Replication Material for

Shifting Welfare Policy Positions: The Impact of Radical Right Populist Party Success beyond Migration Politics

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Variable Information

- iso2c: ISO 3166-1 alpha-2; two-letter country code
- edate: Election date
- party: Manifesto Project (Marpor) party code
- pname_en: Party Name (English)
- parfam: Party Family (Marpor)
- challenger: Challenger party
- right_wing_rile_wgt: Economically right-of-centre party
- sps_logit: Welfare services position (Welfate state extension/limitation + Education spending extension/limitation); Logit transformed
- sps_logit_l: Welfare services position (Welfate state extension/limitation + Education spending extension/limitation); Logit transformed; lagged
- welfare_logit: Welfare state extension/limitation position; Logit transformed
- v.max.er_l: Vote share strongest radical right populist party
- multic_pos_logit: Position multiculturalism; Logit transformed
- v: Vote share
- v_l: Vote share at time of manifesto drafting
- g_l: Government status at time of manifesto drafting
- unem.qog_l: Unemployment rate at time of manifesto drafting
- log.immig.pc_l: Immigration rate at time of manifesto drafting
- log.gdp_l: GDP per capita (log) at time of manifesto drafting
- gini_disp_l: GINI index at time of manifesto drafting
- icg_rile: Ideological centre of gravity
- eperiod: Election period

Load Packages

```
rm( list = ls( ))
cat( '\14' )
```

```
library( dplyr )
library( magrittr )
library( ggplot2 )

load( '_venn.Rdata' )
load( 'RRPs_Welf.Rdata' )

source( 'RRPs_Welf_functions.R' )

s <- "$$\\surd$$"
```

Session Info

```
sessioninfo::platform_info()
```

```
##  setting  value
##  version  R version 3.5.3 (2019-03-11)
##  os       macOS Mojave 10.14.2
##  system   x86_64, darwin15.6.0
##  ui       X11
##  language (EN)
##  collate  en_US.UTF-8
##  ctype    en_US.UTF-8
##  tz       Europe/Rome
##  date     2019-09-10
```

```
sessioninfo::package_info( pkgs = c( 'ggplot2' , 'dplyr' , 'magrittr' , 'eulerr' , 'tidyr'
                                   , 'tibble' , 'stargazer' , 'glue' , 'multiwayvcov'
                                   , 'lmtest' , 'stringr' )
                         , dependencies = F )
```

```
##  package      * version date       lib source
##  dplyr        * 0.8.3   2019-07-04 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.2)
##  eulerr         5.1.0   2019-02-04 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.2)
##  ggplot2      * 3.2.1   2019-08-10 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.2)
##  glue           1.3.1   2019-03-12 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.3)
##  lmtest         0.9-36  2018-04-04 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.0)
##  magrittr     * 1.5     2014-11-22 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.0)
##  multiwayvcov   1.2.3   2016-05-05 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.0)
##  stargazer      5.2.2   2018-05-30 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.0)
##  stringr        1.4.0   2019-02-10 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.2)
##  tibble         2.1.3   2019-06-06 [1] CRAN (R 3.5.2)
##  tidyr          0.8.3   2019-03-01 [1] CRAN (R
```

Article: Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Overlapping voter pools between radical right, economic left-of-centre and economic right-of-centre parties

```
venn.ds %<>%
  mutate( var = 1 ) %>%
  tidyr::spread( parfam , var ) %>%
  group_by( resp.id , iso2c ) %>%
  mutate_at( vars( Left : RRP ) , funs( max( . , na.rm = T ))) %>%
  mutate_at( vars( Left : RRP )
             , funs( ifelse( is.infinite( . ) | is.na( . ) , 0 , . ) )) %>%
  ungroup( ) %>%
  select( -name_en , -cmp , -ptv ) %>% unique( )

venn.ds %<>%
  mutate( l = ifelse( Right == 0 & Left == 1 & RRP == 0 , weight , NA )
          ,        r = ifelse( Right == 1 & Left == 0 & RRP == 0 , weight , NA )
          ,      rrp = ifelse( Right == 0 & Left == 0 & RRP == 1 , weight , NA )
          ,    l.rrp = ifelse( Right == 0 & Left == 1 & RRP == 1 , weight , NA )
          ,    r.rrp = ifelse( Right == 1 & Left == 0 & RRP == 1 , weight , NA )
          ,      l.r = ifelse( Right == 1 & Left == 1 & RRP == 0 , weight , NA )
          ,  l.r.rrp = ifelse( Right == 1 & Left == 1 & RRP == 1 , weight , NA ))

venn.ds %<>%
  group_by( iso2c ) %>%
  mutate_at( vars( l : l.r.rrp )
             , funs( share = sum( . , na.rm = T ) / sum( weight ))) %>%
  ungroup( ) %>%
  select( -c( resp.id , weight : l.r.rrp )) %>% unique( )

venn.ds %<>%
  filter( rrp_share != 0 ) %>%
  mutate_at( vars( l_share : l.r.rrp_share )
             , funs( round(( mean( . , na.rm = T ) * 100 ) , 2 ))) %>%
  select( -iso2c ) %>% unique( )

fit <- eulerr::euler( c( Left = venn.ds$l_share
                         , Right = venn.ds$r_share
                         , RR = venn.ds$rrp_share
                         , "Left&Right" = venn.ds$l.r_share
                         , "Left&RR" = venn.ds$l.rrp_share
                         , "Right&RR" = venn.ds$r.rrp_share
                         , "Left&Right&RR" = venn.ds$l.r.rrp_share )
                      , shape = 'ellipse' )

plot( fit , quantities = TRUE
      , labels = c( 'Economically\nLeft Parties'
                    , 'Economically\nRight Parties'
                    , 'Radical Right\nPopulist Parties' ))
```

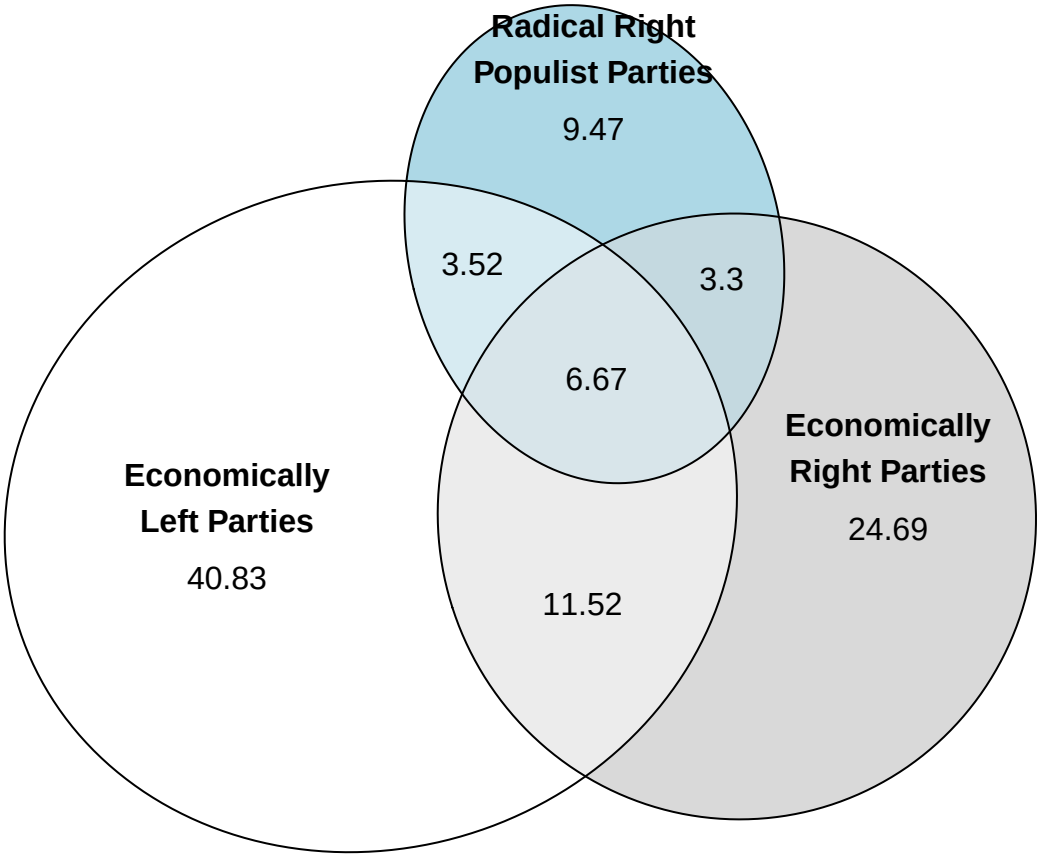

Radical Right
Populist Parties
9.47
3.52
3.3
6.67
Economically
Left Parties
40.83
Economically
Right Parties
24.69
11.52

Table 1: Descriptive statistics (N = 670)

```
ds.act %>%
  select( sps_logit , v.max.er_l
          , multic_pos_logit , v_l , g_l
          , unem.qog_l , log.immig.pc_l , log.gdp_l
          , gini_disp_l , icg_rile , right_wing_rile_wgt ) %>%
  mutate_at( vars( g_l , right_wing_rile_wgt )
             ,  funs( as.numeric( as.character( . )))) %>%
  stargazer::stargazer( . , align = T , header = F )
```

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
sps_logit	670	−3.766	1.811	−7.933	−5.081	−2.503	1.735
v.max.er_l	670	5.775	6.921	0.000	0.163	9.862	28.377
multic_pos_logit	670	−0.839	1.678	−4.812	−1.952	0.000	4.291
v_l	670	15.590	12.612	0.000	5.113	23.594	52.512
g_l	670	0.399	0.490	0	0	1	1
unem.qog_l	670	7.495	4.275	0.800	4.480	9.650	24.440
log.immig.pc_l	670	1.599	0.954	−1.828	1.225	2.171	3.612
log.gdp_l	670	10.302	0.550	8.453	9.994	10.693	11.647
gini_disp_l	670	27.393	3.872	20.800	24.400	30.800	35.200
icg_rile	670	−0.214	0.400	−1.823	−0.483	0.117	0.882
right_wing_rile_wgt	670	0.422	0.494	0	0	1	1

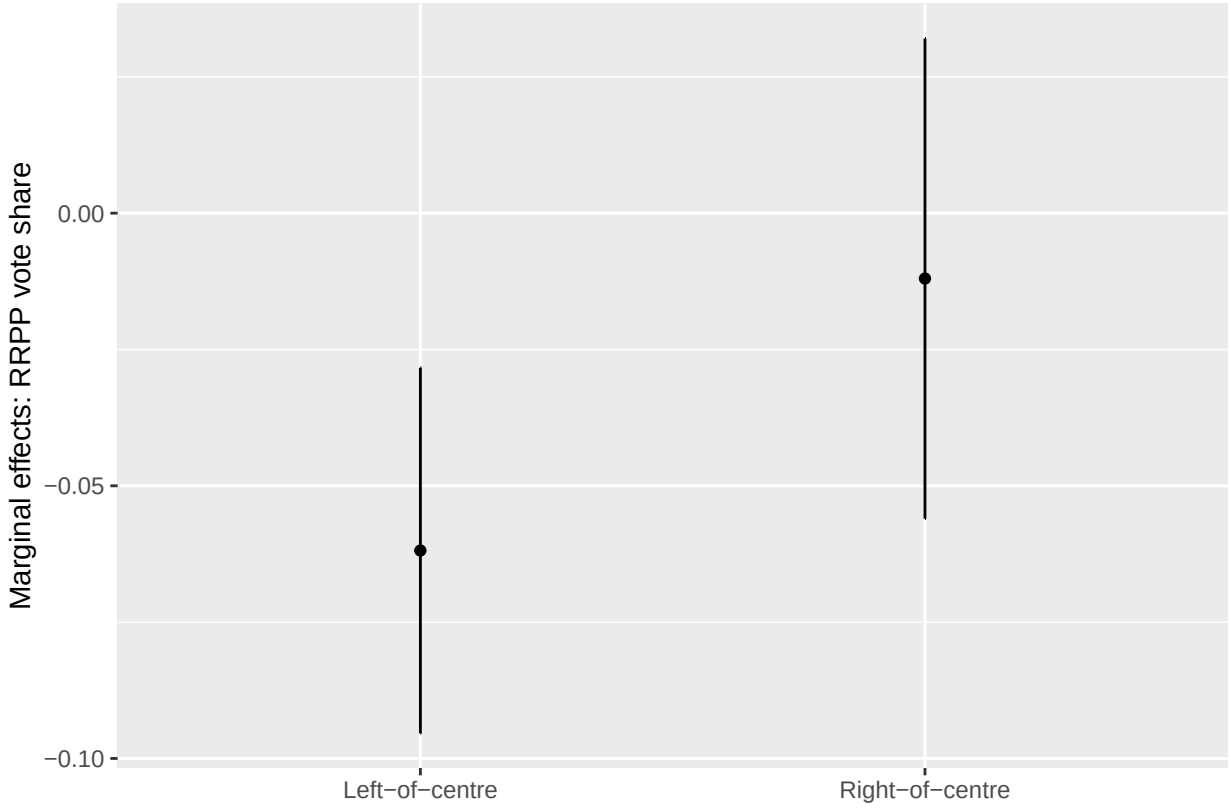
Table 2: The impact of RRPPs' vote shares on the positions of non-RRPPs on welfare

```
dv = 'sps_logit'
fe = 'party'
c1 = 'edate'
c2 = NULL
ia = NULL

cntrls = c( 'v.max.er_l' , 'multic_pos_logit' , 'v_l' , 'g_l' )
mod1 <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

cntrls = c( 'v.max.er_l' , 'multic_pos_logit' , 'v_l' , 'g_l' , 'unem.qog_l'
            , 'log.immig.pc_l' , 'log.gdp_l' , 'gini_disp_l' , 'icg_rile' )
mod2 <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'
mod3 <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

stargazer::stargazer( mod1$lm , mod2$lm , mod3$lm
                      , se = list( mod1$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
                                   , mod2$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
                                   , mod3$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ])
                      , add.lines = list( c( 'Party fixed effects' , s , s , s )
                                          , c( 'SE clustering' ,  s , s , s ))
                      , omit = c( 'factor' )
                      , header = FALSE
                      , font.size = 'footnotesize'
                      , align = T
                      , omit.stat = c( 'f' , 'ser' ))
```

	Dependent variable:		
	sps_logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
v.max.er_l	−0.047**	−0.043**	−0.062***
	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.020)
multic_pos_logit	0.120**	0.118**	0.112**
	(0.050)	(0.047)	(0.046)
v_l	−0.034**	−0.032**	−0.030**
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)
g_l1	0.380***	0.356**	0.345**
	(0.132)	(0.145)	(0.145)
unem.qog_l		0.074**	0.073**
		(0.031)	(0.032)
log.immig.pc_l		−0.010	−0.007
		(0.191)	(0.192)
log.gdp_l		−0.068	−0.073
		(0.283)	(0.285)
gini_disp_l		−0.038	−0.036
		(0.074)	(0.075)
icg_rile		1.017***	1.014***
		(0.241)	(0.242)
right_wing_rile_wgt1			
v.max.er_l:right_wing_rile_wgt1			0.050**
			(0.025)
Constant	−2.949***	−1.631	−1.594
	(0.620)	(2.792)	(2.798)
Party fixed effects	√	√	√
SE clustering	√	√	√
Observations	670	670	670
R^2	0.578	0.628	0.630
Adjusted R^2	0.448	0.509	0.511
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Figure 2: Marginal effects plot

```
ia.ds <- ia.plot.df( mod3$lm , 'v.max.er_l' , 'right_wing_rile_wgt'
                             , 'v.max.er_l:right_wing_rile_wgt1'
                             , 'binary' , mod3$vcv , conf = .9 )

ia.ds %>%
  ggplot( aes( x = factor( x_2 ) , y = delta_1
               , ymin = lower_bound , ymax = upper_bound )) +
  geom_errorbar( width = 0 ) +
  geom_point( ) +
  scale_y_continuous( name = 'Marginal effects: RRPP vote share' ) +
  scale_x_discrete( labels = c( 'Left-of-centre' , 'Right-of-centre'  ) , name = '' )
```



Appendix: Tables and Figures

Table A2: The impact of RRPPs' vote shares on the positions of non-RRPPs on welfare - party demeaned values

```
ia = NULL
cntrls = c( 'v.max.er_l' , 'multic_pos_logit' , 'v_l' , 'g_l' )
mod1.dm <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 , demeaned = T )

cntrls = c( 'v.max.er_l' , 'multic_pos_logit' , 'v_l' , 'g_l' , 'unem.qog_l'
            , 'log.immig.pc_l' , 'log.gdp_l' , 'gini_disp_l' , 'icg_rile' )
mod2.dm <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 , demeaned = T  )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'
mod3.dm <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 , demeaned = T  )

stargazer::stargazer( mod1.dm$lm , mod2.dm$lm , mod3.dm$lm
                      , se = list( mod1.dm$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
                                   , mod2.dm$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
                                   , mod3.dm$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ])
                      , add.lines = list( c( 'SE clustering' ,  s , s , s ))
                      , omit = c( 'factor' )
                      , header = FALSE
                      , font.size = 'footnotesize'
                      , align = T
                      , omit.stat = c( 'f' , 'ser' ))
```

	Dependent variable:		
	sps_logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
v.max.er_l	−0.047***	−0.043**	−0.062***
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.018)
multic_pos_logit	0.120***	0.118***	0.112***
	(0.044)	(0.041)	(0.041)
v_l	−0.034**	−0.032**	−0.030**
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)
g_l	0.380***	0.356***	0.345***
	(0.115)	(0.127)	(0.127)
unem.qog_l		0.074***	0.073***
		(0.028)	(0.028)
log.immig.pc_l		−0.010	−0.007
		(0.167)	(0.169)
log.gdp_l		−0.068	−0.073
		(0.248)	(0.250)
gini_disp_l		−0.038	−0.036
		(0.065)	(0.065)
icg_rile		1.017***	1.014***
		(0.211)	(0.212)
right_wing_rile_wgt1			0.000
			(0.090)
v.max.er_l:right_wing_rile_wgt1			0.050**
			(0.022)
Constant	−0.000	0.000	−0.000
	(0.072)	(0.063)	(0.066)
SE clustering	√	√	√
Observations	670	670	670
R^2	0.039	0.152	0.158
Adjusted R^2	0.033	0.141	0.143
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A3: Robustness – Model specifications

```
# Two-way SE
c2 = 'party'
ia = NULL
mod1.twse <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'
mod2.twse <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

# with LDV
ds.act.ldv <- ds %>%
  select( sps_logit , sps_logit_l
          , v.max.er_l
          , multic_pos_logit
          , v , v_l , g_l
          , unem.qog_l , log.immig.pc_l , log.gdp_l , gini_disp_l
          , icg_rile
          , right_wing_rile_wgt
          , edate , iso2c , party , parfam ) %>%
  na.omit( )

c2 = NULL
fe = 'party'
ia = NULL
cntrls = c( 'v.max.er_l' , 'multic_pos_logit' , 'v_l' , 'g_l' , 'unem.qog_l'
            , 'log.immig.pc_l' , 'log.gdp_l' , 'gini_disp_l' , 'icg_rile'
            , 'sps_logit_l' )
mod1.ldv <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.ldv , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'
mod2.ldv <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.ldv , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

# after 1990
ds.act.1990 <- ds.act %>% filter( edate > '1990-01-01' )

ia = NULL
cntrls = c( 'v.max.er_l' , 'multic_pos_logit' , 'v_l' , 'g_l' , 'unem.qog_l'
            , 'log.immig.pc_l' , 'log.gdp_l' , 'gini_disp_l' , 'icg_rile' )
mod1.1990 <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.1990 , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'
mod2.1990 <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.1990 , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

stargazer::stargazer(
  mod1.twse$lm , mod2.twse$lm
  , mod1.ldv$lm , mod2.ldv$lm
  , mod1.1990$lm , mod2.1990$lm
  , se = list( mod1.twse$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ] , mod2.twse$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod1.ldv$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ] , mod2.ldv$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod1.1990$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ] , mod2.1990$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ])
  , add.lines = list( c( 'Party fixed effects' , s , s , s , s , s , s  )
                      , c( '2-way SE clustering' , s , s , '' , '' , '' , ''  )
```

```
                      , c( 'Election SE clustering' , ' ' , ' ' , s , s , s , s  ))
  , omit = c( 'factor' )
  , header = FALSE
  , font.size = 'footnotesize'
  , align = T
  , omit.stat = c( 'f' , 'ser' )
  , float.env = 'sidewaystable' )
```

To obtain results as reported in models 5 and 6 of table A3, please run the following code in Stata:

```
use "RRPs_Welf.dta"

xtset party eperiod

xtpcse sps_logit v_max_er_l multic_pos_logit v_l g_l ///
  unem_qog_l log_immig_pc_l log_gdp_l gini_disp_l icg_rile  ///
  i.party, correlation(ar1) hetonly

xtpcse sps_logit multic_pos_logit v_l g_l ///
  unem_qog_l log_immig_pc_l log_gdp_l gini_disp_l icg_rile  ///
  c.v_max_er_l##i.right_wing_rile_wgt ///
  i.party, correlation(ar1) hetonly
```

	Dependent variable:					
	sps_logit					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(7)	(8)
v.max.er_l	−0.043*	−0.062***	−0.043**	−0.063***	−0.039*	−0.061***
	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.021)
multic_pos_logit	0.118**	0.112**	0.108**	0.102**	0.103**	0.100**
	(0.053)	(0.052)	(0.046)	(0.045)	(0.049)	(0.049)
v_l	−0.032	−0.030	−0.028*	−0.027*	−0.015	−0.012
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.018)
g_l1	0.356*	0.345*	0.330**	0.321**	0.261	0.227
	(0.197)	(0.197)	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.166)	(0.165)
unem.qog_l	0.074**	0.073**	0.071**	0.070**	0.095***	0.093**
	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.037)
log.immig.pc_l	−0.010	−0.007	−0.005	−0.0004	0.086	0.086
	(0.189)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.192)	(0.232)	(0.233)
log.gdp_l	−0.068	−0.073	−0.016	−0.023	0.099	0.099
	(0.308)	(0.310)	(0.287)	(0.288)	(0.380)	(0.381)
gini_disp_l	−0.038	−0.036	−0.028	−0.027	−0.064	−0.058
	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.083)	(0.083)
icg_rile	1.017***	1.014***	1.022***	1.017***	1.030***	1.034***
	(0.268)	(0.270)	(0.241)	(0.242)	(0.288)	(0.288)
sps_logit_l			0.016	0.014		
			(0.060)	(0.060)		
right_wing_rile_wgt1						
v.max.er_l:right_wing_rile_wgt1		0.050**		0.050**		0.056**
		(0.020)		(0.025)		(0.027)
Constant	−1.631	−1.594	−2.514	−2.441	−3.328	−3.424
	(2.879)	(2.895)	(2.788)	(2.788)	(3.460)	(3.475)
Party fixed effects	√	√	√	√	√	√
2-way SE clustering	√	√				
Election SE clustering			√	√	√	√
Observations	670	670	636	636	571	571
R^2	0.628	0.630	0.630	0.632	0.646	0.648
Adjusted R^2	0.509	0.511	0.520	0.522	0.517	0.519
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A4: Robustness - DV: per504 and per505 + Figure A1: Marginal Effects Plot (Table A3)

```
dv = 'welfare_logit'
ia = NULL
mod1.wf <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.ldv , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'
mod2.wf <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.ldv , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

stargazer::stargazer(
  mod1.wf$lm , mod2.wf$lm
  , se = list( mod1.wf$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ] , mod2.wf$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ])
  , add.lines = list( c( 'Party fixed effects' , s , s , s )
                      , c( 'SE clustering' ,  s , s , s ))
  , omit.stat = c( "f", "ser")
  , omit = c( 'factor' )
  , header = FALSE
  , font.size = 'footnotesize'
  , align = T )
```

```
ia.ds <- ia.plot.df( mod2.wf$lm , 'v.max.er_l' , 'right_wing_rile_wgt'
                     , 'v.max.er_l:right_wing_rile_wgt1'
                    , 'binary' , mod2.wf$vcv , conf = .9 )

ia.ds %>%
  ggplot( aes( x = factor( x_2 ) , y = delta_1 , ymin = lower_bound , ymax = upper_bound )) +
  geom_errorbar( width = 0 ) +
  geom_point( ) +
  scale_y_continuous( name = 'Marginal effects: RRPP vote share' ) +
  scale_x_discrete( labels = c( 'Left-of-centre' , 'Right-of-centre'  ) , name = '' )
```

	Dependent variable:	
	welfare_logit	
	(1)	(2)
v.max.er_l	−0.051***	−0.065***
	(0.020)	(0.021)
multic_pos_logit	0.122**	0.118**
	(0.048)	(0.048)
v_l	−0.033**	−0.032**
	(0.016)	(0.016)
g_l1	0.338**	0.331**
	(0.148)	(0.147)
unem.qog_l	0.089***	0.088***
	(0.033)	(0.034)
log.immig.pc_l	0.039	0.041
	(0.194)	(0.195)
log.gdp_l	−0.087	−0.090
	(0.293)	(0.294)
gini_disp_l	−0.034	−0.033
	(0.078)	(0.078)
icg_rile	1.220***	1.217***
	(0.263)	(0.264)
right_wing_rile_wgt1		
v.max.er_l:right_wing_rile_wgt1		0.036
		(0.027)
Constant	−1.409	−1.383
	(2.985)	(2.987)
Party fixed effects	√	√
SE clustering	√	√
Observations	670	670
R^2	0.640	0.641
Adjusted R^2	0.525	0.526
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

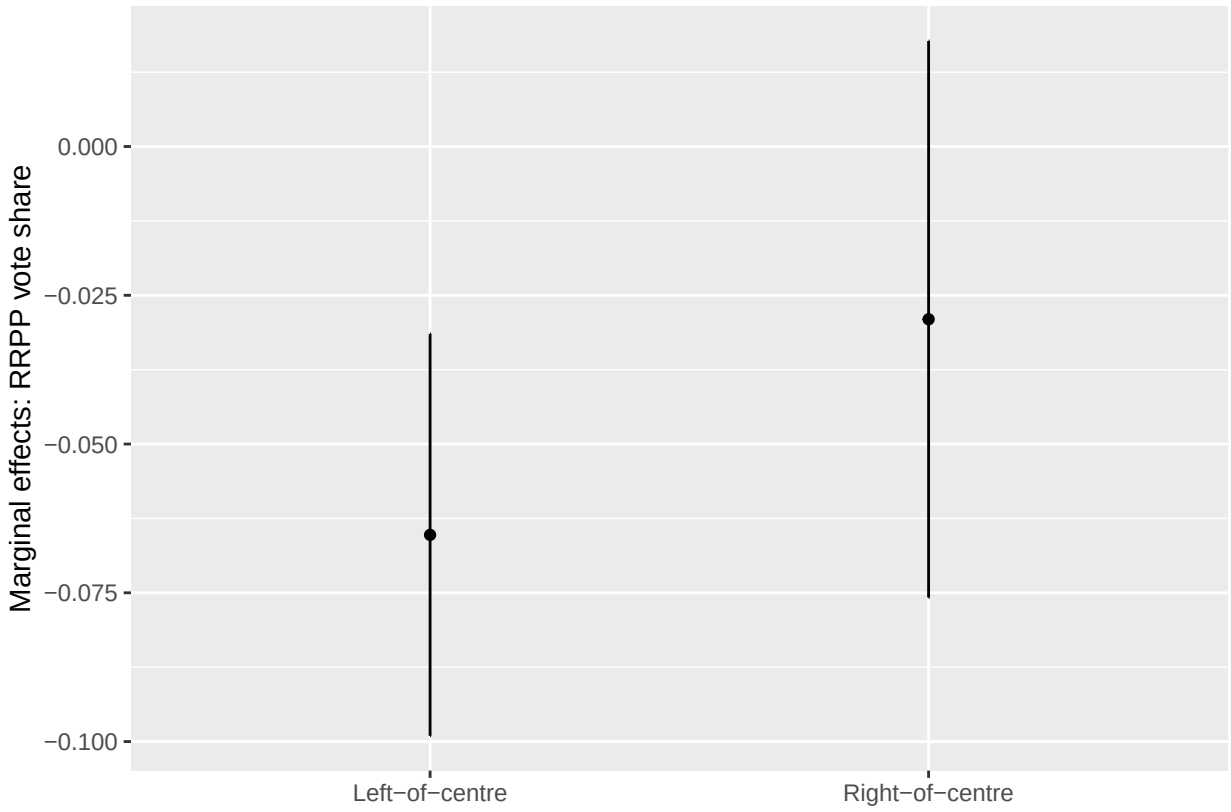

Marginal effects: RRPP vote share
0.000
−0.025
−0.050
−0.075
−0.100
Left−of−centre
Right−of−centre

Table A5: Robustness – Party Family Interaction (Reference Category: Liberals) + Figure A2: Marginal effects plot (Table A4)

```
dv = 'sps_logit'
ia = 'v.max.er_l * parfam'
mod1.pf <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.ldv , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

stargazer::stargazer(
  mod1.pf$lm
  , se = list( mod1.pf$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ])
  , add.lines = list( c( 'Party fixed effects' , s , s , s )
                      , c( 'SE clustering' ,  s , s , s ))
  , omit.stat = c( "f", "ser")
  , omit = c( 'factor' )
  , header = FALSE
  , font.size = 'footnotesize'
  , align = T )
```

```
pf.list <- c( '10' , '20' , '30' , '50' , '80' )
mod.ia.df <- tibble::tibble( x_2 = as.numeric( )
                             , delta_1 = as.numeric( )
                             , upper_bound = as.numeric( )
                             , lower_bound = as.numeric( ))
for( i in pf.list ){
  tmp <- ia.plot.df( model = mod1.pf$lm , effect = 'v.max.er_l'
                     , moderator = glue::glue('parfam{i}')
                     , interaction = glue::glue('v.max.er_l:parfam{i}')
                     , varcov = mod1.pf$vcv
                     , conf = .9
                     , minimum = 0
                     , maximum = 1
                     , incr = 1
                     , type = 'binary' )
  tmp[ 2 , 1 ] <- i
  tmp[ 1 , 1 ] <- '40'

  mod.ia.df <- rbind( mod.ia.df , tmp ) %>% as.data.frame( ) %>% unique( )
}

mod.ia.df %>%
  ggplot( aes( x = factor( x_2 ) , y = delta_1 , ymin = lower_bound , ymax = upper_bound )) +
  geom_errorbar( width = 0 ) +
  geom_point( ) +
  scale_y_continuous( name = 'Marginal effects: RRPP vote share' ) +
  scale_x_discrete( labels = c( 'Greens' , 'Radical Left'
                                , 'Social Democrats'
                                , 'Liberals'
                                , 'Conservatives/\nChristian Dem.'
                                , 'Agrarian' ) , name = 'Party Families' )
```

	Dependent variable:
	sps_logit
v.max.er_l	0.008
	(0.030)
multic_pos_logit	0.110**
	(0.048)
v_l	−0.035**
	(0.015)
g_l1	0.367**
	(0.148)
unem.qog_l	0.078**
	(0.032)
log.immig.pc_l	0.003
	(0.192)
log.gdp_l	−0.074
	(0.286)
gini_disp_l	−0.043
	(0.075)
icg_rile	0.989***
	(0.243)
parfam10	
parfam20	
parfam30	
parfam50	
parfam80	
v.max.er_l:parfam10	−0.037
	(0.036)
v.max.er_l:parfam20	−0.104**
	(0.049)
v.max.er_l:parfam30	−0.094***
	(0.030)
v.max.er_l:parfam50	−0.038
	(0.030)
v.max.er_l:parfam80	−0.054
	(0.071)
Constant	−1.525
	(2.826)
Party fixed effects	√
SE clustering	√
Observations	670
R^2	0.633
Adjusted R^2	0.510
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

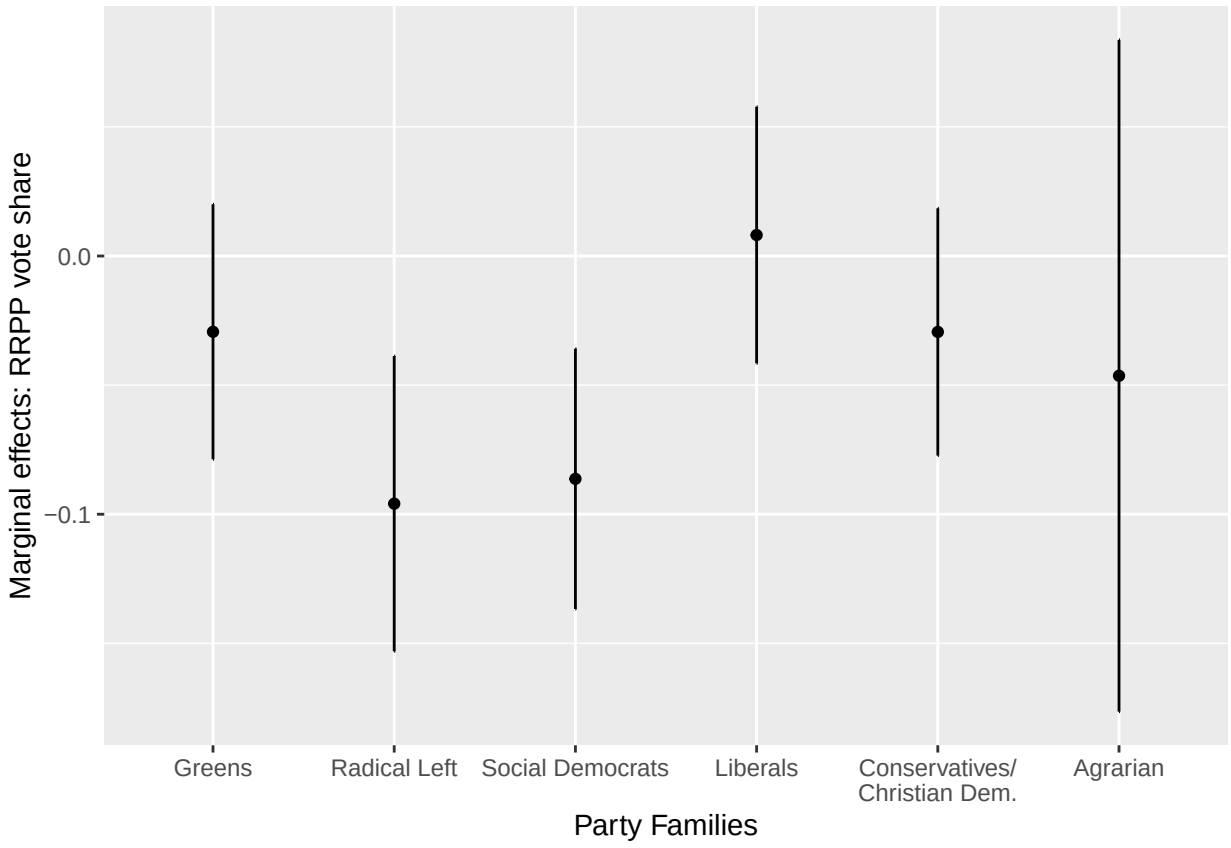

Marginal effects: RRPP vote share
0.0
−0.1
Greens
Radical Left
Social Democrats
Liberals
Conservatives/
Christian Dem.
Agrarian
Party Families

Figure A3: Jackknife analysis – Countries

```
jk.ds <- tibble::tibble( iso2c = as.character( )
                         , type = as.character( )
                         , coef = as.numeric( )
                         , se = as.numeric( ))

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'

for( i in unique( ds.act$iso2c )){
  tmp <- ds.act %>% filter( iso2c != i ) %>% as.data.frame( )
  mod <- tw.cl.lm( tmp , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )
  base.res <- mod$tw.se[ 2 , ]
  ia.res <- mod$tw.se[ nrow( mod$tw.se ) , ]
  rw1 <- cbind( iso2c = i , type = 'RRPP Vote'
                , coef = base.res[ 1 ] , se = base.res[ 2 ])
  rw2 <- cbind( iso2c = i , type = 'RRPP Vote * Right-of-centre'
                ,  coef = ia.res[ 1 ] , se = ia.res[ 2 ])
  jk.ds %<>% rbind( rw1 ) %>% rbind( rw2 )
}

jk.ds %>%
  mutate_at( vars( coef , se ) , funs( as.numeric( as.character( . )))) %>%
  ggplot( aes( y = iso2c , x = coef
               , xmin = coef - 1.645 * se
               , xmax = coef + 1.645 * se )) +
  geom_point( ) +
  geom_errorbarh( height = 0 ) +
  facet_wrap( ~ type , scales = 'free_x' , nrow = 1 ) +
  scale_y_discrete( name = 'Country' ) +
  scale_x_continuous( name = 'Coefficient' , limits = c( -.12 , .12 ) )
```

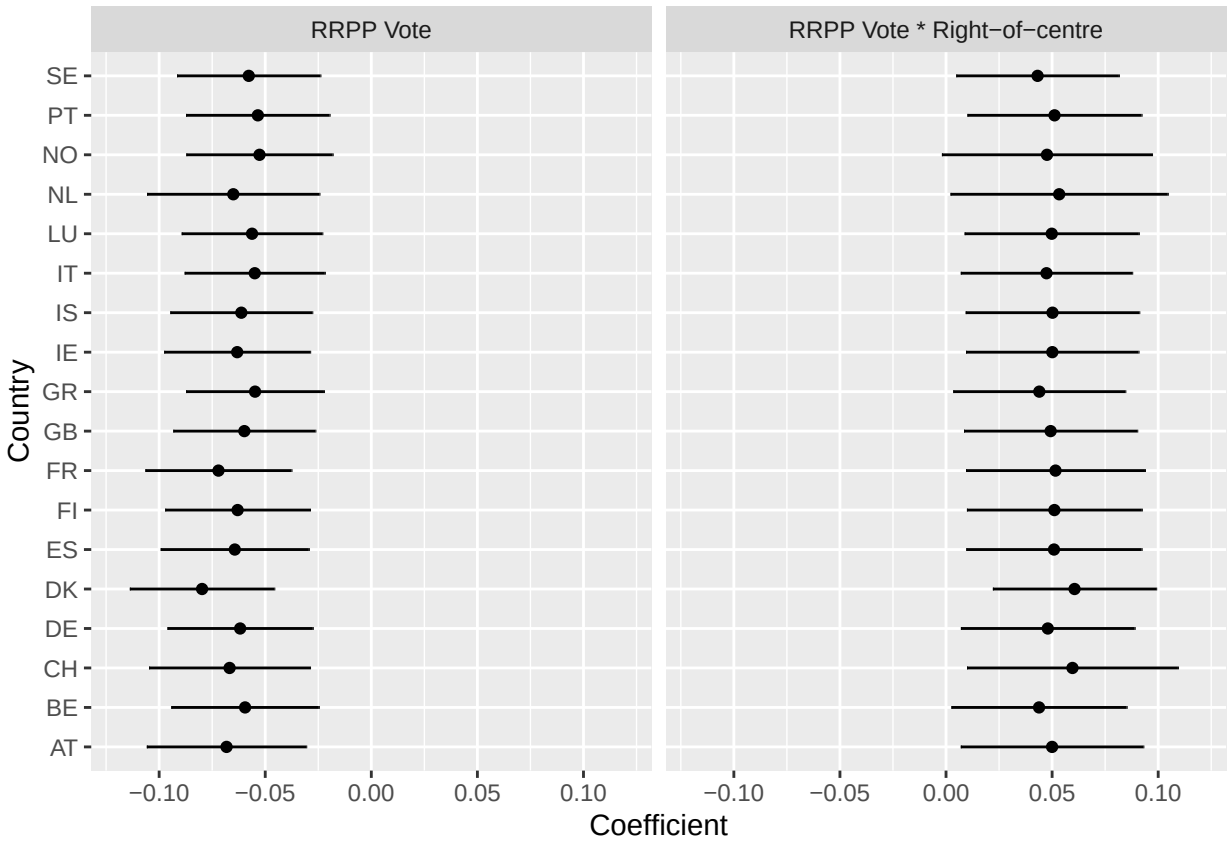

RRPP Vote
RRPP Vote * Right−of−centre
Country
SE
PT
NO
NL
LU
IT
IS
IE
GR
GB
FR
FI
ES
DK
DE
CH
BE
AT
−0.10
−0.05
0.00
0.05
0.10
Coefficient

Figure A4: Jackknife analysis - Party Families

```
jk.ds <- tibble::tibble( iso2c = as.character( )
                         , type = as.character( )
                         , coef = as.numeric( )
                         , se = as.numeric( ))

for( i in unique( ds.act$parfam ) ){
  tmp <- ds.act %>% filter( parfam != i )
  mod <- tw.cl.lm( tmp , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )
  base.res <- mod$tw.se[ 2 , ]
  ia.res <- mod$tw.se[ nrow( mod$tw.se ) , ]
  rw1 <- cbind( parfam = i , type = 'RRPP Vote'
                , coef = base.res[ 1 ] , se = base.res[ 2 ] )
  rw2 <- cbind( parfam = i , type = 'RRPP Vote * Right-of-centre'
                ,  coef = ia.res[ 1 ] , se = ia.res[ 2 ])
  jk.ds %<>% rbind( rw1 ) %>% rbind( rw2 )
}

jk.ds %<>%
  as.data.frame( ) %>%
  mutate( parfam = as.character( parfam )
          , parfam = ifelse( parfam == '80' , 'Agrarians' , parfam )
          , parfam = ifelse( parfam == '50' , 'Conserv./Christ. Dem.' , parfam )
          , parfam = ifelse( parfam == '40' , 'Liberals' , parfam )
          , parfam = ifelse( parfam == '30' , 'Social Democrats' , parfam )
          , parfam = ifelse( parfam == '20' , 'Radical Left' , parfam )
          , parfam = ifelse( parfam == '10' , 'Greens' , parfam ))

jk.ds %>%
  mutate_at( vars( coef , se ) , funs( as.numeric( as.character( . )))) %>%
  ggplot( aes( y = parfam , x = coef
               , xmin = coef - 1.645 * se , xmax = coef + 1.645 * se)) +
  geom_point( ) +
  geom_errorbarh( height = 0 ) +
  facet_wrap( ~ type , scales = 'free_y' , nrow = 1 ) +
  scale_y_discrete( name = 'Party Family' ) +
  scale_x_continuous( name = 'Coefficient' )
```

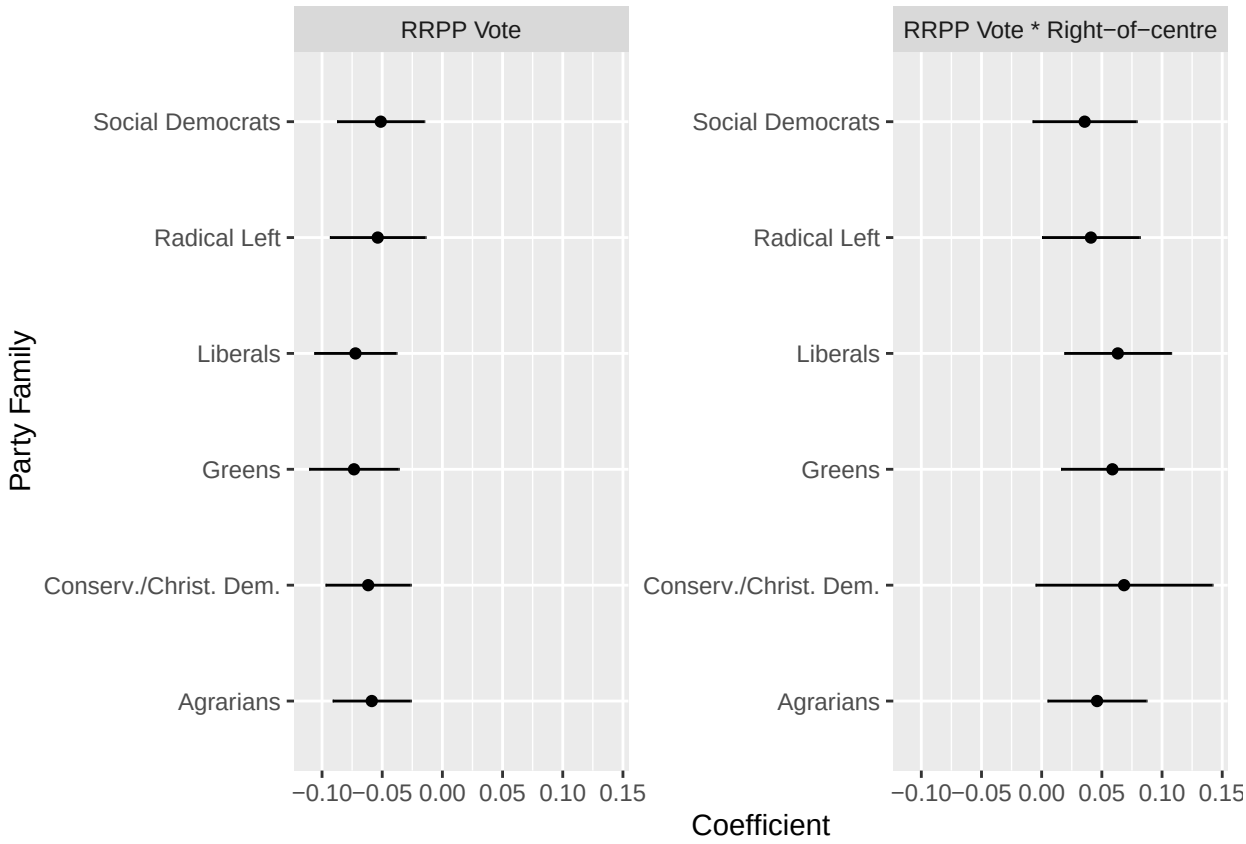

RRPP Vote
RRPP Vote * Right−of−centre
Social Democrats
Radical Left
Liberals
Greens
Conserv./Christ. Dem.
Agrarians
Party Family
−0.10
−0.05
0.00
0.05
0.10
0.15
Coefficient

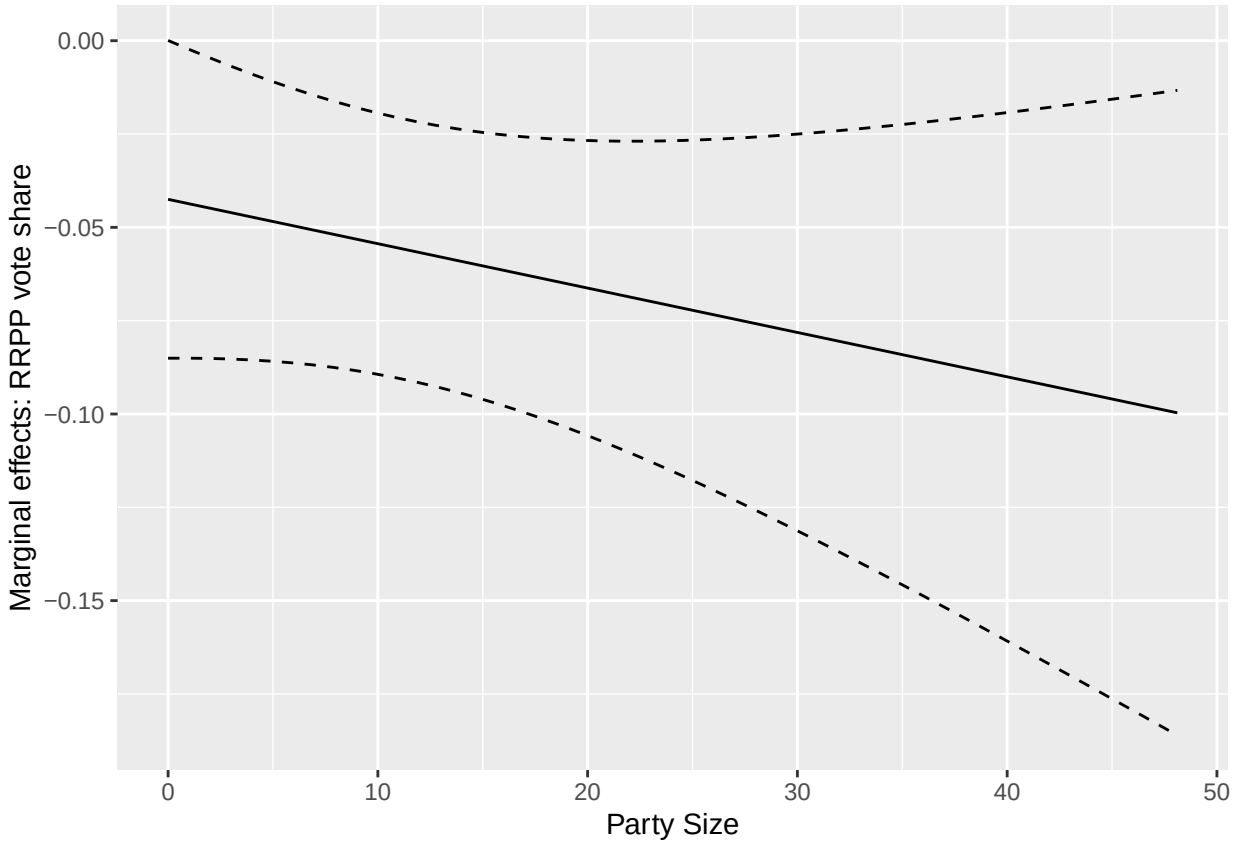
Table A6: Robustness – France and United Kingdom excluded

```
ds.act.fruk <- ds.act %>% filter( iso2c != 'GB' & iso2c != 'FR' )
ia = NULL
mod1.fruk <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.fruk , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2  )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * right_wing_rile_wgt'
mod2.fruk <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act.fruk , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2  )

stargazer::stargazer(
  mod1.fruk$lm , mod2.fruk$lm
  , se = list( mod1.fruk$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ] , mod2.fruk$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ])
  , add.lines = list( c( 'Party fixed effects' , s , s , s )
                      , c( 'SE clustering' ,  s , s , s ))
  , omit.stat = c( "f", "ser")
  , omit = c( 'factor' )
  , header = FALSE
  , font.size = 'footnotesize'
  , align = T )
```

	Dependent variable:	
	sps_logit	
	(1)	(2)
v.max.er_l	−0.050**	−0.070***
	(0.020)	(0.021)
multic_pos_logit	0.118**	0.111**
	(0.050)	(0.049)
v_l	−0.040***	−0.037**
	(0.015)	(0.015)
g_l1	0.406**	0.396**
	(0.160)	(0.159)
unem.qog_l	0.079**	0.076**
	(0.032)	(0.033)
log.immig.pc_l	0.047	0.048
	(0.195)	(0.196)
log.gdp_l	−0.084	−0.093
	(0.297)	(0.298)
gini_disp_l	−0.048	−0.042
	(0.081)	(0.082)
icg_rile	0.965***	0.969***
	(0.249)	(0.249)
right_wing_rile_wgt1		
v.max.er_l:right_wing_rile_wgt1		0.051**
		(0.026)
Constant	−1.324	−1.310
	(2.885)	(2.897)
Party fixed effects	√	√
SE clustering	√	√
Observations	610	610
R^2	0.634	0.637
Adjusted R^2	0.523	0.525
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table A7: Alternative Conditional Effects + Figure A5: Marginal Effects Plot (Table A7; Model 4)

```
ia = 'v.max.er_l * v_l'

mod1.v_ch <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2  )
mod2.v_ch <- tw.cl.lm( filter( ds.act , right_wing_rile_wgt == '0' )
                       , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )
mod3.v_ch <- tw.cl.lm( filter( ds.act , right_wing_rile_wgt == '1' )
                       , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * g_l'

mod1.g <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )
mod2.g <- tw.cl.lm( filter( ds.act , right_wing_rile_wgt == '0' )
                       , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )
mod3.g <- tw.cl.lm( filter( ds.act , right_wing_rile_wgt == '1' )
                       , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

ia = 'v.max.er_l * challenger'
mod1.chl <- tw.cl.lm( ds.act , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )
mod2.chl <- tw.cl.lm( filter( ds.act , right_wing_rile_wgt == '0' )
                             , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )
mod3.chl <- tw.cl.lm( filter( ds.act , right_wing_rile_wgt == '1' )
                             , dv , cntrls , ia , fe , c1 , c2 )

stargazer::stargazer(
  mod1.v_ch$lm , mod1.g$lm , mod1.chl$lm
  , mod2.v_ch$lm , mod2.g$lm , mod2.chl$lm
  , mod3.v_ch$lm , mod3.g$lm , mod3.chl$lm
  , se = list( mod1.v_ch$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod1.g$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod1.chl$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod2.v_ch$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod2.g$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod2.chl$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod3.v_ch$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod3.g$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               , mod3.chl$tw.se[ , 'Std. Error' ]
               )
  , add.lines = list( c( 'Party fixed effects' , s , s , s , s , s , s , s , s , s )
                      , c( 'SE clustering' ,  s , s , s , s , s , s , s , s , s ))
  , omit.stat = c( "f", "ser")
  , omit = c( 'factor' )
  , header = FALSE
  , font.size = 'footnotesize'
  , align = T
  , float.env = 'sidewaystable'
  , column.sep.width = '-.5em'
  )
```

	Dependent variable:								
	sps_logit								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
v.max.er_l	−0.025	−0.037*	−0.034	−0.042	−0.047**	−0.057**	0.001	−0.024	−0.009
	(0.026)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.043)	(0.037)	(0.032)
multic_pos_logit	0.116**	0.118**	0.115**	0.164***	0.165***	0.171***	0.033	0.028	0.031
	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.046)	(0.058)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.070)
v_l	−0.029*	−0.034**	−0.028*	−0.011	−0.019	−0.013	−0.031	−0.032	−0.027
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
g_l1	0.354**	0.438**	0.354**	0.209	0.415*	0.181	0.312	0.225	0.295
	(0.146)	(0.189)	(0.150)	(0.195)	(0.226)	(0.198)	(0.269)	(0.358)	(0.271)
unem.qog_l	0.075**	0.074**	0.078**	0.019	0.020	0.018	0.137***	0.142***	0.151***
	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.046)
log.immig.pc_l	−0.014	−0.012	0.009	−0.026	−0.007	−0.033	−0.033	0.0001	0.095
	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.194)	(0.185)	(0.188)	(0.186)	(0.279)	(0.280)	(0.307)
log.gdp_l	−0.065	−0.063	−0.089	−0.097	−0.099	−0.103	0.051	0.036	−0.002
	(0.284)	(0.282)	(0.285)	(0.290)	(0.291)	(0.290)	(0.372)	(0.374)	(0.383)
gini_disp_l	−0.039	−0.040	−0.036	−0.116	−0.116	−0.115	0.035	0.030	0.033
	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.075)	(0.071)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.109)	(0.108)	(0.108)
icg_rile	1.020***	1.020***	1.001***	1.019***	1.021***	1.030***	1.041***	1.024***	1.016***
	(0.242)	(0.242)	(0.245)	(0.249)	(0.247)	(0.253)	(0.387)	(0.382)	(0.382)
v.max.er_l:v_l	−0.001			−0.001			−0.001		
	(0.001)			(0.001)			(0.002)		
v.max.er_l:g_l1		−0.015			−0.032			0.015	
		(0.018)			(0.025)			(0.041)	
challenger			0.264			−0.178			0.798
			(0.357)			(0.381)			(0.806)
v.max.er_l:challenger			−0.028			−0.006			−0.042
			(0.030)			(0.033)			(0.055)
Constant	−1.664	−1.649	−1.771	0.853	0.874	1.124	−5.451	−5.223	−5.206
	(2.812)	(2.789)	(2.883)	(2.620)	(2.617)	(2.698)	(3.732)	(3.733)	(3.809)
Party fixed effects	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
SE clustering	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Observations	670	670	670	387	387	387	283	283	283
R^2	0.628	0.628	0.628	0.636	0.637	0.636	0.513	0.513	0.516
Adjusted R^2	0.509	0.508	0.508	0.505	0.507	0.503	0.352	0.352	0.353
Note:									*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

```
mod2.ds <- ia.plot.df( mod2.v_ch$lm , 'v.max.er_l' , 'v_l' , 'v.max.er_l:v_l' , 'continuous'
                       , mod2.v_ch$vcv , conf = .9 )

mod2.ds %>%
  ggplot( aes( x = x_2 )) +
  geom_line( aes( y = delta_1 ) ) +
  geom_line( aes( y =  upper_bound) , linetype = 2 ) +
  geom_line( aes( y =  lower_bound ) , linetype = 2 ) +
  scale_y_continuous( name = 'Marginal effects: RRPP vote share' ) +
  scale_x_continuous( name = 'Party Size' )
```