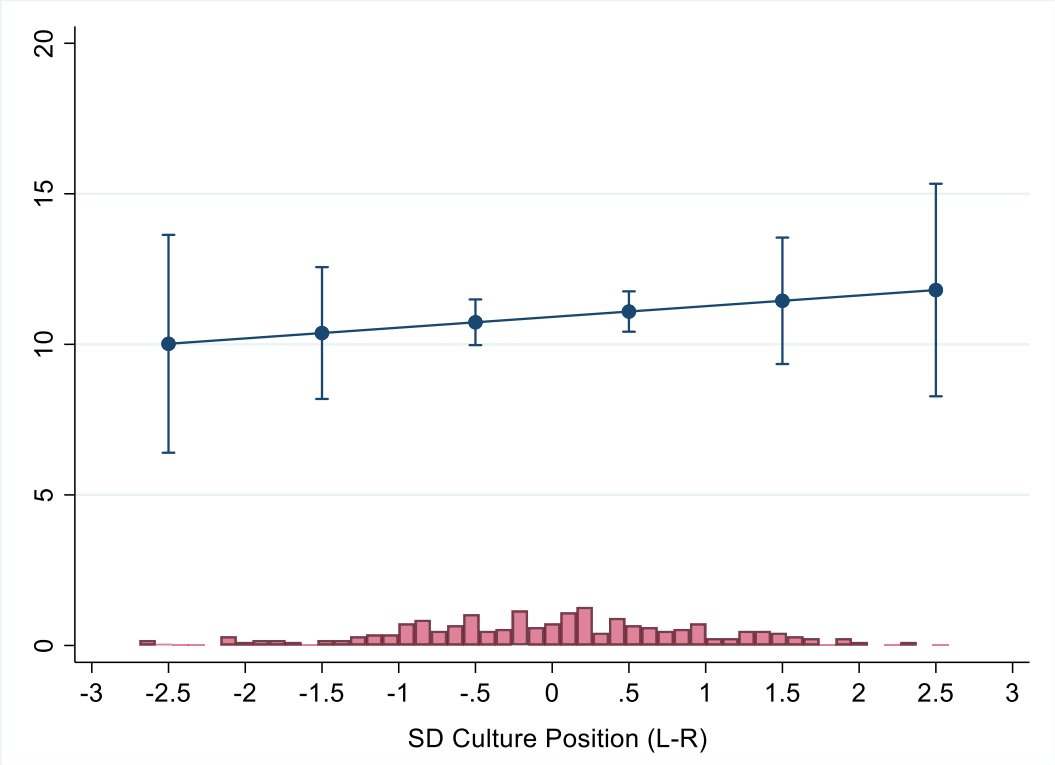


Figure A13b: Effects of SD Culture Position on Predicted Radical Left Vote Share with 95% C.I.



A14a-g Temporal Results (Time Periods Disaggregated)

Table A14a presents the results from multilevel mixed effects logistic regressions clustered by country, with year fixed effects split into two decades. Whereby voting social democrat = 0; and voting for another party or abstention = 1. Notably, the effects differ substantially temporally. *Education* was positive and significant in the 2000s, but the sign flips in the 2010s, as lower educated social democrats are increasingly leaving the party. The interaction is also negative but non-significant in the 2000s and *SD economic position* has limited effect in Model 2. Contrastingly, both are significant in the 2010s. These results suggest that social democratic economic moderation has been most detrimental in the aftermath of the financial crisis, especially among the less educated.

Tables A14b-c present the results of binomial logistic regressions of social democratic voters by decade, to see which party, if any, they moved to. There is little variation by decade although the far right significantly gain lower educated former social democrats in the 2010s, when it was a null result in the 2000s, and the Greens significantly gain leftist social democrats from the party in 2010s.

Tables A14d-g present the the aggregate-level results divided into two periods (pre- and post-2000) to align with the individual level analysis. The results are largely similar to Table 3, except that *SD economic position* does not reach statistical significance for the radical left in the pre-2000 era, although the interaction does at ($p < 0.1$).

Table A14a: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting *SD Leaving* by Decade

	<i>SD Leaving</i>					
	2001-2009			2010-2019		
	(1a)	(2a)	(3a)	(1b)	(2b)	(3b)
Age	-0.022*** (0.002)	-0.022*** (0.002)	-0.022*** (0.002)	-0.018*** (0.002)	-0.018*** (0.002)	-0.017*** (0.002)
Female	-0.033 (0.047)	-0.035 (0.047)	-0.036 (0.047)	0.055 (0.053)	0.071 (0.054)	0.071 (0.054)
Education	0.068** (0.023)	0.071** (0.023)	0.072** (0.023)	-0.055* (0.028)	-0.046 (0.028)	-0.049+ (0.028)
Income	-0.028 (0.019)	-0.027 (0.019)	-0.027 (0.019)	-0.019 (0.022)	-0.028 (0.022)	-0.030 (0.022)
Rural	0.050 (0.060)	0.040 (0.060)	0.041 (0.060)	0.166* (0.067)	0.129+ (0.068)	0.126+ (0.068)
Union	-0.192*** (0.054)	-0.198*** (0.054)	-0.199*** (0.055)	-0.188** (0.063)	-0.177** (0.064)	-0.178** (0.063)
Political Ideology	0.180*** (0.012)	0.179*** (0.012)	0.179*** (0.012)	0.148*** (0.014)	0.148*** (0.015)	0.146*** (0.015)
SD Econ Position		0.003 (0.087)	-0.126 (0.121)		0.364+ (0.195)	0.519*** (0.089)
SD Culture Position		0.007 (0.047)	-0.036 (0.049)		-0.177+ (0.101)	0.344*** (0.069)
SD Econ x SD Culture			-0.032 (0.020)			0.128*** (0.017)
Mean Econ Position		-0.192 (0.194)	-0.286 (0.202)		-0.145 (0.236)	0.040 (0.127)
Mean Culture Position		-0.046 (0.086)	-0.010 (0.087)		0.756*** (0.199)	0.320** (0.099)
Gini t-1		0.111 (0.098)	0.030 (0.099)		0.261 (0.210)	-0.235* (0.094)
Government Spend t-1		0.151** (0.058)	0.121* (0.055)		0.115* (0.051)	0.023 (0.022)
Unemployment t-1		-0.119 (0.100)	-0.111 (0.098)		-0.214* (0.092)	0.023 (0.041)
Union Density		-0.002 (0.018)	-0.001 (0.017)		0.002 (0.039)	-0.048** (0.018)
Incumbent		0.661** (0.204)	0.228 (0.326)		-0.671 (0.968)	-2.672*** (0.714)
Turnout		-0.046 (0.031)	-0.027 (0.033)		-0.083 (0.055)	0.072** (0.027)
Disproportionality		-0.062 (0.066)	-0.027 (0.064)		-0.042 (0.065)	0.110*** (0.029)
Foreign Share		0.123** (0.045)	0.133** (0.048)		-0.111 (0.083)	-0.025 (0.039)
Constant	-0.255 (0.317)	-7.502 (4.682)	-5.463 (4.594)	0.545 (0.326)	-1.877 (7.582)	4.565 (2.948)
Variance	1.183** (0.433)	0.989 (0.582)	0.950 (0.569)	0.978** (0.375)	1.473* (0.615)	0.166 (0.087)
<i>Log Likelihood</i>	-5438.832	-5421.873	-5420.522	-4212.932	-4137.508	-4124.948
<i>AIC</i>	10911.66	10901.75	10901.04	8457.863	8331.016	8307.897
<i>BIC</i>	11033.39	11109.39	11115.85	8567.345	8522.609	8506.332
<i>Year Fixed Effects</i>	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>Countries</i>	17	17	17	15	15	15
<i>N</i>	9,510	9,510	9,510	6,923	6,923	6,923

Note: beta coefficients from a mixed-effects regression with clustered standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Tables A14b-c: Individual-Level Regression Results Predicting Social Democratic Voters
Recent Party Family Voting by Decade

Table A14b: 2001 to 2009

<i>SD = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4a)	(5a)	(6a)	(7a)	(8a)	(9a)
	Rad Left	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.028*** (0.003)	-0.027*** (0.004)	-0.022*** (0.004)	-0.018*** (0.003)	-0.013* (0.005)	-0.026*** (0.003)
Female	0.077 (0.094)	0.291* (0.117)	0.054 (0.109)	-0.044 (0.094)	-0.485** (0.153)	-0.121 (0.083)
Education	0.114* (0.046)	0.322*** (0.057)	0.142** (0.053)	0.123** (0.046)	-0.001 (0.074)	-0.127** (0.044)
Income	-0.046 (0.037)	0.038 (0.044)	0.125** (0.045)	0.068 (0.037)	-0.080 (0.062)	-0.200*** (0.035)
Rural	-0.083 (0.128)	-0.366* (0.166)	0.057 (0.135)	0.059+ (0.122)	0.206 (0.178)	0.193+ (0.101)
Union	0.102 (0.106)	-0.137 (0.132)	-0.424** (0.131)	-0.195+ (0.106)	-0.149 (0.167)	-0.380*** (0.100)
Political Ideology	-0.215*** (0.027)	-0.024 (0.032)	0.319*** (0.028)	0.505*** (0.025)	0.468*** (0.038)	0.153*** (0.021)
Constant	-16.868 (537.926)	-3.527 (971.822)	-19.220 (922.225)	-4.880*** (0.560)	-5.008*** (0.969)	-1.412* (0.670)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.19	0.20	0.20	0.21	0.22	0.12
<i>N</i>	7,070	6,876	6,905	7,095	6,694	7,070

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A14c: 2010 to 2019

<i>SD = 0; Other = 1</i>	(4b)	(5b)	(6b)	(7b)	(8b)	(9b)
	Rad Left	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right	Abstain
Age	-0.021*** (0.004)	-0.019*** (0.004)	-0.012* (0.005)	-0.013*** (0.004)	-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.023*** (0.004)
Female	0.059 (0.111)	0.364* (0.117)	-0.164 (0.142)	0.098 (0.101)	-0.284* (0.130)	0.016 (0.113)
Education	-0.060 (0.057)	0.392*** (0.073)	0.190* (0.077)	-0.039 (0.053)	-0.372*** (0.069)	-0.312*** (0.061)
Income	-0.042 (0.047)	0.068 (0.045)	0.080 (0.056)	0.131** (0.041)	-0.094+ (0.054)	-0.236*** (0.048)
Rural	0.042 (0.131)	-0.137 (0.166)	0.188 (0.172)	0.278* (0.128)	0.332* (0.152)	0.023 (0.137)
Union	0.139 (0.135)	-0.201 (0.130)	-0.474** (0.168)	-0.481*** (0.123)	0.016 (0.152)	-0.322* (0.150)
Political Ideology	-0.224*** (0.034)	-0.188*** (0.034)	0.319*** (0.040)	0.479*** (0.029)	0.362*** (0.034)	0.188*** (0.031)
Constant	0.340 (0.358)	-2.057*** (0.419)	-2.789*** (0.474)	-5.689*** (0.677)	-1.712*** (0.469)	-0.998* (0.458)
<i>Pseudo R</i> ²	0.33	0.13	0.40	0.18	0.17	0.18
<i>N</i>	4,763	4,584	4,586	4,760	4,521	4,631

Note: beta coefficients from a two-way fixed regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Aggregate-Level Results Pre-and Post-2000

Table A14d: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share
1965-1999

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.146 (0.086)	0.245** (0.072)	0.185 (0.254)	0.236+ (0.120)	0.347*** (0.074)	0.211 (0.172)
SD Econ Position	0.113 (0.276)	-0.015 (0.261)	0.072 (0.161)	-0.159 (0.306)	0.271 (0.287)	0.206 (0.153)
SD Culture Position	0.398+ (0.211)	-0.163 (0.274)	0.088 (0.135)	0.160 (0.263)	-0.380+ (0.199)	-0.159 (0.253)
Mean Econ Position	0.098 (0.300)	-0.193 (0.357)	-0.334+ (0.182)	0.194 (0.484)	-0.200 (0.390)	-0.160 (0.503)
Mean Culture Position	-0.775* (0.341)	0.467 (0.457)	-0.279 (0.332)	-0.412 (0.499)	-0.556 (0.448)	0.801* (0.353)
Family Econ Position	-0.143 (0.243)		-0.199 (0.185)	-0.176 (0.321)	0.076 (0.305)	0.225 (0.273)
Family Culture Position	0.072 (0.195)		-0.074 (0.279)	0.808* (0.343)	-0.079 (0.255)	-0.030 (0.182)
Gini t-1	-0.685 (0.472)	-0.186 (0.419)	-0.033 (0.411)	-0.118 (0.389)	0.092 (0.312)	-0.498 (0.445)
Government Spend t-1	-0.419* (0.176)	0.111 (0.259)	0.028 (0.161)	0.056 (0.128)	0.140 (0.117)	-0.176 (0.218)
Unemployment t-1	0.567** (0.154)	-0.089 (0.397)	0.034 (0.247)	-0.097 (0.415)	-0.037 (0.340)	-0.203 (0.167)
Union Density	0.141 (0.090)	-0.107 (0.116)	0.030 (0.135)	0.037 (0.198)	-0.012 (0.118)	-0.175 (0.119)
SD Incumbent	-0.952 (1.122)	-0.538 (1.109)	-0.065 (1.282)	-0.881 (1.330)	2.050+ (1.096)	0.571 (0.879)
Turnout	-0.164 (0.147)	0.177 (0.162)	-0.265* (0.104)	-0.360 (0.235)	0.053 (0.181)	0.119 (0.260)
Disproportionality	0.101 (0.206)	-0.318+ (0.153)	0.219 (0.257)	0.319 (0.572)	0.058 (0.199)	0.075 (0.254)
Globalization t-1	-0.017 (0.194)	0.055 (0.229)	-0.098 (0.164)	-0.393 (0.283)	0.029 (0.166)	0.394* (0.142)
Foreigners Share	1.360+ (0.662)	-0.109 (0.572)	-0.038 (0.632)	-0.676 (1.119)	-0.126 (0.603)	-0.883 (0.869)
Constant	37.681 (25.992)	14.977 (35.220)	28.735 (17.064)	81.682* (31.782)	2.032 (16.217)	10.375 (31.468)
<i>Decade fixed effects</i>	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>R² within</i>	0.37	0.22	0.73	0.29	0.41	0.47
<i>Countries</i>	17	21	13	19	21	13
<i>N</i>	98	142	48	103	142	72

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A14e: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share
2000-2019

<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(1) Rad Left	(2) SD	(3) Green	(4) Liberal	(5) Con	(6) Far Right
DV e-1	0.310* (0.112)	0.166+ (0.094)	-0.170 (0.162)	0.093 (0.135)	0.085 (0.099)	-0.031 (0.127)
SD Econ Position	0.467* (0.191)	0.250 (0.292)	-0.118 (0.097)	-0.435 (0.559)	0.307 (0.295)	0.291 (0.254)
SD Culture Position	-0.335 (0.227)	-0.119 (0.316)	0.174 (0.114)	0.017 (0.447)	0.353 (0.314)	-0.276 (0.279)
Mean Econ Position	-0.206 (0.457)	0.316 (0.380)	-0.217 (0.212)	0.056 (0.615)	-0.566 (0.620)	0.352 (0.493)
Mean Culture Position	0.557 (0.383)	-0.066 (0.424)	-0.321 (0.184)	-0.269 (0.673)	-1.074* (0.389)	1.256* (0.547)
Family Econ Position	0.175 (0.226)		0.022 (0.124)	0.165 (0.275)	-0.068 (0.287)	-0.385 (0.252)
Family Culture Position	0.386* (0.169)		0.139 (0.114)	0.273 (0.417)	-0.136 (0.294)	-0.224 (0.152)
Gini t-1	0.581 (0.843)	0.482 (0.942)	-0.350 (0.305)	1.643 (1.075)	-3.676*** (0.851)	1.479* (0.652)
Government Spend t-1	-0.323*** (0.078)	0.344 (0.231)	-0.006 (0.076)	-0.362 (0.240)	0.214 (0.172)	0.420 (0.263)
Unemployment t-1	0.992*** (0.216)	-1.100*** (0.221)	-0.112 (0.168)	-0.215 (0.445)	0.274 (0.269)	-0.278 (0.253)
Union Density	-0.179 (0.164)	0.095 (0.276)	-0.124 (0.146)	0.560+ (0.309)	-0.352 (0.293)	-0.676* (0.318)
SD Incumbent	-3.423* (1.421)	-0.700 (1.658)	-0.084 (0.645)	2.881 (2.656)	0.162 (1.611)	-0.774 (2.175)
Turnout	-0.314* (0.133)	0.253 (0.191)	-0.099 (0.099)	0.158 (0.315)	0.539** (0.179)	-0.294 (0.201)
Disproportionality	-0.120 (0.202)	-0.311+ (0.176)	0.097 (0.151)	0.407 (0.438)	-0.338 (0.241)	0.070 (0.238)
Globalization t-1	0.188 (0.383)	-0.708 (0.432)	-0.016 (0.213)	1.046+ (0.520)	-0.904 (0.562)	0.791 (0.539)
Foreigners Share	-0.329 (0.323)	0.518 (0.364)	0.055 (0.218)	-0.865 (0.569)	0.911+ (0.478)	-0.842* (0.353)
Constant	18.904 (46.150)	32.284 (51.802)	31.321 (23.693)	-123.093 (61.678)	163.579* (64.144)	-54.849 (48.091)
<i>Decade fixed effects</i>	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>R² within</i>	0.83	0.59	0.42	0.31	0.52	0.48
<i>Countries</i>	17	21	18	20	21	18
<i>N</i>	77	113	74	91	111	74

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A14f: Aggregate-Level Interaction Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share 1965-1999 (*SD Economic Position* x *SD Culture Position*)

Party Vote Share	(7) Rad Left	(8) SD	(9) Green	(10) Liberal	(11) Con	(12) Far Right
DV e-1	0.088 (0.096)	0.240* (0.068)	0.091 (0.279)	0.227 (0.162)	0.338** (0.088)	0.209 (0.176)
SD Econ Position	0.675 (0.411)	-0.339 (0.335)	-0.175 (0.229)	-0.252 (0.739)	0.359 (0.373)	0.187 (0.289)
SD Culture Position	0.444* (0.196)	-0.228 (0.279)	0.083 (0.125)	0.147 (0.239)	-0.362 (0.212)	-0.159 (0.253)
SD Econ # SD Culture	0.114+ 41.673	-0.059+ 10.185	-0.036 24.561	-0.017 80.494*	0.016 3.373	-0.004 10.318
Mean Econ Position	0.164 (0.327)	-0.180 (0.345)	-0.289 (0.190)	0.205 (0.521)	-0.201 (0.398)	-0.165 (0.496)
Mean Culture Position	-0.751+ (0.371)	0.458 (0.468)	-0.250 (0.342)	-0.397 (0.462)	-0.557 (0.451)	0.806+ (0.384)
Family Econ Position	-0.155 (0.251)		-0.212 (0.203)	-0.187 (0.329)	0.072 (0.316)	0.231 (0.257)
Family Culture Position	0.056 (0.188)		-0.062 (0.262)	0.804* (0.343)	-0.089 (0.251)	-0.029 (0.185)
Gini t-1	-0.679+ (0.383)	-0.128 (0.425)	-0.071 (0.375)	-0.102 (0.428)	0.072 (0.328)	-0.498 (0.447)
Government Spend t-1	-0.408* (0.155)	0.115 (0.258)	0.017 (0.171)	0.065 (0.128)	0.138 (0.119)	-0.175 (0.216)
Unemployment t-1	0.563** (0.159)	-0.081 (0.384)	0.027 (0.254)	-0.093 (0.423)	-0.036 (0.340)	-0.201 (0.166)
Union Density	0.131 (0.088)	-0.096 (0.115)	0.030 (0.134)	0.035 (0.201)	-0.013 (0.119)	-0.177 (0.118)
SD Incumbent	-0.764 (1.234)	-0.518 (1.075)	-0.346 (1.512)	-0.875 (1.294)	2.037+ (1.099)	0.589 (0.905)
Turnout	-0.159 (0.133)	0.194 (0.157)	-0.249* (0.102)	-0.351 (0.251)	0.049 (0.182)	0.120 (0.261)
Disproportionality	0.093 (0.188)	-0.297+ (0.149)	0.123 (0.227)	0.351 (0.589)	0.051 (0.212)	0.075 (0.254)
Globalization t-1	-0.002 (0.208)	0.038 (0.225)	-0.023 (0.157)	-0.397 (0.298)	0.038 (0.172)	0.394* (0.141)
Foreigners Share	0.760 (0.674)	0.109 (0.606)	-0.043 (0.641)	-0.662 (1.157)	-0.181 (0.652)	-0.877 (0.897)
Constant	41.673 (26.052)	10.185 (35.138)	24.561 (16.899)	80.494* (32.385)	3.373 (16.975)	10.318 (32.011)
<i>Decade fixed effects</i>	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>R² within</i>	0.45	0.23	0.74	0.29	0.41	0.47
<i>Countries</i>	17	21	13	19	21	13
<i>N</i>	98	142	48	103	142	72

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A14g: Aggregate-Level Interaction Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share 2000-2019 (*SD Economic Position* x *SD Culture Position*)

Party Vote Share	(7) Rad Left	(8) SD	(9) Green	(10) Liberal	(11) Con	(12) Far Right
DV e-1	0.323* (0.118)	0.176+ (0.092)	-0.195 (0.171)	0.096 (0.135)	0.087 (0.097)	-0.034 (0.125)
SD Econ Position	0.798* (0.309)	-0.023 (0.391)	-0.248 (0.150)	-0.559 (0.565)	0.334 (0.437)	0.561 (0.364)
SD Culture Position	-0.246 (0.170)	-0.192 (0.269)	0.167 (0.102)	-0.020 (0.485)	0.360 (0.308)	-0.111 (0.356)
SD Econ # SD Culture	0.070+ (0.039)	-0.069 (0.060)	-0.037 (0.029)	-0.027 (0.065)	0.007 (0.068)	0.078 (0.101)
Mean Econ Position	-0.363 (0.522)	0.375 (0.390)	-0.222 (0.220)	0.125 (0.621)	-0.573 (0.641)	0.375 (0.514)
Mean Culture Position	0.518 (0.380)	-0.043 (0.410)	-0.335+ (0.174)	-0.300 (0.640)	-1.074* (0.389)	1.151+ (0.591)
Family Econ Position	0.203 (0.231)		0.050 (0.119)	0.131 (0.305)	-0.069 (0.287)	-0.379 (0.264)
Family Culture Position	0.400* (0.151)		0.131 (0.109)	0.285 (0.411)	-0.138 (0.300)	-0.224 (0.144)
Gini t-1	0.588 (0.848)	0.515 (0.869)	-0.264 (0.305)	1.628 (1.118)	-3.677*** (0.851)	1.683+ (0.840)
Government Spend t-1	-0.313** (0.082)	0.338 (0.244)	0.005 (0.080)	-0.353 (0.229)	0.214 (0.173)	0.430 (0.259)
Unemployment t-1	1.015*** (0.232)	-1.116*** (0.202)	-0.169 (0.147)	-0.237 (0.440)	0.276 (0.264)	-0.222 (0.251)
Union Density	-0.139 (0.188)	0.075 (0.261)	-0.147 (0.148)	0.547+ (0.306)	-0.352 (0.297)	-0.672* (0.298)
SD Incumbent	-3.273* (1.416)	-0.896 (1.597)	-0.021 (0.610)	2.861 (2.718)	0.189 (1.682)	-0.553 (2.280)
Turnout	-0.295* (0.126)	0.256 (0.192)	-0.081 (0.111)	0.176 (0.336)	0.538** (0.180)	-0.260 (0.196)
Disproportionality	-0.144 (0.203)	-0.329+ (0.176)	0.097 (0.157)	0.413 (0.446)	-0.337 (0.247)	0.085 (0.252)
Globalization t-1	0.253 (0.388)	-0.687 (0.441)	-0.009 (0.234)	1.050+ (0.521)	-0.906 (0.556)	0.799 (0.542)
Foreigners Share	-0.296 (0.318)	0.461 (0.375)	0.054 (0.240)	-0.863 (0.566)	0.912+ (0.478)	-0.736* (0.319)
Constant	9.647 (43.211)	31.109 (52.492)	27.797 (26.488)	-124.142+ (62.584)	163.817* (63.504)	-66.316 (49.581)
<i>Decade fixed effects</i>	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
<i>R² within</i>	0.84	0.59	0.45	0.31	0.52	0.48
<i>Countries</i>	17	21	18	20	21	18
<i>N</i>	77	113	74	91	111	74

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A15 Aggregate-Level Interaction Results (Models 7–12)

Table A15: Aggregate-Level Regression Results Predicting Party Family Vote Share
(*SD Economic Position* x *SD Culture Position*)

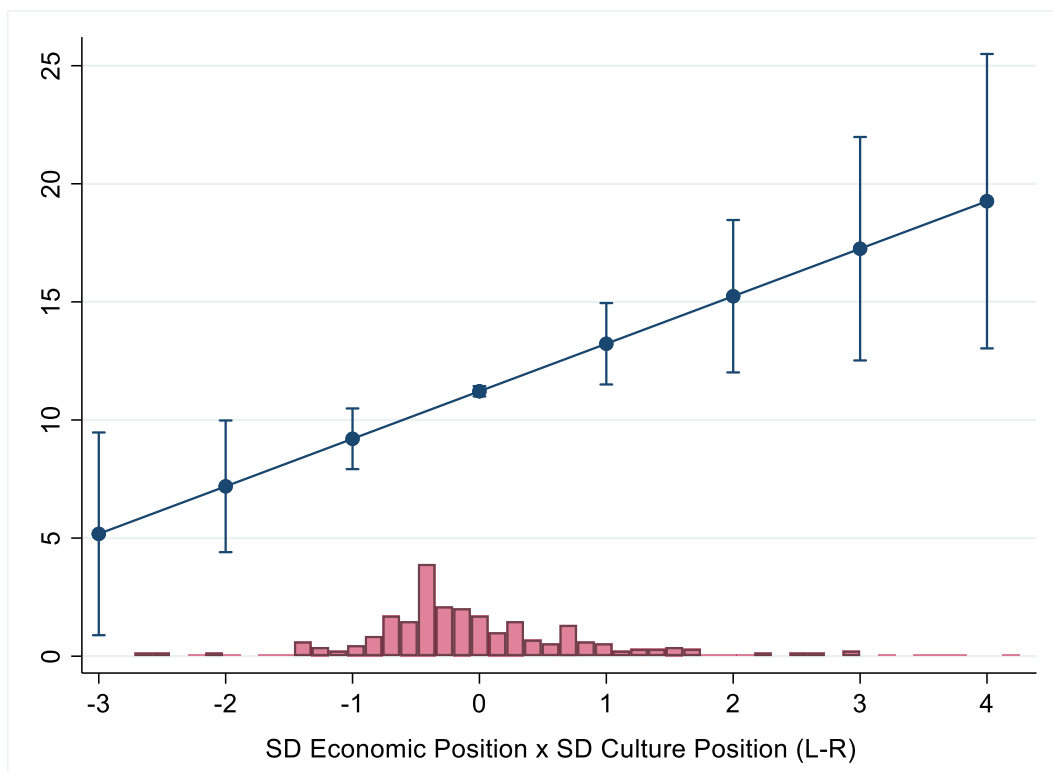
<i>Party Vote Share</i>	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Rad Left	SD	Green	Liberal	Con	Far Right
DV e-1	0.449*** (0.098)	0.351*** (0.068)	-0.001 (0.115)	0.332* (0.129)	0.415*** (0.070)	0.254* (0.119)
SD Econ Position	0.752** (0.209)	-0.272 (0.289)	-0.192 (0.130)	-0.431 (0.525)	-0.036 (0.240)	0.484 (0.289)
SD Culture Position	0.159 (0.191)	-0.264 (0.206)	0.091 (0.079)	0.090 (0.224)	-0.129 (0.255)	-0.100 (0.238)
SD Econ # SD Culture	0.096* (0.036)	-0.072* (0.029)	-0.029 (0.021)	-0.005 (0.056)	-0.002 (0.043)	0.058 (0.036)
Mean Econ Position	-0.333 (0.195)	0.191 (0.211)	-0.269 (0.165)	0.334 (0.446)	0.181 (0.262)	-0.005 (0.371)
Mean Culture Position	-0.029 (0.242)	0.237 (0.364)	-0.168 (0.125)	-0.692 (0.455)	-0.646+ (0.358)	1.033* (0.414)
Family Econ Position	-0.064 (0.173)		0.126 (0.100)	-0.267 (0.201)	-0.187 (0.201)	0.046 (0.210)
Family Culture Position	0.061 (0.145)		0.042 (0.049)	0.623** (0.218)	0.072 (0.195)	0.003 (0.118)
Gini t-1	-0.773** (0.250)	0.105 (0.332)	-0.145 (0.291)	0.265 (0.441)	0.030 (0.271)	-0.012 (0.396)
Government Spend t-1	-0.348* (0.133)	0.260* (0.121)	-0.133* (0.061)	-0.114 (0.125)	0.215+ (0.120)	-0.087 (0.237)
GDP Growth t-1	-0.133 (0.212)	0.043 (0.149)	-0.111 (0.079)	-0.098 (0.237)	0.045 (0.179)	0.145 (0.373)
Unemployment t-1	0.858*** (0.177)	-0.738** (0.257)	0.105 (0.125)	-0.164 (0.170)	-0.034 (0.180)	-0.258 (0.199)
Union Density	0.039 (0.069)	-0.105 (0.087)	0.125* (0.057)	0.236 (0.147)	-0.063 (0.068)	0.017 (0.101)
SD Incumbent	-1.757* (0.606)	-0.851 (0.822)	-0.612 (0.475)	1.374 (1.396)	1.502+ (0.802)	-0.668 (1.313)
Turnout	-0.111 (0.089)	0.106 (0.114)	-0.129+ (0.073)	-0.065 (0.143)	0.196 (0.115)	-0.089 (0.128)
Disproportionality	0.138 (0.232)	-0.297* (0.124)	0.059 (0.110)	0.310 (0.201)	-0.174 (0.126)	0.101 (0.233)
Globalization t-1	0.096 (0.126)	-0.053 (0.165)	0.098 (0.117)	0.084 (0.355)	-0.152 (0.162)	0.131 (0.286)
Foreigners Share	0.258 (0.187)	-0.005 (0.201)	0.426 (0.258)	-0.553 (0.333)	-0.049 (0.263)	0.003 (0.270)
Constant	34.448* (13.847)	7.587 (22.377)	7.679 (17.578)	7.621 (30.275)	7.494 (17.064)	11.950 (28.309)
<i>R</i> ² within <i>Countries</i>	0.68 17	0.50 21	0.55 18	0.31 21	0.38 21	0.40 18
<i>N</i>	174	254	121	193	252	145

Note: beta coefficients from a OLS regression with standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure A15 displays the predicted mean vote share for the radical left by the combined social democratic position on both dimensions. The effect of social democratic left-wing offerings on both dimensions, negatively impacts radical left vote shares, but that their vote share substantially increases the more right-wing social democrats become on both dimensions. We can see that when moving from the most leftist to rightist combined position, that the radical left nearly quadruple their vote share from 5 to 20 percent. By standardizing we can also see that when social democrats are 1 standard deviation right-wing of their mean on both dimensions, the radical left gains roughly 2.5 percent vote share. When social democrats are 1 standard deviation left-wing of their mean on both dimensions, the radical left loses roughly 2.5 percent vote share. This is a much stronger effect than Figure A13 where we only plot the *SD economic position* effects on radical left vote share.

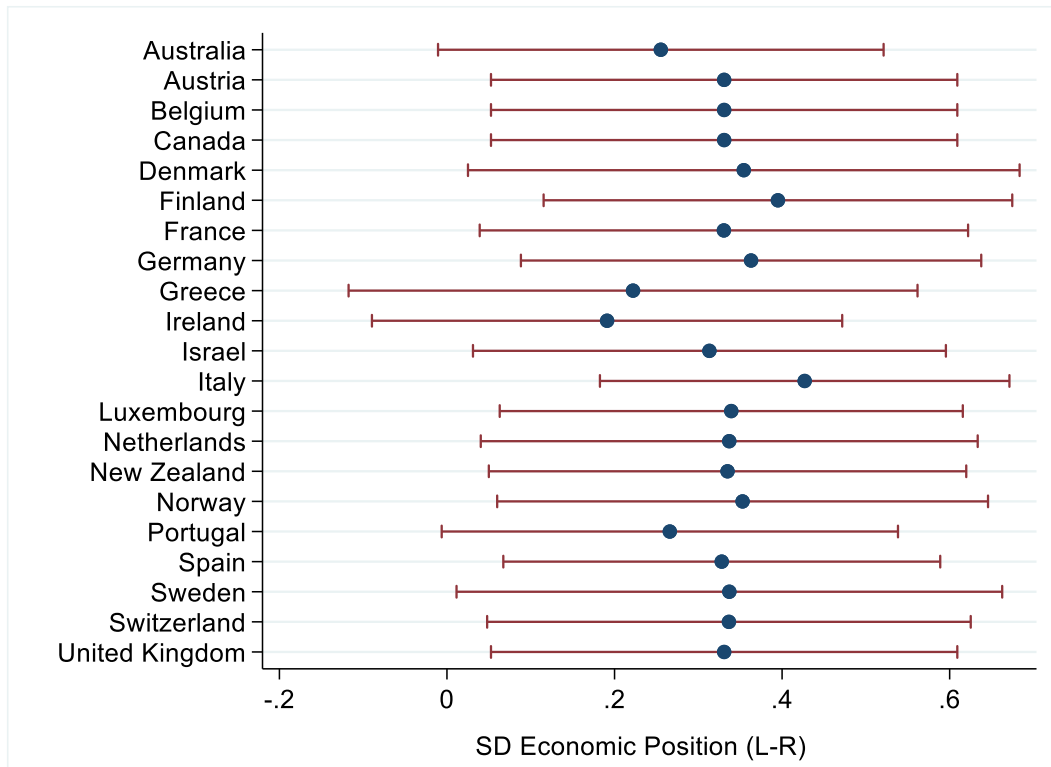
Figure A15: Effects of SD Economic Position x SD Culture Position on Predicted Radical Left Vote Share with 95% C.I.



A16 Country Outliers Robustness Check

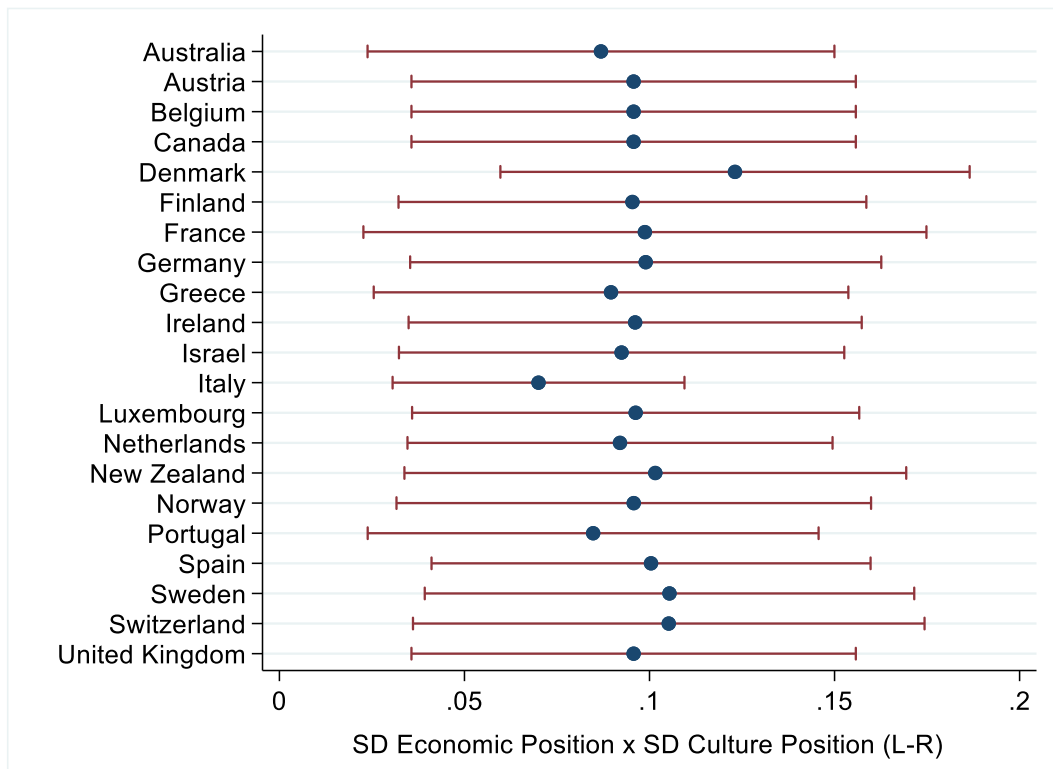
To ensure that the results are not driven by the inclusion of any one country, a jackknife analysis is undertaken for the two statistically significant hypotheses at the aggregate level where the radical left benefit from the adoption of social democratic rightward economic (H2) and both dimension (H4a) positions. The results of these additional analyses indicate that the estimated coefficients are highly stable for each model and not driven by a single outlier country in the dataset.

Figure A16a: Aggregate-level Jackknife Estimates for Radical Left Vote (Model 1)



Note: Estimates from 21 different regression models, replicating Model 1 in Table 3 excluding 1 country at a time. Excluded country is indicated on the y-axis. Estimates and 90% confidence intervals are plotted.

Figure A16b: Aggregate-level Jackknife Estimates for Radical Left Vote (Model 7)



Note: Estimates from 21 different regression models, replicating Model 7 in Figure 7 excluding 1 country at a time. Excluded country is indicated on the y-axis. Estimates and 90% confidence intervals are plotted.

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