The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions. A Regression Discontinuity Approach

Tarik Abou-Chadi and Werner Krause

Appendix

The basic hypothesis following from our argument is that mainstream parties adjust their policy position on immigration on the basis of the performance of radical right parties in the previous general election. Thus, we are interested in parties' responses under conditions of continuous radical right party influence with the consequence that mainstream parties can be expected to consider past results as forecasts for upcoming elections. For that reason, we do not consider elections that are overshadowed either by major economic crises (Greece since 2009) or long-lasting ethnic conflicts (Slovenia and Croatia up to 2000). Further countries have been dropped due to national characteristics invalidating our assumption on the relationship between radical right performance and mainstream parties' responses (Belgium). Finally, taking the process necessary to establish and stabilize election and party systems after democratization in Eastern Europe into account, the first three elections of these young democracies remain unconsidered.

Table A1: *Radical Right Parties in Europe, 1980-2014*

Country	Party	
Austria	FPÖ	Freedom Movement
Switzerland	SVP/UDC	Swiss People's Party
Czech Republic	SPR-RSC	Rally for the Republic – Republican Party of Czechoslovakia
	RMS	Republicans of Miroslav Sládek
	NS	National Party
	DS	Workers' Party of Social Justice
Germany	NPD	National Democratic Party
	REP	The Republicans
Denmark	DF	Danish People's Party
Estonia	Isamaaliit	Pro Patria Union
	Isamaa	Pro Patria and Res Publica Union
Spain	AN18	National Alliance - 18th of July
	UN	National Union
	MF	Falangist Movement of Spain
	FE de las JONS	Falange
	FA	Authentic Falange
	FE	Falange
	DN	National Democracy
Finland	SKS	Finnish People's Blue-whites
Greece	KE	Party of Hellenism
	PG	Front Line
	LAOS	Popular Orthodox Rally
Croatia	HSP	Croatian Party of Rights
	HSP-HKDU	Croatian Party of Rights - Croatian Christian Democratic Union
	HSP-ZDS	Croatian Party of Rights - Zagorje Democratic Party
Italy	LN	Northern League - Federal Italy
	MSI	Movimento Sociale Italiano

Luxembourg	NB	National Movement
Latvia	TB-LNNK-TP	Union"For Homeland and Freedom"/LNNK-TP
Netherlands	CD	Centre Democrats
	LPF	List Pim Fortuyn
	PvdV	Party for Freedom
Poland	LPR	League of Polish Families
	ROP	Movement for Reconstruction of Poland
Portugal	PNR	National Renovator Party
Romania	PRM	Greater Romania Party
Sweden	SD	Sweden Democrats
Slovenia	SNS	Slovenian National Party
Slovakia	SNS	Slovak National Party
	PSNS	True Slovak National Party

Table A2: *Robustness - Mainstream party position change on cultural protectionism, DV: per608*

LATE	St. Err.	Bandwidth	Polynomial	Approach	$N < c$	$N \geq c$
0.714***	0.249	3.228	1	Non-Parametric	218	32
1.370***	0.426	3.228	2	Non-Parametric	218	32
2.249***	0.528	global	3	Parametric	276	119
1.273**	0.596	global	4	Parametric	276	119

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. Bandwidth estimation according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2009). $^{*}p < .1$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$.

Table A3: *Robustness - Mainstream party position change on cultural protectionism, DV: Kim and Fording (2003)*

LATE	St. Err.	Bandwidth	Polynomial	Approach	$N < c$	$N \geq c$
1.212**	0.520	2.951	1	Non-Parametric	96	17
1.288**	0.601	2.951	2	Non-Parametric	96	17
1.469***	0.424	global	3	Parametric	112	70
1.808***	0.567	global	4	Parametric	112	70

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. Bandwidth estimation according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2009). $^{*}p < .1$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$..

Table A4: *Robustness - Mainstream party position change on cultural protectionism, DV: Alonso and da Fonseca (2012)*

LATE	St. Err.	Bandwidth	Polynomial	Approach	$N < c$	$N \geq c$
4.387***	1.077	3.432	1	Non-Parametric	220	32
5.847***	2.173	3.432	2	Non-Parametric	220	32
6.106***	2.176	global	3	Parametric	276	119
4.613**	1.962	global	4	Parametric	276	119

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. Bandwidth estimation according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2009). $^{*}p < .1$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$.

Table A5: *Robustness - Mainstream party position change on cultural protectionism, DV: Meguid (2008)*

LATE	St. Err.	Bandwidth	Polynomial	Approach	$N < c$	$N \geq c$
3.395***	1.233	3.825	1	Non-Parametric	228	32
4.657**	2.133	3.825	2	Non-Parametric	228	32
7.503***	2.322	global	3	Parametric	276	119
6.094***	2.155	global	4	Parametric	276	119

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. Bandwidth estimation according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2009). $^{*}p < .1$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$.

Table A6: *Placebo Test*

	Non-Parametric				Parametric			
	1st Order Polynomial		2nd Order Polynomial		3rd Order Polynomial		4th Order Polynomial	
Cut-off Point	LATE	St. Err.	LATE	St. Err.	LATE	St. Err.	LATE	St. Err.
−2.0	0.784	1.038	1.005	3.433	0.269	1.485	1.034	1.528
	[2.003]		[2.003]					
0.0	3.072***	0.643	4.388***	1.184	3.777***	0.820	4.853***	1.003
	[3.315]		[3.315]					
6.2	−2.639	1.822	−1.655	1.928	−2.567	1.770	−2.666	1.664
	[4.698]		[4.698]					

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. The bandwidths (Imbens and Kalyanaraman 2009) are denoted in brackets. $^{*}p < .1$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$.

Table A7: *Robustness - Mainstream party position change on environmental protection*

LATE	St. Err.	Bandwidth	Polynomial	Approach	$N < c$	$N \geq c$
−0.069	0.603	4.172	1	Non-Parametric	259	36
−0.315	0.864	4.172	2	Non-Parametric	259	36
−0.428	0.821	global	3	Parametric	272	119
−0.862	0.972	global	4	Parametric	272	119

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. Bandwidth estimation according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2009). $^{*}p < .1$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$.

Table A8: *Robustness - Mainstream party position change on cultural protectionism, forcing variable: RRP vote share at election t*

LATE	St. Err.	Bandwidth	Polynomial	Approach	$N < c$	$N \geq c$
−0.613	0.836	3.862	1	Non-Parametric	230	34
−0.588	1.170	3.862	2	Non-Parametric	230	34
−0.320	1.204	global	3	Parametric	265	126
−0.007	1.307	global	4	Parametric	265	126

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. Bandwidth estimation according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2009). $^{*}p < .1$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$.

Table A9: *Jackknife analyses*

	Non-Parametric				Parametric			
	1st Order Polynomial		2nd Order Polynomial		3rd Order Polynomial		4th Order Polynomial	
	LATE	St. Err.	LATE	St. Err.	LATE	St. Err.	LATE	St. Err.
Austria	3.102***	0.637	4.394***	1.197	3.805***	0.813	4.661***	0.987
	[3.243]		[3.243]					
Bulgaria	3.075***	0.642	4.389***	1.185	3.777***	0.82	4.853***	1.002
	[3.309]		[3.309]					
Croatia	3.066***	0.644	4.387***	1.18	3.788***	0.82	4.864***	1.004
	[3.334]		[3.334]					
Czech Republic	3.141***	0.632	4.401***	1.213	3.608***	0.829	5.150***	1.089
	[3.176]		[3.176]					
Denmark	3.994***	1.026	4.484***	1.276	3.949***	0.853	4.896***	1.006
	[2.704]		[2.704]					
Estonia	3.082***	0.64	4.390***	1.188	3.752***	0.832	4.783***	0.984
	[3.288]		[3.288]					
Finland	3.040***	0.654	4.418***	1.181	3.787***	0.823	4.857***	1.005
	[3.439]		[3.439]					
Germany	3.042***	0.649	4.410***	1.178	4.213***	0.824	5.079***	1.105
	[3.417]		[3.417]					
Greece	3.212***	0.664	4.822***	1.404	3.863***	0.807	4.832***	1.019
	[3.309]		[3.309]					
Ireland	3.082***	0.644	4.415***	1.207	3.791***	0.823	4.868***	1.01
	[3.282]		[3.282]					
Italy	3.181***	0.629	4.405***	1.226	3.735***	0.818	4.816***	0.995
	[3.130]		[3.130]					
Latvia	3.072***	0.643	4.388***	1.184	3.777***	0.819	4.853***	1.002
	[3.315]		[3.315]					
Luxembourg	2.907***	0.698	3.375***	0.896	3.372***	0.63	3.972***	0.67
	[3.711]		[3.711]					
Netherlands	3.126***	1.013	7.052**	3.484	4.444**	1.987	7.260**	3.242
	[3.694]		[3.694]					
Norway	3.070***	0.642	4.397***	1.19	3.782***	0.822	4.879***	1.011
	[3.299]		[3.299]					
Poland	3.064***	0.644	4.393***	1.179	3.940***	0.833	4.893***	1.027
	[3.337]		[3.337]					
Portugal	2.992***	0.653	4.184***	1.146	3.659***	0.832	4.851***	1.021
	[3.381]		[3.381]					
Romania	3.058***	0.645	4.386***	1.174	3.777***	0.819	4.853***	1.002
	[3.360]		[3.360]					
Slovakia	3.315***	0.671	4.133***	0.988	3.719***	0.838	5.174***	1.135
	[3.108]		[3.108]					
Slovenia	3.104***	0.665	3.840***	1.37	3.703***	0.81	4.785***	0.982
	[3.404]		[3.404]					
Spain	2.802***	0.583	4.920***	1.27	3.602***	0.778	4.677***	0.938
	[3.400]		[3.400]					
Sweden	3.057***	0.667	4.403***	1.185	3.888***	0.813	4.884***	1.05
	[3.346]		[3.346]					
Switzerland	4.111***	1.136	4.646***	1.37	4.455***	0.832	3.991***	1.066
	[2.513]		[2.513]					

Note: Country-fixed effects and two-way clustered standard errors used. The bandwidths (Imbens and Kalyanaraman 2009) are denoted in brackets. *$p < .1$, **$p < .05$, ***$p < .01$.