

The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy, 1918-2017.  
ONLINE APPENDIX

April 3, 2020

# 1 Appendix 1: Description of the Variables

**Centre Right economic left-right position:** Economic left-right location of the main centre right competitor party in the year of the election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b (<https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu>).

**Centre Right left-right position:** Left-right location of the main centre right competitor party in the year of the election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

**Centre Right social liberal-authority position:** Social left-right location of the main centre right competitor party in the year of the election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

**Centre Right vote share:** Vote share of the centre right (conservative and Christian democratic) party/parties (percent) in the election. Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions. We allocated parties to party families via their European and international party memberships and existing categorizations, in particular Von Beyme (1985), Jacobs (1989), and Hix and Lord (1997).

**District magnitude (log):** Natural log of the electoral system median district magnitude in the year of the election. Source: Boix (1999), Carey and Hix (2011), the Constituency-Level Election Archive (CLEA) (<http://www.electiondataarchive.org>), and estimated from the size of the legislature.

**Employment in agriculture (percent):** Employment in agriculture (as a percent of total employment) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.AGR.EMPL.ZS  
(<http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>).

**Employment in industry (percent):** Employment in industry (as a percent of total employment) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.IND.EMPL.ZS.

**EU member:** Country is a member of the ECSC, EEC, or EU in the year of the election. Source: European Union ([https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history_en)).

**Eurozone member:** Country is a member of the Eurozone in the EU in the year of the election. Source: European Union  
([https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history_en)).

**GDP growth:** Annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the year of the election. Source: Maddison Project data  
(<http://www.ggd.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm>). Corrected to remove extreme outliers (less than -25 or greater than 25). Missing data entered from closest source, such as Penn World Tables (<http://cid.econ.ucdavis.edu/pwt.html>) or World Bank Development Indicator, or closest year in Maddison Project data.

**GDP per capita (log):** Natural log of GDP per capita in the year of the election. Source: Maddison Project Data (1990 Int. GK dollars). Missing data entered from closest source, such as Penn World Tables, or World Bank Development Indicator, or closest year

in Maddison Project data.

**Globalization index:** KOG Globalization index (<https://www.kof.ethz.ch/en/forecasts-and-indicators/indicators/kof-globalisation-index.html>). Source: Gygli et al. (2019).

**Higher education:** Gross enrollment ratio, tertiary, both sexes (percent) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SE.TER.ENRR.

**Inflation:** Consumer price inflation (annual percent) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG.

**Life expectancy:** Life expectancy at birth, total (years) in the year of election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.DYN.LE00.IN.

**Manufacturing index:** Index of manufacturing production (1953=100), which measures the volume of trade in manufactured goods in a country relative to 1953. Source: UN International Trade Statistics, 1900-1960.

**Population:** Natural log of total population in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.TOTL.

**Population aged 0 to 14:** Population aged 0 to 14 (percent of the total) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.0014.TO.ZS.

**Population aged 65 and over:** Population aged 65 and older (percent of the total) in

the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.65UP.TO.ZS.

**Population growth:** Population growth (annual percent change) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.GROW.

**Post-tax inequality (GINI):** Post-tax and spending income inequality in the year of the election, as measured by GINI coefficient. Source: Standardized World Income Inequality Database, version 5.1 (<http://fsolt.org/swiid>).

**Public spending (percent of GDP):** Government expenditure in the year of the election (as a percent of GDP). Source: combined from general government final consumption expenditure in the year of the election (as a percent of GDP) from the World Bank Development Indicator (GC.XPN.TOTL.GD.ZS) and government expenditure in the year of the election (as a percent of GDP) from Our World in Data (<https://ourworldindata.org/public-spending>).

**SD economic left-right position:** Economic left-right location of social democratic party in an election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

**SD party in gov't (coalition-junior):** coded 1 if (at the time of the election) the social democratic party is in a coalition government, but does not hold the Prime Minister position. Source: Nohlen and Stoeber (2010), plus other available sources.

**SD party in gov't (coalition-PM):** coded 1 if (at the time of the election) the social democratic party is in a coalition government, and also holds the Prime Minister position.

Source:Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus other available sources.

**SD party in gov't (single-party):** coded 1 if (at the time of the election) the social democratic party is in government, and is the only party in the government. Source:Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus other available sources.

**SD social liberal-authority position:** Social left-right location of the social democratic party in an election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

**(Semi) Presidential system:** Presidential, semi-presidential, or power-sharing regime in the year of the election. Source: Robert Elgie ([http://www.semi\(Semi\)Presidentialism.com/?p=1053](http://www.semi(Semi)Presidentialism.com/?p=1053)).

**Share of industry in GDP:** Share of the industrial sector in gross domestic product, measured in constant 2011 international-dollars. Source: Timmer et al. (2015).

**Social Democrat left-right position:** Left-right location of the social democratic party in an election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

**Social Democratic party electorate share:** Share of total electorate (percent) won by the social democratic party in the election. Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

**Social Democratic party vote share:** Share of votes (percent) won by the social

democratic party in the election. Source:Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

**Total left vote share:** Vote share of the social democrats and the radical/ other left party/parties (percent) in the election. Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

**Turnout: Turnout (percent) in the election.** Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

**Unemployment:** Unemployment in the year of the election, as a percent of the total labour force (modelled International Labor Organization (ILO) estimate. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS.

**Union density:** Trade union density (measured as the percent of total wage earners who are trade union members) in the year of the election. Source: ICTWSS: Database on Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts in 51 countries between 1960 and 2014 (<http://www.uva-aias.net/en/ictwss>).

**Urban population:** Urban population (as a percent of total population) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS.

**Women in work:** Labour force participation rate, female (as a percent of the female population aged 15 or older), national estimate. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SL.TLF.CACT.FE.NE.ZS.

**Years of democracy:** Number of years of continuous democracy in the year of the election ( $\text{POLITY} \geq 7$ ), counted from year of first election, and then starting again at 1 following a period of a non-democracy. Source: Polity IV project (<http://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html>).

**Youth unemployment:** Youth unemployment in the year of the election, as a percent of the labour force aged 15 to 24 (modelled ILO estimate). Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.UEM.1524.ZS.



## 2 Appendix 2: Supplementary Figures and Tables

Figure A1: Vote shares of social democratic parties in Western Europe



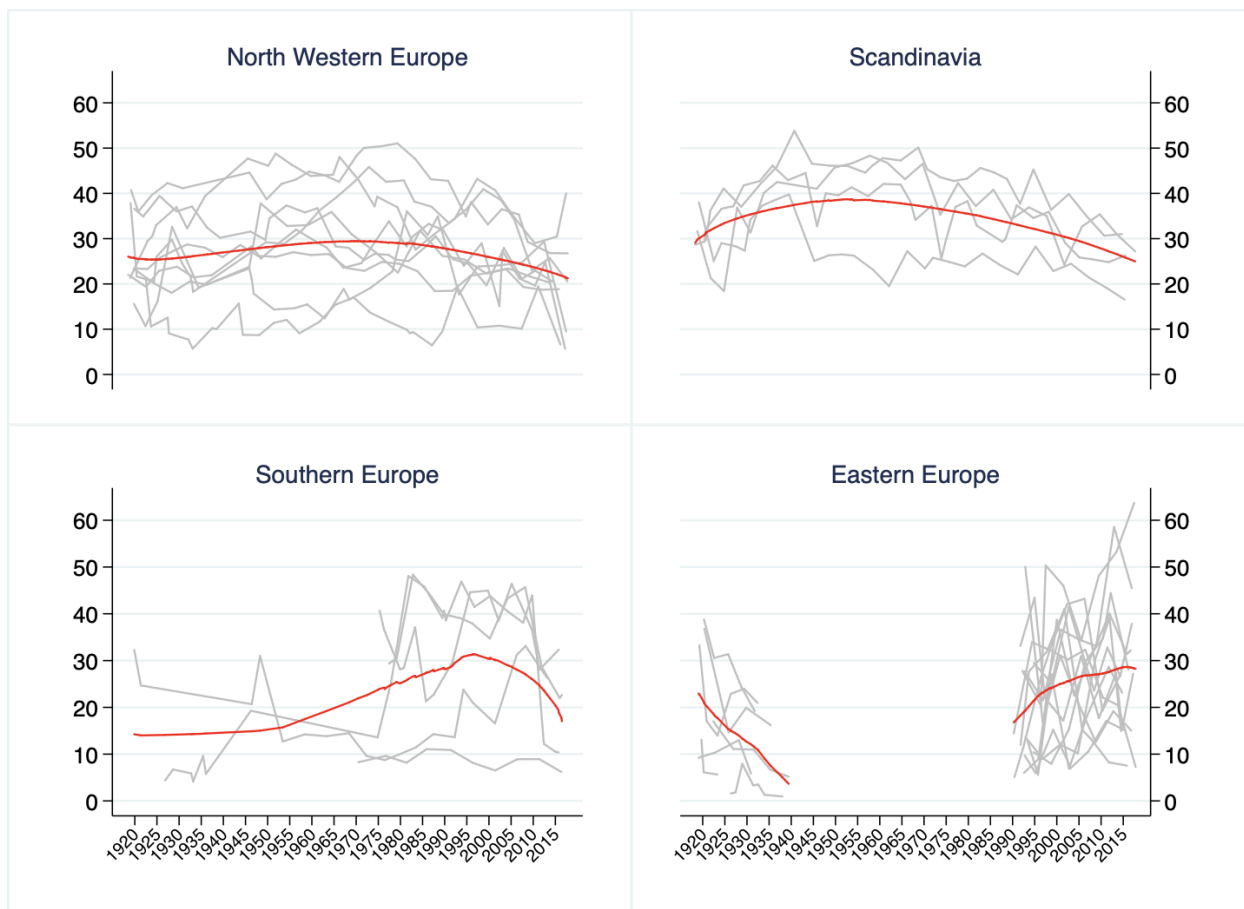
Note: The lines are estimated by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing.

Figure A2: Vote shares of social democratic parties in Eastern Europe



Note: The lines are estimated by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing.

Figure A3: Vote shares of social democratic parties in 4 regions



Note: The lines are estimated by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing. North Western Europe: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom. Scandinavia: Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden. Southern Europe: Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain. Eastern Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia.

Table A2: Cases of social democratic parties

Country	Abbr	Name	English name	Years
Albania	PS	Partia Socialiste e Shqipërisë	Socialist Party of Albania	1992-2017
Albania	PSD	Partia Socialdemokrate e Shqipërisë	Social Democratic Party of Albania	1992-2017
Albania	LSI	Lëvizja Socialiste për Integrim	Socialist Movement for Integration	2004-2017
Austria	SDAPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Österreichs	Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria	1918-1945
Austria	SPÖ	Sozialistische/Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs	Socialist/Social Democratic Party of Austria	1945-1945
Belgium	BWP/POB	Parti Ouvrier Belge/Belgische Werkliedenpartij	Belgian Labour Party	1918-1945
Belgium	PSB/BSP	Parti socialiste Belge/Belgische Socialistische Partij	Belgian Socialist Party	1945-1978
Belgium	PS	Parti socialiste	Socialist Party (Wallonia)	1978-2017
Belgium	SP / SPa	Sozialistische Partij / Socialistische Partij Anders	Socialist Party / Socialist Party Differently (Flanders)	1978-2017
Bulgaria	BSP-B	Balgarska rabotnicheska sotsialdemokraticheska partia (shiroki sotsialist)	Bulgarian Social Democratic Workers Party (Broad Socialists)	1919-1923
Bulgaria	BSP / KzB	Balgarska sotsialisticheska partiya / Koalitsiya za Bulgaria	Bulgarian Socialist Party / Coalition for Bulgaria	1991-2017
Croatia	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske	Social Democratic Party of Croatia	1992-2017
Cyprus	EDEK / KISOS	Kinima Sosialdimokraton Eniaia Dimokratiki Enosi Kentrou / Kinima Sosialdimokraton	Movement of Social Democrats / Social Democrats Movement	1960-2017
Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic	ČSDSD / ČSD	Československá sociálně-demokratická dělnická / Československá sociální demokracie	Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers Party / Czechoslovak Social Democracy / Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party / Czech Social Democratic Party	1920-1946
Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic	SDSDAP	Deutsche sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik	German Social Democratic Workers' Party in the Czechoslovak Republic	1920-1938
Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic	SD / ČSSD	Sociální demokracie / Československá strana sociálně demokratická / Česká strana sociálně demokratická	Social Democracy / Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party / Czech Social Democratic Party	1990-2017
Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic	ČSS	Československá strana socialistická	Czechoslovak Socialist Party	1990-1991
Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic	SDL	Strana demokratickej ľavice	Party of the Democratic Left	1992-1995
Denmark	SD	Socialdemokratiet	Social Democrats	1918-2017
Estonia	ESDTP / ESTP	Eesti Sotsiaaldemokraatiline Tööliste Partei / Eesti Sotsialistlik Tööliste Partei	Estonian Social Democratic Workers' Party / Estonian Socialist Workers' Party	1918-1933
Estonia	SDE	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond	Social Democratic Party	1992-2017
Finland	SSDP	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue	Social Democratic Party of Finland	1918-2017
France	SFIO	Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière	French Section of the Socialist International	1918-1965
France	FGDS	Fédération de la gauche démocrate et socialiste	Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left	1965-1969
France	PS	Parti socialiste	Socialist Party	1969-2017
Germany	SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands	Social Democratic Party of Germany	1918-2017
Greece	UFWFR	United Front of Workers, Farmers and Refugees	United Front of Workers, Farmers and Refugees	1926-1927
Greece	ALP	Agricultural and Labour Party	Agricultural and Labour Party	1928-1934
Greece	APF	All People Front	All People Front	1935-1945
Greece	NPU	National Political Union	National Political Union	1946-1948
Greece	PASOK / DS	Panellinio Sosisialistiko Kinima Ellados / Dimokratiki Symparataxi	Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement / Democratic Alignment	1974-2017
Greece	Potami	To Potami	The River	2015-2017
Hungary	MSZDP / SZDP	Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt / Szociáldemokrata Párt	Hungarian Social Democratic Party / Social Democratic Party	1920-1994
Hungary	MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt	Hungarian Socialist Party	1989-2013
Hungary	Ö	Összefogás	Unity	2014-2017
Ireland	Lab	Labour Party	Labour Party	1918-2017
Italy	PSI	Partito Socialista Italiano / Partito Socialista Unificato (1968)	Italian Socialist Party / Unified Socialist Party	1918-1947, 1953-1966
Italy	FdP	Fronte del Popolo (PCI+PSI)	People's Front	1948-1952
Italy	PCI/PDS/DS	Partito Democratico della Sinistra / Democristici di Sinistra	Democratic Party of the Left / Democrats of the Left	1967-2005
Italy	Ulivo / PD	L'Ulivo / Partito Democratico	The Olive Tree / Democratic Party	2006-2017
Latvia	LSDSP	Latvijas Sociāldemokrātiskā Strādnieku Partija	Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party	1920-2017
Latvia	SLAT / TSP	Saskaņa Latvīji - Atdzimšana Tautsaimniecībai / Tautas Saskaņas partija	Harmony for Latvia / National Harmony Party (of Russian minority)	1990-1994
Latvia	SDS / SDP	Sociāldemokrātu savienība / Sociāldemokrātiskā partija	Social Democratic Union / Social Democratic Party	2002-2005
Latvia	SDLP	Sociāldemokrātiskā Labklājības partija	Social Democratic Welfare Party	2002-2005
Latvia	SC / SDPS	Saskaņas Centrs / Sociāldemokrātiskā Partija "Saskaņa"	Harmony Centre / Social Democratic Party "Harmony"	2006-2017
Lithuania	LSDP	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija	Social Democratic Party of Lithuania	1991-2017
Lithuania	LDDP	Lietuvos demokratinė darbo partija	Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania	1991-2003
Lithuania	SDC-AB	Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas	Social-Democratic Coalition of Algirdas Brazauskas	2000-2003
Luxembourg	PS / LSAP	Parti socialiste / Lëtzebuurger Sozialisteschen Aarbechterpartei	Socialist Party / Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party	1918-2017
Macedonia	SDSM	Socijaldemokratski sojuz na Makedonija	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia	1990-2017
Netherlands	SDAP	Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij	Social Democratic Workers' Party	1918-1945
Netherlands	PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid	Labour Party	1946-2017
Norway	DNA	Det norske Arbeiderpartei	Labour Party	1918-2017
Poland	PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna	Polish Socialist Party	1919-1928
Poland	SLD	Sojuz Lewicy Demokratycznej	Democratic Left Alliance	1990-2017
Poland	UP	Unia Pracy	Labour Union	1993-2006
Poland	LID	Lewica i Demokraci	Left and Democrats	2007-2010
Poland	ZL	Zjednoczona Lewica	United Left	2015-2017
Portugal	PS	Partido Socialista	Socialist Party	1975-2017
Romania	FPSR	Federația Partidelor Socialiste din România	Federation of Socialist Parties from Romania	1926-1927
Romania	PSD	Partidul Social Democrat	Social Democratic Party	1928-1948
Romania	FDSN	Frontul Democrat al Salvării Nationale	Democratic National Salvation Front	1992-2005
Romania	PSDR	Partidul Social Democrat Român	Romanian Social Democratic Party	1996-2011
Romania	USL	Uniunea Social Liberală	Social Liberal Union	2012-2017
Slovakia	SDL	Strana demokratickej ľavice	Party of the Democratic Left	1993-2005
Slovakia	SDSS	Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska	Social Democratic Party of Slovakia	1993-2005
Slovakia	Smer	Smer-sociálna demokracia	Direction Social Democracy	2002-2017
Slovakia	SDA	Sociálnodemokratická alternatíva	Social Democratic Alternative	2002-2005
Slovenia	ZL / SD	Združena lista socialnih demokratov / Socialni demokrati	United List of Social Democrats / Social Democrats	1992-2017
Slovenia	LZJ-PS	Lista Zorana Jankoviča – Pozitivna Slovenija	Zoran Janković's List – Positive Slovenia	2011-2013
Slovenia	ZL	Združena levica	United Left	2014-2017
Spain	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party	1977-2008
Spain	PSC	Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya	Party of the Socialists of Catalunya	1977-2008
Sweden	SAP	Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti	Social Democratic Workers' Party	1918-2017
Switzerland	SPS/PPS	Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz/Parti socialiste suisse/Partito Socialista Svizzero	Social Democratic/Socialist Party of Switzerland	1918-2017
United Kingdom	Lab	Labour Party	Labour Party	1918-2017

Table A3: Correlates of social democratic party vote shares, 1945-2017

	Analysis of levels		Analysis of differences	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.157** (0.058)	0.193*** (0.059)	0.168** (0.073)	0.163** (0.073)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.172** (0.081)	0.170* (0.084)	0.148** (0.068)	0.150** (0.069)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.003 (0.036)	-0.003 (0.035)	-0.036 (0.030)	-0.036 (0.030)
District Magnitude	0.574 (1.292)	0.787 (1.308)	0.948 (1.596)	0.912 (1.581)
District mag.*SD left-right position	-0.058* (0.030)	-0.055* (0.032)	-0.061** (0.027)	-0.062** (0.027)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	1.335 (1.256)	1.097 (1.230)	-3.175*** (0.957)	-3.187*** (0.962)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	0.976 (1.327)	0.634 (1.285)	-2.507** (0.963)	-2.506** (0.966)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-2.849*** (0.912)	-3.056*** (0.925)	-2.461*** (0.721)	-2.451*** (0.721)
Turnout	-0.084 (0.106)	-0.086 (0.101)	0.300** (0.130)	0.299** (0.129)
GDP per capita (Madison)	3.577 (2.877)	5.310 (3.238)	2.008 (2.969)	2.447 (2.910)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.097 (0.138)	-0.057 (0.145)	-0.166 (0.224)	-0.167 (0.225)
EU member	-1.136 (2.055)	-0.385 (2.055)	-1.283 (1.476)	-1.052 (1.572)
Eurozone member	2.646 (2.182)	2.848 (2.112)	-0.082 (1.335)	-0.021 (1.307)
Presidential system	11.214** (4.179)	10.644** (3.886)	2.444 (4.763)	2.463 (4.777)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	381	381	353	353
R-squared	0.162	0.176	0.169	0.170
Number of countries	31	31	31	31

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1 and 2 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 3 and 4 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A4: Correlates of Social Democratic votes in the era of globalization, 1975-2017

	Analysis of levels				Analysis of differences			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.249*	0.222*			0.229**	0.206		
	(0.129)	(0.122)			(0.110)	(0.125)		
Welfare spending (% GDP)			0.509**	0.532**			0.839**	0.864**
			(0.243)	(0.239)			(0.318)	(0.327)
Employment in industry (%)	0.981***	0.866***	0.970**	0.862**	0.147	0.167	0.224	0.207
	(0.277)	(0.274)	(0.348)	(0.324)	(0.327)	(0.330)	(0.334)	(0.323)
Globalization Index	0.027	0.036	0.251	0.226	0.210	0.179	0.411	0.431
	(0.350)	(0.345)	(0.451)	(0.428)	(0.473)	(0.477)	(0.365)	(0.378)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.102**	0.100**	0.046	0.049	0.029	0.032	0.040	0.040
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.006	-0.008	0.062	0.049	-0.051	-0.050	-0.024	-0.024
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.043)	(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.037)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-0.347	-0.598	-0.148	-0.524	-3.523**	-3.456**	-3.908**	-3.954**
	(1.451)	(1.431)	(1.826)	(1.806)	(1.393)	(1.397)	(1.428)	(1.407)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-0.936	-0.791	-1.002	-1.001	-3.651***	-3.583***	-4.516***	-4.579***
	(1.435)	(1.460)	(1.304)	(1.302)	(1.093)	(1.110)	(1.007)	(1.027)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-3.214**	-3.233**	-4.703***	-5.031***	-3.705***	-3.714***	-5.843***	-5.837***
	(1.348)	(1.348)	(1.314)	(1.303)	(1.028)	(1.029)	(1.152)	(1.157)
Turnout	0.121	0.100	0.072	0.038	0.313*	0.309*	-0.003	-0.000
	(0.148)	(0.139)	(0.157)	(0.142)	(0.171)	(0.167)	(0.208)	(0.207)
Union density	-0.197	-0.184	-0.457**	-0.442**	-0.113	-0.106	-0.454*	-0.456*
	(0.133)	(0.132)	(0.191)	(0.182)	(0.147)	(0.144)	(0.241)	(0.245)
Higher education	-0.057	-0.017	-0.052	0.014	-0.040	-0.039	-0.177	-0.175
	(0.074)	(0.079)	(0.088)	(0.097)	(0.129)	(0.126)	(0.131)	(0.131)
Life Expectancy	2.500***	2.769***	0.850	1.573**	1.916	1.827	-1.289	-1.310
	(0.707)	(0.714)	(0.639)	(0.585)	(1.241)	(1.221)	(1.575)	(1.570)
District magnitude (%)	2.033*	1.922*	1.835**	1.667***	1.071	1.053	1.247	1.233
	(1.166)	(1.051)	(0.667)	(0.583)	(1.270)	(1.219)	(0.851)	(0.836)
Employment in agriculture	0.490*	0.394	0.543	0.479	0.116	0.135	-1.072**	-1.102**
	(0.272)	(0.259)	(0.583)	(0.516)	(0.306)	(0.315)	(0.461)	(0.481)
Women in work	0.072	0.087	-0.035	-0.010	-0.062	-0.078	-0.218	-0.214
	(0.161)	(0.155)	(0.138)	(0.131)	(0.168)	(0.172)	(0.217)	(0.223)
Urban population	-0.070	-0.030	-0.220	-0.125	-0.324	-0.336	-0.623	-0.624
	(0.228)	(0.231)	(0.256)	(0.248)	(0.608)	(0.615)	(0.459)	(0.449)
Population (log)	-5.476	-6.076	16.241	11.144	-36.827	-45.650	-10.967	-6.510
	(12.266)	(11.672)	(17.767)	(15.900)	(46.721)	(47.695)	(47.187)	(48.821)
Population aged 65 and over	0.261	0.398	0.939	0.999	-1.306	-1.330	-1.197	-1.210
	(0.955)	(0.953)	(0.923)	(0.908)	(0.793)	(0.836)	(0.971)	(0.982)
Population aged 0 to 14	-0.018	-0.060	0.380	0.285	1.499	1.575	1.605	1.529
	(0.537)	(0.554)	(0.560)	(0.629)	(1.047)	(1.070)	(1.056)	(1.103)
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	244	244	193	193	227	227	171	171
R-squared	0.223	0.240	0.308	0.335	0.234	0.239	0.343	0.344
Number of countries	27	27	22	22	27	27	22	22

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1, 2, 3, and 4 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 5, 6, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences).

Table A5: Correlates of Social Democratic votes in the era of globalization, 1989-2017

	Analysis of levels				Analysis of differences			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.269 (0.166)	0.223 (0.153)			0.281* (0.139)	0.267* (0.142)		
Welfare spending (% GDP)			0.815** (0.385)	0.750** (0.353)			0.893** (0.392)	0.918** (0.382)
Employment in industry (%)	0.628* (0.338)	0.462 (0.375)	1.265** (0.462)	1.019** (0.488)	-0.206 (0.345)	-0.207 (0.343)	0.573 (0.398)	0.588 (0.408)
Globalization Index	0.373 (0.424)	0.438 (0.423)	0.534 (0.475)	0.711 (0.441)	-0.035 (0.556)	-0.031 (0.556)	0.300 (0.464)	0.283 (0.460)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.135* (0.072)	0.139* (0.070)	0.054 (0.053)	0.059 (0.050)	0.024 (0.055)	0.028 (0.056)	0.019 (0.047)	0.017 (0.047)
Centre Right left-right position	0.008 (0.052)	0.009 (0.052)	0.069 (0.056)	0.060 (0.060)	-0.054 (0.048)	-0.055 (0.048)	0.000 (0.048)	0.001 (0.048)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-2.967 (2.005)	-3.211 (2.078)	-2.371 (2.145)	-3.010 (2.501)	-4.958*** (1.705)	-5.046*** (1.698)	-4.183** (1.996)	-4.099* (2.016)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-0.368 (1.444)	-0.492 (1.432)	0.307 (1.034)	0.033 (1.088)	-4.042*** (1.177)	-4.053*** (1.175)	-3.780*** (1.320)	-3.793*** (1.327)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-3.425* (1.923)	-3.497* (1.971)	-4.609** (1.709)	-4.983** (1.873)	-4.516*** (1.258)	-4.545*** (1.243)	-5.468*** (1.430)	-5.470*** (1.453)
Turnout	0.116 (0.172)	0.112 (0.172)	-0.088 (0.191)	-0.092 (0.190)	0.312 (0.210)	0.314 (0.211)	-0.014 (0.228)	-0.015 (0.228)
Union density	-0.156 (0.160)	-0.143 (0.155)	-0.662* (0.348)	-0.669* (0.336)	-0.028 (0.174)	-0.025 (0.172)	-0.236 (0.452)	-0.207 (0.492)
Higher education	0.011 (0.087)	0.039 (0.094)	-0.105 (0.128)	-0.065 (0.141)	0.023 (0.139)	0.021 (0.138)	-0.113 (0.154)	-0.107 (0.153)
District magnitude (%)	3.193** (1.387)	3.037** (1.314)	2.501*** (0.703)	2.341*** (0.687)	2.119 (1.690)	2.101 (1.653)	1.774*** (0.623)	1.764** (0.626)
Employment in agriculture	0.443 (0.263)	0.347 (0.244)	0.371 (0.849)	0.251 (0.743)	0.106 (0.297)	0.113 (0.299)	-0.852 (0.693)	-0.918 (0.740)
Women in work	0.075 (0.213)	0.096 (0.222)	-0.269 (0.189)	-0.220 (0.198)	-0.056 (0.305)	-0.091 (0.340)	-0.027 (0.302)	0.018 (0.355)
Urban population	-0.407 (0.316)	-0.292 (0.352)	-0.452 (0.419)	-0.251 (0.414)	-1.071 (1.303)	-0.980 (1.388)	-1.075 (1.248)	-1.178 (1.402)
Population (log)	0.091 (16.104)	1.331 (16.198)	36.301* (19.970)	38.016* (19.812)	-32.993 (49.717)	-28.514 (48.114)	-10.697 (52.510)	-14.727 (52.238)
Population aged 65 and over	0.112 (0.970)	0.365 (1.058)	1.045 (0.938)	1.434 (1.038)	-1.987* (1.115)	-1.988* (1.118)	-1.774 (1.456)	-1.809 (1.495)
Population aged 0 to 14	0.796 (0.853)	0.886 (0.861)	1.194 (0.825)	1.376 (0.859)	0.450 (1.126)	0.587 (1.185)	1.399 (1.267)	1.288 (1.301)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	180	180	141	141	170	170	136	136
R-squared	0.204	0.209	0.323	0.341	0.270	0.271	0.333	0.334
Number of countries	27	27	22	22	27	27	22	22

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1, 2, 3, and 4 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, Models 5, 6, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences) Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A6: Correlates of Social Democratic votes in the era of globalization, 2000-2017

	Analysis of levels				Analysis of differences			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.818** (0.304)	0.792** (0.293)			0.646** (0.312)	0.644** (0.313)		
Welfare spending (% GDP)			1.900*** (0.574)	1.873*** (0.493)			1.497** (0.690)	1.615** (0.668)
Employment in industry (%)	0.632 (0.761)	0.578 (0.756)	1.949* (1.001)	1.785* (1.022)	0.354 (0.515)	0.340 (0.566)	0.652 (0.725)	0.565 (0.704)
Globalization Index	0.983** (0.366)	1.106** (0.424)	1.118* (0.623)	1.493* (0.753)	0.423 (0.487)	0.434 (0.475)	0.281 (0.716)	0.568 (0.723)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.029 (0.061)	0.035 (0.064)	0.114 (0.097)	0.133 (0.100)	-0.037 (0.046)	-0.038 (0.045)	-0.007 (0.080)	-0.008 (0.077)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.137* (0.067)	-0.143** (0.064)	-0.006 (0.066)	-0.038 (0.068)	-0.155*** (0.048)	-0.155*** (0.048)	-0.073 (0.107)	-0.076 (0.113)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	0.359 (3.413)	0.153 (3.410)	-1.581 (4.283)	-2.269 (4.348)	-1.011 (2.040)	-1.018 (2.065)	-4.025 (2.907)	-4.292 (2.825)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-1.725 (1.557)	-1.776 (1.548)	0.334 (1.482)	-0.103 (1.509)	-3.515* (1.829)	-3.511* (1.838)	-2.334 (2.037)	-2.597 (2.042)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-4.571** (1.767)	-4.757** (1.797)	-3.409 (2.103)	-4.184* (2.328)	-4.281* (2.151)	-4.282* (2.162)	-4.740* (2.690)	-4.725* (2.671)
Turnout	-0.007 (0.245)	0.011 (0.234)	-0.346 (0.265)	-0.287 (0.239)	0.094 (0.246)	0.096 (0.243)	-0.085 (0.348)	-0.034 (0.331)
Union density	-1.403*** (0.324)	-1.406*** (0.318)	-1.662*** (0.471)	-1.682*** (0.439)	-0.603* (0.326)	-0.607* (0.338)	-0.305 (0.658)	-0.286 (0.664)
Higher education	-0.132 (0.154)	-0.129 (0.156)	-0.192 (0.175)	-0.198 (0.177)	-0.153 (0.153)	-0.153 (0.156)	-0.154 (0.188)	-0.117 (0.187)
District magnitude (%)	6.667*** (0.696)	6.795*** (0.658)	5.831*** (0.858)	6.178*** (1.010)	8.456*** (0.856)	8.463*** (0.869)	7.998*** (2.681)	8.005*** (2.794)
Employment in agriculture	0.153 (0.519)	0.075 (0.555)	-0.282 (1.308)	-0.529 (1.339)	0.518 (0.572)	0.516 (0.575)	-1.062 (1.381)	-1.083 (1.378)
Women in work	0.262 (0.450)	-0.202 (0.494)	-0.571 (0.473)	-0.432 (0.484)	-0.168 (0.607)	-0.166 (0.611)	-0.025 (0.834)	0.154 (0.883)
Urban population	0.452 (0.861)	0.660 (0.888)	-0.069 (1.135)	0.333 (1.140)	-2.729 (2.544)	-2.727 (2.555)	-5.336*** (1.876)	-5.408*** (1.799)
Population (log)	-15.089 (20.793)	-13.923 (20.159)	69.958 (41.905)	76.205* (43.486)	12.364 (65.421)	12.418 (65.911)	33.798 (75.560)	33.826 (81.849)
Population aged 65 and over	-1.185 (1.364)	-0.683 (1.956)	0.048 (1.417)	1.235 (1.895)	-0.970 (1.871)	-0.981 (1.854)	-0.229 (2.403)	-0.498 (2.282)
Population aged 0 to 14	6.257*** (1.321)	6.341*** (1.364)	6.919*** (1.683)	6.809*** (1.582)	2.697 (2.041)	2.669 (2.030)	3.208 (2.306)	2.828 (2.093)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	107	107	84	84	107	107	84	84
R-squared	0.502	0.505	0.534	0.548	0.452	0.452	0.403	0.415
Number of countries	27	27	22	22	27	27	22	22

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1, 2, 3, and 4 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 5, 6, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences) Standard errors in parentheses.



Table A7: SD Economic and Social Left Right position over the period 1945 to 2017

	<i>Aggregate Sample</i>	<i>Non East Europe</i>	<i>East Europe</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)
SD <i>economic</i> left-right position	0.170** (0.0712)	0.0747 (0.0471)	0.554** (0.220)
SD <i>social</i> left-right position	0.156** (0.0702)	0.0829 (0.0562)	0.549*** (0.161)
Centre Right <i>economic</i> left-right position	0.0233 (0.0448)	0.0494 (0.0451)	-0.122 (0.0993)
Centre Right <i>social</i> left-right position	-0.0312 (0.0482)	-0.0726* (0.0376)	0.0960 (0.118)
Control Variables	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	386	298	88
R-squared	0.171	0.249	0.457
Number of countries	31	18	13

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. All models estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A8: Robustness tests: social democratic party vote share vs. social democratic, including the Italian Communist party, vote share vs. total left vote share and vs. centre right vote share as dependent variables, 1945-2017

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Soc. Dem. vote share	SD with Communist Party	Total Left vote share	C. Right vote share
Public Spending (% GDP)	0.192*** (0.0594)	0.207*** (0.0602)	0.0843 (0.0725)	0.143 (0.0888)
District Magnitude (log)	2.612 (1.652)	3.444*** (1.250)	2.714** (1.072)	0.787 (1.110)
Turnout	-0.172 (0.107)	-0.162 (0.104)	-0.131 (0.122)	0.0868 (0.144)
GDP per capita (Madison)	6.958** (2.928)	7.822** (2.883)	6.560 (4.066)	0.752 (5.049)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.0666 (0.159)	-0.0453 (0.157)	-0.152 (0.177)	0.187 (0.160)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	409	409	409	409
R-squared	0.159	0.188	0.088	0.167
Number of countries	31	31	31	31

Note: Column 1 exhibits estimates for Soc. Dem as in Table 3; Column 2, includes the Italian Communist Party; Column 3 focuses on total left and Column 4 total right. All models are conditional on country Fes, Decade Fes and, progressively, Country Year Time Trends. Standard errors in parentheses. Controls include regime types, european membership and parties left and right social and economic position.

Table A9: Robustness tests: social democratic party vote share vs. total left vote share and vs. centre right vote share as dependent variables, 1975-2017

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Soc. Dem. vote share	SD with Communist Party	Total Left vote share	C. Right vote share
Public Spending (% GDP)	0.753*** (0.260)	0.737*** (0.250)	0.140 (0.352)	0.202 (0.271)
District Magnitude (log)	0.655** (0.313)	0.546* (0.293)	-0.114 (0.301)	0.385 (0.336)
Turnout	0.164 (0.400)	0.373 (0.346)	0.198 (0.410)	0.104 (0.476)
GDP per capita (Madison)	0.156 (0.118)	0.126 (0.114)	0.115 (0.152)	-0.0295 (0.155)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.380** (0.177)	-0.391** (0.180)	-0.212 (0.172)	-0.285 (0.288)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	209	209	209	209
R-squared	0.317	0.337	0.160	0.294
Number of countries	22	22	22	22

Note: Column 1 exhibits estimates for Soc. Dem as in Table 3; Column 2, includes the Italian Communist Party; Column 3 focuses on total left and Column 4 total right. All models are conditional on country Fes, Decade Fes and, progressively, Country Year Time Trends. Standard errors in parentheses. Controls include regime types, european membership and parties left and right social and economic position.

Table A10: Heterogeneity Analysis, 1945-2017

	Western Europe		Eastern Europe	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public spending (% ofGDP)	0.0954*	0.131**	1.167***	1.343**
	(0.0505)	(0.0548)	(0.370)	(0.457)
District magnitude (log)	-0.706	-0.534	3.809	3.134
	(0.737)	(0.744)	(4.305)	(4.198)
District mag.*SD left-right position	-0.00435	-0.00235	0.0338	0.029
	(0.0075)	(0.0075)	(0.035)	(0.037)
Social democratic party in government	0.572	0.323	-2.536	-2.277
	(0.900)	(0.805)	(1.609)	(1.682)
Turnout	-0.0093	-0.0084	-0.189	-0.113
	(0.117)	(0.105)	(0.169)	(0.202)
GDP per capita (Madison)	2.878	4.506	8.073	3.267
	(2.984)	(3.729)	(4.855)	(6.089)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.130	-0.0744	-0.321	-0.379
	(0.121)	(0.142)	(0.358)	(0.349)
Eu member	-1.079	-0.405	-5.546	-7.264
	(2.487)	(2.500)	(4.046)	(4.923)
Presidential system	11.51***	10.96***	4.657	5.523
	(1.656)	(1.631)	(7.391)	(8.090)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	294	294	87	87
R-squared	0.135	0.150	0.242	0.248
Number of countries	18	18	13	13

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Columns 1 and 2 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties in Western Europe. Western Europe includes Southern European and Scandinavian countries. Columns 3 and 4 estimate the overall level of support for SD parties in Eastern Europe. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A11: Heterogeneity Analysis within Western Europe, 1945-2017

	Western Europe	Southern Europe		Scandinavia
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.119 (0.112)	-0.612** (0.149)	-0.328 (0.293)	0.0284 (0.114)
District magnitude (log)	-1.776 (1.538)	-0.239 (0.563)	1.826 (1.041)	2.587 (3.912)
District mag.*SD left-right position	0.0125 (0.0138)	0.0614 (0.0310)	0.0450 (0.0336)	-0.000531 (0.00912)
Social democratic party in government	-1.233 (0.841)	0.0705 (1.523)	-0.0491 (1.690)	0.423 (0.424)
Turnout	0.0753 (0.154)	0.549* (0.252)	0.585 (0.299)	-0.241 (0.149)
GDP per capita (Madison)	12.03** (4.172)	-9.341 (12.41)	-5.258 (16.83)	0.246 (3.709)
GDP growth (Madison)	0.0536 (0.141)	-1.125** (0.257)	-0.842* (0.356)	0.221 (0.147)
Eu member	-4.317** (1.699)	11.71* (4.672)	15.38** (4.439)	-1.589 (3.641)
Observations	155	59	59	80
R-squared	0.480	0.576	0.548	0.639
Number of countries	9	5	5	4
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: Columns 1 exhibits estimates on the overall level of support for social democratic parties in Western Europe. Column 2 and 3 focus on Southern Europe. Column 2 studies the effect on SD parties, Column 3 includes the Italian Communist Party. Column 4 focuses on Scandinavian countries. All estimates are conditional on country fixed effects, decade fixed effects and, progressively, country year specific time trends. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A12: Randomization, 1950-2017

	Post-1950	
	<i>Analysis of levels</i>	<i>Analysis of differences</i>
	(1)	(2)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.197** (0.079)	0.148** (0.066)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.158 (0.097)	0.134** (0.059)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.012 (0.040)	-0.034 (0.028)
District magnitude (log)	0.139 (1.537)	0.970 (1.455)
District mag.*SD left-right position	-0.046 (0.035)	-0.056** (0.025)
Social democratic party in government	1.250 (1.175)	-6.392*** (1.308)
Turnout (%)	-0.123 (0.107)	0.287** (0.122)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes
Observations	381	353
R-squared	0.176	0.170
Number of countries	31	31

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Column 1 estimates effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, whereas Column 2 estimates changes in support between elections (first differences). The estimates replicate Table 3, but with a different time period, from 1950 onwards. Standard errors in parentheses. Results not shown for the constant and the control variables: GDP per capita (log), GDP growth, EU member, Eurozone member, presidential system.

Table A13: Randomization, 1970-2017 and 1980-2017

	Post-1970				Post-1980			
	<i>Analysis of levels</i>		<i>Analysis of differences</i>		<i>Analysis of levels</i>		<i>Analysis of differences</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.205*		0.225*		0.110		0.200	
	(0.105)		(0.112)		(0.121)		(0.146)	
Welfare spending (% of GDP)		0.613**		0.794**		0.675**		0.794**
		(0.238)		(0.362)		(0.241)		(0.362)
Employment in industry (%)	0.841***	0.810**	0.201	0.267	0.766**	0.939**	0.152	0.267
	(0.241)	(0.307)	(0.338)	(0.388)	(0.345)	(0.355)	(0.390)	(0.388)
Globalization index	0.030	0.211	0.261	0.455	0.093	0.263	0.297	0.455
	(0.327)	(0.437)	(0.488)	(0.426)	(0.362)	(0.447)	(0.496)	(0.426)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.078	0.048	0.008	0.018	0.105**	0.049	0.019	0.018
	(0.048)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.030)	(0.050)	(0.040)	(0.038)	(0.030)
Centre Right left-right position	0.002	0.053	-0.052	-0.023	0.002	0.050	-0.054	-0.023
	(0.048)	(0.055)	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.056)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Social dem. party in government	-1.675	-2.748**	-3.475**	-3.293**	-3.071**	-3.163**	-3.960**	-3.293**
	(1.040)	(1.280)	(1.307)	(1.523)	(1.109)	(1.350)	(1.557)	(1.523)
Turnout (%)	0.110	0.039	0.350**	0.202	0.041	-0.008	0.363**	0.202
	(0.136)	(0.144)	(0.160)	(0.210)	(0.146)	(0.168)	(0.172)	(0.210)
Union Density	-0.192	-0.463**	-0.120	-0.436	-0.183	-0.517**	-0.125	-0.436
	(0.116)	(0.191)	(0.144)	(0.292)	(0.140)	(0.214)	(0.161)	(0.292)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	244	193	244	193	227	171	227	171
R-squared	0.223	0.308	0.240	0.335	0.234	0.343	0.239	0.344
Number of countries	27	22	27	22	27	22	27	22

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Columns 1, 2, 5, and 6 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, whereas Columns 3, 4, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). Estimates replicate Table 4, but with a different time period. Precisely, Columns 1 to 4 perform the analysis from 1970 onwards, whereas Columns 5 to 8 do so from 1980 onwards. Standard errors in parentheses. Results not shown for the constant, and the control variables: employment in agriculture, women in work, urban population, life expectancy, population (log), population aged 65 and over, population aged 0 to 14, percent in higher education.

Table A14: Randomization, 1985-2017, 1995-2017, and 2005-2017

	Post-1985		Post-1995 <i>Analysis of levels</i>		Post-2005	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.223 (0.151)		0.505** (0.209)		0.746* (0.396)	
Public spending on social welfare (% of GDP)		0.905*** (0.239)		1.032** (0.381)		0.843 (0.786)
Employment in industry (%)	0.627* (0.354)	1.007** (0.447)	0.547 (0.548)	1.033 (0.630)	0.428 (1.549)	1.507 (1.862)
Globalization index	0.248 (0.410)	0.475 (0.421)	0.930*** (0.212)	0.984** (0.473)	-0.608 (0.994)	-2.814 (2.442)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.112 (0.068)	0.033 (0.050)	0.116* (0.062)	0.128* (0.062)	0.052 (0.066)	0.007 (0.104)
Centre Right left-right position	0.007 (0.057)	0.075 (0.054)	-0.123** (0.051)	0.007 (0.068)	-0.186*** (0.048)	0.021 (0.132)
Social democratic party in government	-2.833* (1.424)	-3.292* (1.615)	-2.289* (1.322)	-2.743 (1.752)	-2.714 (2.694)	0.260 (2.781)
Turnout (%)	0.083 (0.166)	-0.073 (0.167)	-0.004 (0.179)	-0.147 (0.219)	0.171 (0.206)	0.650 (0.532)
Observations	201	162	141	111	73	58
R-squared	0.171	0.340	0.496	0.471	0.474	0.504
Number of countries	27	22	27	22	27	22
			<i>Analysis of differences</i>			
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.297* (0.156)		0.661** (0.250)		0.484 (0.439)	
Public spending on social welfare (% of GDP)		0.873** (0.399)		1.756*** (0.528)		-0.269 (1.036)
Employment in industry (%)	-0.104 (0.363)	0.666 (0.467)	0.289 (0.452)	1.084* (0.536)	-0.992 (0.870)	-0.909 (1.354)
Globalization index	0.073 (0.530)	0.342 (0.488)	-0.270 (0.748)	0.460 (0.597)	-0.095 (1.198)	-0.027 (1.373)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.006 (0.047)	0.002 (0.036)	0.006 (0.066)	-0.005 (0.055)	-0.086 (0.079)	0.051 (0.144)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.058 (0.046)	-0.010 (0.041)	-0.110* (0.054)	-0.016 (0.079)	-0.155* (0.086)	-0.065 (0.170)
Social democratic party in government	-4.432*** (1.590)	-3.420* (1.807)	-3.559** (1.404)	-4.119* (2.214)	-9.589*** (2.559)	-8.585*** (2.724)
Turnout (%)	0.349* (0.189)	0.164 (0.221)	0.295 (0.221)	0.065 (0.278)	0.344 (0.230)	0.067 (0.375)
Observations	191	157	139	107	73	58
R-squared	0.207	0.206	0.258	0.337	0.573	0.560
Number of countries	27	22	27	22	27	22
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1 to 6 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, whereas models 7 to 12 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). The estimates replicate Table 5, but with a different time period. Precisely, Columns 1, 2, 7, and 8 perform the analysis for a period just before the end of the Cold-War, whereas Columns 3, 4, 9, and 10 for a period just after the end of it. Columns 5, 6, 11, and 12 perform the analysis for a period just after the Great Recession. Standard errors in parentheses. Results not shown for the constant and the control variables: employment in agriculture, women in work, urban population, population (log), population aged 65 and over, population aged 0 to 14, union density, percent in higher education.



Table A15: Individual-level correlates of voting for a social democratic party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ESS Waves	1-2002	2-2004	3-2006	4-2008	5-2010	6-2012	7-2014	8-2016
Worker in industry	0.0311** (0.0107)	0.0392** (0.0132)	0.0386** (0.0137)	0.0303** (0.0129)	0.0122 (0.0122)	0.0204 (0.0150)	0.0209* (0.0117)	0.0189* (0.00885)
Public sector employee	0.0784*** (0.0158)	0.0862*** (0.0187)	0.0646*** (0.0146)	0.0805*** (0.0130)	0.0790*** (0.0115)	0.0632*** (0.0121)	0.0664*** (0.00976)	0.0583*** (0.00992)
Socio- cultural professional	0.0241* (0.0126)	0.0208 (0.0142)	0.0352 (0.0200)	0.0291* (0.0145)	0.0131 (0.0135)	0.0402* (0.0188)	0.0261** (0.0121)	0.0245* (0.0115)
Male	0.0108 (0.00640)	0.00461 (0.00664)	0.00101 (0.00732)	-0.00188 (0.00456)	0.00287 (0.00671)	0.00502 (0.00586)	0.00177 (0.00429)	-0.00436 (0.00538)
Lived in a city	0.0205 (0.0117)	0.0106 (0.00644)	0.0415*** (0.0117)	0.0214** (0.00982)	0.0350*** (0.00893)	0.0264** (0.00933)	0.0231* (0.0113)	0.0359** (0.0124)
Lives in a town	0.0186* (0.00934)	0.0236*** (0.00764)	0.0292*** (0.00866)	0.0273*** (0.00581)	0.0168 (0.00976)	0.0144 (0.0105)	0.0172*** (0.00452)	0.0120 (0.00833)
Age	0.00260*** (0.000289)	0.00255*** (0.000374)	0.00220*** (0.000238)	0.00269*** (0.000294)	0.00247*** (0.000212)	0.00266*** (0.000273)	0.00258*** (0.000250)	0.00252*** (0.000287)
Observations	28,686	27,843	28,603	29,049	27,428	28,921	26,947	24,668
R-squared	0.018	0.018	0.016	0.021	0.020	0.022	0.023	0.023
Number of countries	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	14

Note: Dependent variable: vote for a social democratic party. Estimation: Linear probability model with country fixed-effects. Baselines: female, lives in a rural area, other professional and socio-economic status. Data from the 8 waves of the European Social Survey. Countries included: Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and United Kingdom. Standard errors in parentheses.

## References

- Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93:609–624.
- Carey, John M. and Simon Hix. 2011. "The Electoral Sweet Spot: Low-Magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 55:383–397.
- Gygli, Savina et al. 2019. "The KOF Globalisation Index - Revisited." *Review of International Organizations* 14:543–574.
- Jacobs, Francis. 1989. *Western European Political Parties: A Comprehensive Guide*. London: Longman.
- Nohlen, Dieter and Philip Stoeber. 2010. *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Timmer, Marcel P. et al. 2015. *Routledge Handbook of Industry and Development*. London: Routledge chapter Patterns of Structural Change in Developing Countries, pp. 65–83.