Master File: All Stata and R Scripts

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Overvie of this file

This file contains most of the code and data needed to replicate results in Gonzalez-Rostani (2024) "Elections, Right-wing Populism, and Political-Economic Polarization: The Role of Institutions and Political Outsiders." The structure of the file is based on each one of the files (scripts, do-files, rmd) that can be found in the folder `do`. All of the replication instructions assume that you set the working directory to the same folder as the `Master.rmd` or 'Master.pdf" files.

How this file is organized?

- Each section refers to a code file.
- At the beginning the inputs, and outputs are explained.
- Subsections are used to refer to the number/title of the Figure or Table generated.
- This directory contains all the code used in the analysis. The files are categorized based on their relevance to different sections of the study:
  - Files starting with `1_` correspond to analyses related to the **Vote-switching across Institutions** section.
  - Files starting with `2_` pertain to the **Messaging and Targeting Strategies: Candidate Rhetoric and Party Platforms** section, specifically focusing on **Majoritarian Systems** (e.g., US analyses).
  - Files starting with `3_` also relate to the **Messaging and Targeting Strategies** section but focus on **PRITM Systems**.
  - Files starting with `4_` contain code for **Figures that provide context and additional details** but do not directly reflect results.

NOTE: This code does not include files jupyter notebooks:

- `2_0_Speech_US_dictionaries.ipynb`
- `2_3_Speech_US_Germany_Appendix_NMF.ipynb`

Refer to these files directly in the `do` folder.

If you prefer to see each file individually go to the folder `do`.

Motivation Figures [4_1_Figures_ISSP.do]

This do-file:

- Creates Figure 1, 2 and A3 using data from ISSP.

Input:

- `Data\Figures_ISSP.dta`

Output:

- Figure 1: Relative Share of Labor Force 1995 to 2014 [`Figures\Relative Share of Labor Force 1998 to 2014 ISSP.pdf`]
- Figure 2: Electoral consequences, Routine and Non-Routine Voters [`Figure/price_by_mpg.pdf`]
- Figure A3: Importance of job security, Difficulties to find a new job, Concerns about losing the job and Job dissatisfaction [`Figure/jobdisatisfactionpredictedtogetherall.pdf`]

```
*****************************************
* Load  data
*****************************************

use "Data\Figures_ISSP.dta", clear
```

Figure 1: Relative Share of Labor Force 1995 to 2014

```
*******************************************************************************
* Graphs
*******************************************************************************
* Graph style for F1 & 2
{
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, box
grstyle color background white
grstyle color major_grid gs8
grstyle linepattern major_grid dot
}
// Figure 1: Relative Share of Labor Force 1995 to 2014
{
    * Generating summary statistics with three task categories:
    * Task 1, Task 2, and Task 33 following Autor (2003) and coded by Kurer and Gallego (2019)

    * Preserve the current dataset in memory so it can be restored later
    preserve

    * Collapse the data to calculate the mean of task1, task2, and task33 weighted by 'weight' for each
    collapse task1 task2 task33 [aw=weight], by(year)
```

```
    * Keep only the observations where the year is greater than 1997 to look post automation shock
    keep if year > 1997

    * Create a line graph for the task categories over time
    * The first line represents Non-Routine Cognitive tasks (green line)
 graph twoway line  task1 year if year>1997, lc(green) legend(label(1 "Non-Routine Cognitive")) || ///
  line  task2 year if year>1997, lc(red) legend(label(2 "Routine")) || ///
    line  task33 year if year>1997, lc(blue) legend(label(3 "Non-Routine Manual"))


    * Export the graph as a PDF file with the specified name, replacing any existing file
    graph export "Figure\RelativeShareofLaborForce1998to2014ISSP.pdf", as(pdf) replace

    * Restore the original dataset that was in memory before the collapse
    restore
}
```

```
(3 observations deleted)
file Figure\RelativeShareofLaborForce1998to2014ISSP.pdf saved as PDF format
```

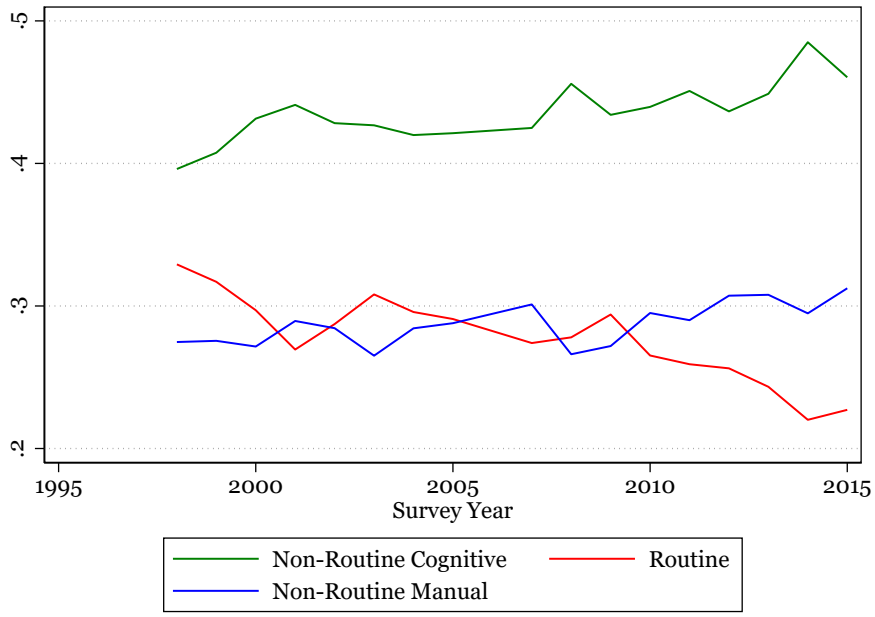

Figure 1: Figure 1: Relative Share of Labor Force 1995 to 2014

Figure 2: Electoral consequences, Routine and Non-Routine Voters

```
// Figure 2: Electoral consequences, Routine and Non-Routine Voters
{
* Here I look at the share of votes by party family, and instead of using the three categories of risks
// Radical right (graph commented)
```

```
{
* Label the variable 'radicalR' to represent "Votes for Right Populist (%)"
lab var radicalR "Votes for Right Populist (%)"

* Preserve the current dataset in memory so it can be restored later
preserve

* Generate a new variable 'task2and3' initialized to 1 if 'task2' equals 1
gen task2and3 = 1 if task2 == 1

* Replace 'task2and3' with 1 if 'task33' equals 1 (combining task2 and task33)
replace task2and3 = 1 if task33 == 1

* Replace 'task2and3' with 0 if 'task1' equals 1 (Non-Routine Cognitive tasks)
replace task2and3 = 0 if task1 == 1

* Keep only observations where 'emplB' is less than 6 (likely filtering by employment status or categor
keep if emplB < 6

* Collapse the data to calculate the mean of 'radicalR' weighted by 'weight' for each year, task1, and
collapse radicalR [aw=weight], by(year task1 task2and3)

* Create a line graph for 'radicalR' over time, segmented by task categories
graph twoway line  radicalR year if task1==1, lc(green) legend(label(1 "Non-Routine Cognitive"))  || //
  line  radicalR year if task2and3==1, lc(red) legend(label(2 "Routine & Manual")) ytitle("Votes for Ri

* Save the graph as "RR.gph" in the "Figure" directory, replacing any existing file with the same name
graph save "Figure/RR.gph", replace

* Restore the original dataset that was in memory before the modifications
restore
}
// Maintream left
{
 preserve

gen task2and3=1 if task2==1
replace task2and3=1 if task33==1
replace task2and3=0 if task1==1

keep if emplB<6
collapse mainstreamleft [aw=weight], by(year task1 task2and3)

graph twoway line  mainstreamleft year if task1==1, lc(green)   legend(label(1 "Non-Routine Cognitive"))
  line  mainstreamleft year if task2and3==1, lc(red) legend(label(2 "Routine & Manual"))  ytitle("Votes
graph save "Figure/ML.gph", replace

restore
}
// Mainstream right
{
 preserve
```

```
gen task2and3=1 if task2==1
replace task2and3=1 if task33==1
replace task2and3=0 if task1==1

keep if emplB<6
collapse mainstreamright [aw=weight], by(year task1 task2and3)

graph twoway line  mainstreamright year if task1==1, lc(green)  legend(label(1 "Non-Routine Cognitive"))
  line  mainstreamright year if task2and3==1, lc(red) legend(label(2 "Routine & Manual"))  ytitle("Votes
graph save "Figure/MR.gph", replace

restore
}
// Non Voters
{
 preserve

gen task2and3=1 if task2==1
replace task2and3=1 if task33==1
replace task2and3=0 if task1==1

keep if emplB<6
collapse nonvoters [aw=weight], by(year task1 task2and3)

graph twoway line  nonvoters year if task1==1, lc(green)  legend(label(1 "Non-Routine Cognitive"))  || /
  line  nonvoters year if task2and3==1, lc(red) legend(label(2 "Routine & Manual"))   ytitle("Non-Voters
graph save "Figure/Nv.gph", replace

restore
}
 * Combine multiple graphs into a single figure
graph combine "Figure/ML.gph" "Figure/MR.gph" "Figure/RR.gph" "Figure/Nv.gph"
* Export the combined graph as a PDF file named "price_by_mpg.pdf" in the "Figure" directory
graph export "Figure/price_by_mpg.pdf", as(pdf) replace

* Erase (delete) the individual graph files from the "Figure" directory after combining them
erase "Figure/ML.gph"
erase "Figure/MR.gph"
erase "Figure/RR.gph"
erase "Figure/Nv.gph"



}
```

```
(162,633 missing values generated)
(43,947 real changes made)
(71,529 real changes made)
(17,803 observations deleted)
(file Figure/RR.gph not found)
file Figure/RR.gph saved
(162,633 missing values generated)
(43,947 real changes made)
```

```
(71,529 real changes made)
(17,803 observations deleted)
(file Figure/ML.gph not found)
file Figure/ML.gph saved
(162,633 missing values generated)
(43,947 real changes made)
(71,529 real changes made)
(17,803 observations deleted)
(file Figure/MR.gph not found)
file Figure/MR.gph saved
(162,633 missing values generated)
(43,947 real changes made)
(71,529 real changes made)
(17,803 observations deleted)
(file Figure/Nv.gph not found)
file Figure/Nv.gph saved
file Figure/price_by_mpg.pdf saved as PDF format
```

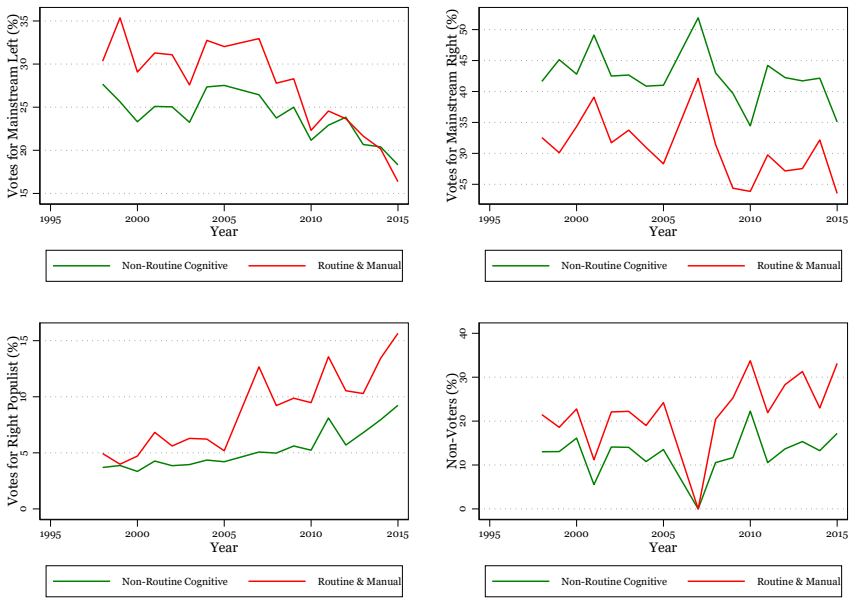

Figure 2: Figure 2: Electoral consequences, Routine and Non-Routine Voters

Vote-switching across Institutions

US [1_1_Switching_US.do]

- This do-file:
  - Processing of the data
    - Call the Data
    - Define variables
    - Save the data

  - Load preapred data **line 794**
  - Analysis and Descriptives: Export Tables & Figure

Input: GSS data - `Data\Switching\GSS7218_R3.dta`

Final output:

- Cleaned data:
  - `Data\GSS.dta` this data contains the relevant variables for the analysis.
- Tables:
  - table A3: Switching Vote, IV - RTI, US [`Table\USlong_2.tex`]
  - table A5: Switching Vote (alternative definition), IV - RTI [`Table\USStrict_2.tex`]
  - table A6: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), US [`Table\USdummy_2.tex`]
  - table A1: Descriptive statistic: USA GSS 2016 vs 2012 [`Table/summarystats_US.tex`]
- Figure:
  - Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching. [US Part] [`Figure\US.gph`]

First, you will find the code to prepare the data (hidden in the pdf).

Loading the data.

```
*****************************************
* Alternatively load prepared data
*****************************************

use "Data\GSS.dta", clear
lab var  switching2_broad "Switching broad"
lab var  switching_estrict "Switching strict"
```

Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching. [US Part]

```
// Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching. [US Part]
{
// Graph style
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, nogrid
grstyle color background white


logit  switching_estrict  rti female age  foreign   rincome offshwalt2  relskillspec t2 t3 i.region  [pw

margins, atmeans at(rti=(-1.52(0.1)2.24))
}
```

```
marginsplot , recast(line) recastci(rline) ci1opts(fintensity(50) lpattern(dot)) xti(Risk of automation
// Export the same plot to a PDF file
graph export "Figure\US.pdf", replace
```

```
Variables that uniquely identify margins: rti
file Figure\US.gph saved

file Figure\US.pdf saved as PDF format
```

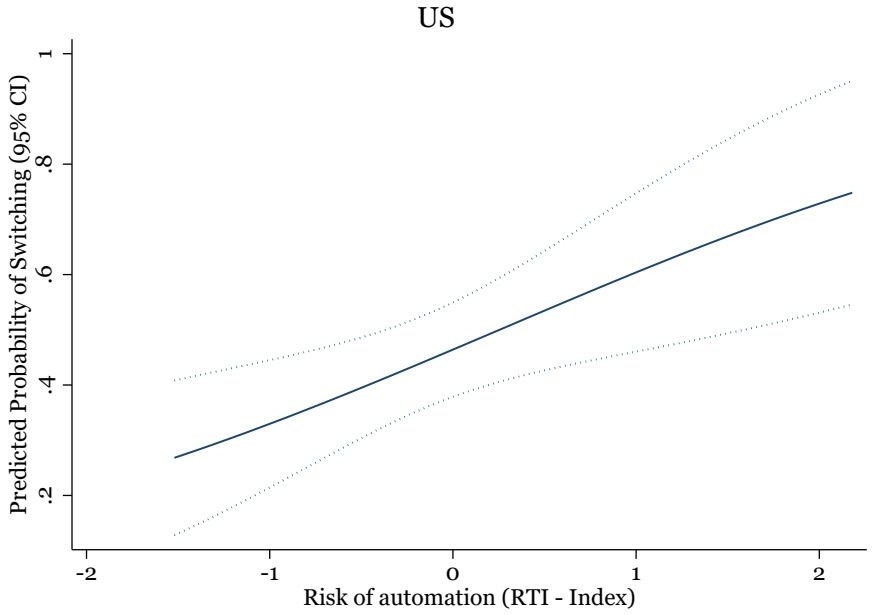

Figure 3: Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching - US part

Table A3: Switching Vote, IV - RTI, US

```
*##########################################
* Analysis
*##########################################
// table A3: Switching Vote, IV - RTI, US

eststo clear
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome  [pw=wtssnr] if year==2018,
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2  i.region [pw=wts
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec  i.
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec t2

esttab , replace label se title(Switching Vote, IV - RTI \label {tab:rtilong})mti("+Demographic" "+Offs
```

```
(est1 stored)

(est2 stored)

(est3 stored)
```

```
(est4 stored)


Switching Vote, IV - RTI \label {tab:rtilong}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                +Demogr~c    +Offsho~g       +Skill          All
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Switching broad
RTI                 0.243*       0.376**      0.371**      0.396**
                   (0.125)      (0.146)      (0.146)      (0.171)
Female              -0.453       -0.475       -0.448       -0.632**
                   (0.292)      (0.292)      (0.293)      (0.299)
Age                 0.040***     0.046***     0.046***     0.042***
                   (0.009)      (0.009)      (0.009)      (0.009)
Foreign born        -1.982***    -1.898***    -1.873***    -1.925***
                   (0.564)      (0.581)      (0.578)      (0.657)
Education           -0.047       -0.026       -0.025       -0.045
                   (0.054)      (0.059)      (0.059)      (0.061)
Offshorability                   -0.586**     -0.588**     -0.638*
                                (0.295)      (0.295)      (0.341)
Skill-Specific~y                               0.023        0.039
                                              (0.031)      (0.035)
Task-Tech                                                  -0.220
                                                           (0.410)
Task-Inter                                                  0.105
                                                           (0.427)
Unemployed                                                 -0.865
                                                           (0.900)
Black                                                      -3.767***
                                                           (1.070)
Non-Believer                                               -2.021***
                                                           (0.510)
Income                  Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
Regional contr~s         No          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations            704          704          704          704
R$^2 p$               0.100        0.158        0.159        0.268
AIC                 583.652      565.677      567.117      509.700
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\USlong_2.tex", replace label se title(Switching Vote, IV - RTI, US \label {tab:rtil
```

```
(output written to Table\USlong_2.tex)
```

Table A5: Switching Vote (alternative definition), IV - RTI

```
// table A5: Switching Vote (alternative definition), IV - RTI
{
```

Table A3: Switching Vote, IV - RTI, US

	(1) +Demographic	(2) +Offshoring	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Switching broad				
RTI	0.243*	0.376**	0.371**	0.396**
	(0.125)	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.171)
Female	-0.453	-0.475	-0.448	-0.632**
	(0.292)	(0.292)	(0.293)	(0.299)
Age	0.040***	0.046***	0.046***	0.042***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Foreign born	-1.982***	-1.898***	-1.873***	-1.925***
	(0.564)	(0.581)	(0.578)	(0.657)
Education	-0.047	-0.026	-0.025	-0.045
	(0.054)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.061)
Offshorability		-0.586**	-0.588**	-0.638*
		(0.295)	(0.295)	(0.341)
Skill-Specificity			0.023	0.039
			(0.031)	(0.035)
Task-Tech				-0.220
				(0.410)
Task-Inter				0.105
				(0.427)
Unemployed				-0.865
				(0.900)
Black				-3.767***
				(1.070)
Non-Believer				-2.021***
				(0.510)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	704	704	704	704
R^2p	0.100	0.158	0.159	0.268
AIC	583.652	565.677	567.117	509.700

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
eststo clear
eststo: qui logit switching_estrict rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome  i.region [pw=wtssnr] if y
eststo: qui logit switching_estrict rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2  i.region [pw=w
eststo: qui logit switching_estrict rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec  i
eststo: qui logit switching_estrict rti  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec t2

esttab , replace label se title(Switching Vote (alternative definition), IV - RTI \label {tab:rtilongst



}
```

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Switching Vote (alternative definition), IV - RTI \label {tab:rtilongstrict}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                +Demogr~c    +Offsho~g       +Skill          All
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Switching strict
RTI                 0.339*       0.388*       0.419*       0.821***
                   (0.198)      (0.211)      (0.218)      (0.259)
Female             -0.910**     -0.961**     -1.027***    -1.111**
                   (0.375)      (0.381)      (0.394)      (0.486)
Age                 0.038***     0.042***     0.042***     0.025
                   (0.013)      (0.013)      (0.013)      (0.016)
Foreign born       -2.445***    -2.377***    -2.421***    -2.132**
                   (0.654)      (0.701)      (0.704)      (0.900)
Education          -0.259***    -0.241***    -0.242***    -0.233***
                   (0.074)      (0.078)      (0.079)      (0.081)
Offshorability                  -0.559       -0.568       -1.154**
                                (0.396)      (0.397)      (0.578)
Skill-Specific~y                             -0.037       -0.050
                                             (0.038)      (0.045)
Task-Tech                                                  0.007
                                                          (0.642)
Task-Inter                                                -0.407
                                                          (0.698)
Unemployed                                                -0.575
                                                          (0.909)
Black                                                     -5.275***
                                                          (1.404)
Non-Believer                                              -2.122***
                                                          (0.590)
Income                  Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
Regional contr~s        Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations            236          236          236          236
R$^2 p$               0.264        0.272        0.274        0.475
AIC                 283.080      282.530      283.818      228.620
```

```
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\USStrict_2.tex", replace label se title(Switching Vote (alternative definition), IV
```

```
(output written to Table\USStrict_2.tex)
```

Table A5: Switching Vote (alternative definition), IV - RTI, US

	(1) +Demographic	(2) +Offshoring	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Switching strict				
RTI	0.339*	0.388*	0.419*	0.821***
	(0.198)	(0.211)	(0.218)	(0.259)
Female	-0.910**	-0.961**	-1.027***	-1.111**
	(0.375)	(0.381)	(0.394)	(0.486)
Age	0.038***	0.042***	0.042***	0.025
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.016)
Foreign born	-2.445***	-2.377***	-2.421***	-2.132**
	(0.654)	(0.701)	(0.704)	(0.900)
Education	-0.259***	-0.241***	-0.242***	-0.233***
	(0.074)	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.081)
Offshorability		-0.559	-0.568	-1.154**
		(0.396)	(0.397)	(0.578)
Skill-Specificity			-0.037	-0.050
			(0.038)	(0.045)
Task-Tech				0.007
				(0.642)
Task-Inter				-0.407
				(0.698)
Unemployed				-0.575
				(0.909)
Black				-5.275***
				(1.404)
Non-Believer				-2.122***
				(0.590)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	236	236	236	236
R^2p	0.264	0.272	0.274	0.475
AIC	283.080	282.530	283.818	228.620

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A6: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), US

```
// table A6: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), US
{
eststo clear
```

```
// Routine Dummy
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign educ i.rincome  i.region [pw=wts
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2  i.reg
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2 relski

eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign educ i.rincome offshwalt2 relski

esttab , replace label se title(Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy) \label {tab:task3cog2and3})mti("+D



}
```

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy) \label {tab:task3cog2and3}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                +Demogr~c    +Offsho~g       +Skill          All
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Switching broad
Routine             0.950***     0.900***     0.865***     0.873***
                   (0.308)      (0.306)      (0.310)      (0.329)
Female              -0.364       -0.373       -0.359       -0.577**
                   (0.273)      (0.275)      (0.276)      (0.291)
Age                 0.045***     0.046***     0.048***     0.042***
                   (0.009)      (0.008)      (0.009)      (0.009)
Foreign born        -1.592***    -1.562***    -1.528***    -1.590***
                   (0.508)      (0.503)      (0.505)      (0.559)
Education            0.021        0.022        0.020        0.013
                   (0.055)      (0.055)      (0.055)      (0.058)
Offshorability                   -0.305       -0.326       -0.516
                                (0.261)      (0.269)      (0.335)
Skill-Specific~y                              0.016        0.044
                                             (0.033)      (0.036)
Task-Tech                                                 -0.482
                                                         (0.403)
Task-Inter                                                -0.299
                                                         (0.396)
Unemployed                                                -1.111
                                                         (0.956)
Black                                                     -3.861***
                                                         (1.077)
Non-Believer                                              -2.095***
                                                         (0.509)
Income                  Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
Regional contr~s        Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations            770          770          767          767
R$^2 p$               0.150        0.153        0.155        0.264
```

```
AIC                 613.107      613.307      610.766      547.849
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\USdummy_2.tex", replace label se title(Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), US \lab
```

```
(output written to Table\USdummy_2.tex)
```

Table A6: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), US

	(1) +Demographic	(2) +Offshoring	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Switching broad				
Routine	0.950***	0.900***	0.865***	0.873***
	(0.308)	(0.306)	(0.310)	(0.329)
Female	-0.364	-0.373	-0.359	-0.577**
	(0.273)	(0.275)	(0.276)	(0.291)
Age	0.045***	0.046***	0.048***	0.042***
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Foreign born	-1.592***	-1.562***	-1.528***	-1.590***
	(0.508)	(0.503)	(0.505)	(0.559)
Education	0.021	0.022	0.020	0.013
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.058)
Offshorability		-0.305	-0.326	-0.516
		(0.261)	(0.269)	(0.335)
Skill-Specificity			0.016	0.044
			(0.033)	(0.036)
Task-Tech				-0.482
				(0.403)
Task-Inter				-0.299
				(0.396)
Unemployed				-1.111
				(0.956)
Black				-3.861***
				(1.077)
Non-Believer				-2.095***
				(0.509)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	770	770	767	767
R^2p	0.150	0.153	0.155	0.264
AIC	613.107	613.307	610.766	547.849

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A1: Descriptive statistic: USA GSS 2016 vs 2012

```
*******************************************
* Descriptive
```

```
*****************************************

// table A1: Descriptive statistic: USA GSS 2016 vs 2012

eststo clear
qui estpost sum switching2_broad   rti age  female   foreign black unemployed nonrelig rincome  region

 *esttab ,  /// ,  ,
    cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.) fm
    nonumber label replace noobs varlabels(switching2_broad "Vote Switching" rti "RTI" age "Age" female

esttab using  "Table\summarystats_US.tex",  /// ,  ,
    cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.) fm
    nonumber label replace noobs varlabels(switching2_broad "Vote Switching" rti "RTI" age "Age" female
```

```
(output written to Table\summarystats_US.tex)
```

```
{
\def\sym#1{\ifmmode^{#1}\else\(^{#1}\)\fi}
\begin{tabular}{l*{1}{cccccc}}
\hline\hline
                    &        Mean&      Median&        S.D.&         Min.&         Max&        Obs.\\
\hline
Vote Switching      &        0.15&        0.00&        0.36&          0&          1&        1468\\
RTI                 &       -0.11&       -0.44&        0.98&         -2&          2&        2045\\
Age                 &       46.67&       45.00&       17.74&         18&         89&        2341\\
Female              &        0.54&        1.00&        0.50&          0&          1&        2348\\
Foreign born        &        0.14&        0.00&        0.34&          0&          1&        2347\\
Black               &        0.15&        0.00&        0.36&          0&          1&        2348\\
Unemployed          &        0.04&        0.00&        0.19&          0&          1&        2348\\
Non-Believer        &        0.24&        0.00&        0.43&          0&          1&        2348\\
Income Level        &       10.30&       12.00&        3.06&          1&         12&        1315\\
region of interview &        5.19&        5.00&        2.51&          1&          9&        2348\\
Offshorability      &        0.42&        0.00&        0.49&          0&          1&        2248\\
Skill-Specificity   &        4.12&        3.38&        3.32&          1&         25&        2243\\
Task-Tech           &        0.27&        0.00&        0.44&          0&          1&        2248\\
Task-Inte           &        0.38&        0.00&        0.49&          0&          1&        2248\\
\hline\hline
\end{tabular}
}
```

Germany [1_2_Switching_Germany.do]

- This do-file:
  - Processing of the data
    - Call the Data
    - Define variables
    - Save the data
  - Load prepared data **line 869**
  - Analysis and Descriptives: Export Tables & Figure

	Mean	Median	S.D.	Min.	Max	Obs.
Vote Switching	0.15	0.00	0.36	0	1	1468
RTI	-0.11	-0.44	0.98	-2	2	2045
Age	46.67	45.00	17.74	18	89	2341
Female	0.54	1.00	0.50	0	1	2348
Foreign born	0.14	0.00	0.34	0	1	2347
Black	0.15	0.00	0.36	0	1	2348
Unemployed	0.04	0.00	0.19	0	1	2348
Non-Believer	0.24	0.00	0.43	0	1	2348
Income Level	10.30	12.00	3.06	1	12	1315
region of interview	5.19	5.00	2.51	1	9	2348
Offshorability	0.42	0.00	0.49	0	1	2248
Skill-Specificity	4.12	3.38	3.32	1	25	2243
Task-Tech	0.27	0.00	0.44	0	1	2248
Task-Inte	0.38	0.00	0.49	0	1	2248

Table A1: Descriptive statistic: USA GSS 2016 vs 2012

- Input: GSS data
  - `Data\Switching\pgen.dta`
  - `Figure/US.gph` this will be used to merge with `German.gph` (i.e you should run first `1_1_Switching_US.do`)

Final output:

- Cleaned data:
  - `Data\SOEP.dta` this data contains the relevant variables for the analysis.
- Tables:
  - table A4: Switching Vote (Only left) - Germany, IV - RTI [`Table\SDU.tex`]
  - table A7: Switching Vote From Establishment Left and Right to Populist Right, IV - RTI, German [`Table\SOEPlong_2.tex`]
  - table A8: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), Germany [`Table\SOEPdummy_2.tex`]
  - table A9: Switching Vote (Only from the Right), IV - RTI [`Table\CDU.tex`]
- Figures:
- Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching. [German Part] [`Figure/Germany.gph`]
- Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching. [Merging gph US and German part] [`Figure/Graph_US_Germany.pdf`]

Loading the data.

```
*****************************************
* Alternatively load prepared data
*****************************************
```

```
use "Data\SOEP.dta", clear
```

Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching. [German Part]

```
// Graph style
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, nogrid
grstyle color background white

// Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching. [German part]
// Margins

logit  switching2   rti  female age  foreign   income offshwalt2      [pw=phrf] if year==2018

margins, atmeans at(rti=(-1.52(0.05)2.24))
```

```
     marginsplot , recast(line) recastci(rline) ci1opts(fintensity(50) lpattern(dot)) xti(Risk of autom


 graph combine "Figure/US.gph" "Figure/Germany.gph"
 graph export "Figure/Graph_US_Germany.pdf", as(pdf) replace
```

```
Variables that uniquely identify margins: rti
file Figure/Germany.gph saved


file Figure/Graph_US_Germany.pdf saved as PDF format
```

Table A4: Switching Vote (Only left) - Germany, IV - RTI

```
*******************************************
* Analysis
*******************************************
// table A4: Switching Vote (Only left) - Germany, IV - RTI
{
eststo clear
eststo: qui logit switching2 rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome   [pw=phrf]   if year==2018, robus
eststo: qui logit switching2 rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2  i.sampreg [pw=phrf]
eststo: qui logit switching2 rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec  i.sampreg
eststo: qui logit switching2 rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec t2 t3 i.sa

esttab, replace label se title(Switching Vote (Only left), IV - RTI \label {tab:left})mti("+Demographic

}
```

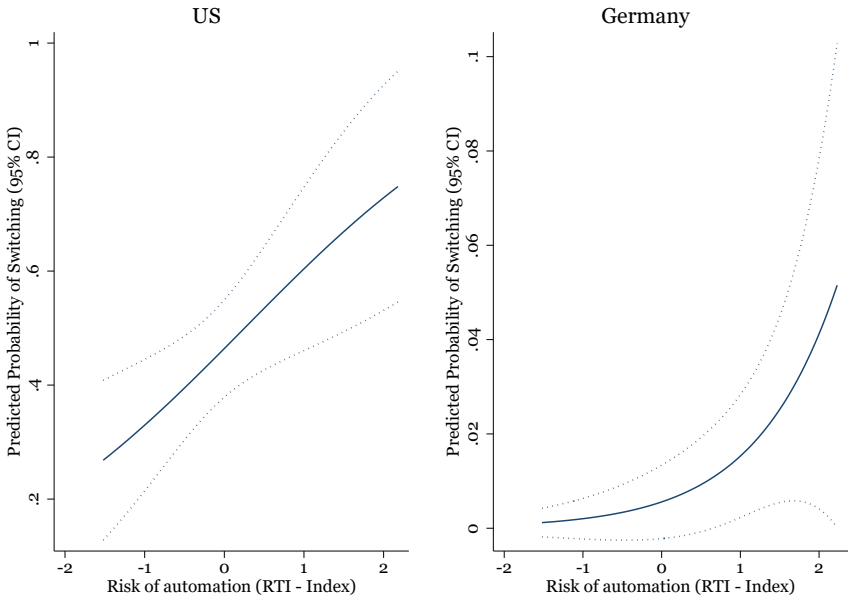

Figure 4: Figure 3: The effect of exposure to automation on vote-switching

(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Switching Vote (Only left), IV - RTI \label {tab:left}

	(1) +Demogr~c	(2) +Offsho~g	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Left to Pop Ri~t				
RTI Index	0.210	0.902***	0.981***	0.887***
	(0.197)	(0.323)	(0.317)	(0.248)
Female	-0.427	-0.501	-0.301	-0.168
	(0.949)	(0.887)	(0.876)	(0.837)
Age	-0.029	-0.037	-0.047	-0.046
	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.030)
High-Skilled	-1.402	-1.464	-1.470	-1.447
	(1.030)	(1.462)	(1.359)	(1.265)
Offshorability		-2.773**	-3.049***	-3.131***
		(1.201)	(0.948)	(1.004)
Skill-Specific~y			0.138**	0.129**
			(0.055)	(0.058)
Task-Tech				0.108
				(0.959)
Task-Inter				-0.664
				(1.195)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional contr~s	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

```
Observations          1070         1070         1070         1066
R$^2$                0.067        0.182        0.202        0.210
AIC                4.5e+05      4.0e+05      3.9e+05      3.8e+05
--------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\SDU.tex", replace label se title(Switching Vote (Only left), IV - RTI, Germany  \la
```

```
(output written to Table\SDU.tex)
```

Table A4: Switching Vote (Only left), IV - RTI, Germany

	(1) +Demographic	(2) +Offshoring	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Left to Pop Right				
RTI Index	0.210	0.902***	0.981***	0.887***
	(0.197)	(0.323)	(0.317)	(0.248)
Female	-0.427	-0.501	-0.301	-0.168
	(0.949)	(0.887)	(0.876)	(0.837)
Age	-0.029	-0.037	-0.047	-0.046
	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.030)
High-Skilled	-1.402	-1.464	-1.470	-1.447
	(1.030)	(1.462)	(1.359)	(1.265)
Offshorability		-2.773**	-3.049***	-3.131***
		(1.201)	(0.948)	(1.004)
Skill-Specificity			0.138**	0.129**
			(0.055)	(0.058)
Task-Tech				0.108
				(0.959)
Task-Inter				-0.664
				(1.195)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1070	1070	1070	1066
R^2	0.067	0.182	0.202	0.210
AIC	4.5e+05	4.0e+05	3.9e+05	3.8e+05

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A7: Switching Vote From Establishment Left and Right to Populist Right, IV - RTI, German

```
// table A7: Switching Vote From Establishment Left and Right to Populist Right, IV - RTI, German
{
eststo clear
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome    [pw=phrf] if year==2018
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2  i.sampreg [pw=pl
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec  i.
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad rti  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec t2
```

```
esttab, replace label se title(Switching Vote From Establishment Left and Right to Populist Right, IV -

}
```

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Switching Vote From Establishment Left and Right to Populist Right, IV - RTI, G
> ermany \label {tab:Table1rtilongswnarrow2}
--------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                +Demogr~c    +Offsho~g       +Skill          All
--------------------------------------------------------------------
Switching Vote
RTI Index            0.124        0.209*       0.207*       0.269*
                    (0.098)      (0.125)      (0.120)      (0.140)
Female             -1.260***    -1.212***    -1.272***    -1.365***
                    (0.227)      (0.226)      (0.237)      (0.257)
Age                  0.003       -0.000        0.001        0.001
                    (0.008)      (0.009)      (0.009)      (0.008)
Foreign born        -1.125**     -0.966*      -0.948*      -0.973*
                    (0.545)      (0.548)      (0.548)      (0.543)
High-Skilled        -0.715**     -0.695**     -0.727**     -0.734**
                    (0.328)      (0.327)      (0.325)      (0.317)
Offshorability                   -0.331       -0.278       -0.072
                                 (0.270)      (0.277)      (0.322)
Skill-Specific~y                              -0.050       -0.056
                                              (0.035)      (0.038)
Task-Tech                                                   0.176
                                                           (0.347)
Task-Inter                                                  0.603
                                                           (0.412)
Income                  Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
Regional contr~s         No          Yes          Yes          Yes
--------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations           7522         7522         7522         7510
R$^2$                 0.068        0.081        0.084        0.087
AIC                 5.7e+06      5.6e+06      5.6e+06      5.6e+06
--------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\SOEPlong_2.tex", replace label se title(Switching Vote From Establishment Left and
```

```
(output written to Table\SOEPlong_2.tex)
```

Table A7: Switching Vote From Establishment Left and Right to Populist Right, IV - RTI, Germany

	(1) +Demographic	(2) +Offshoring	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Switching Vote				
RTI Index	0.124	0.209*	0.207*	0.269*
	(0.098)	(0.125)	(0.120)	(0.140)
Female	-1.260***	-1.212***	-1.272***	-1.365***
	(0.227)	(0.226)	(0.237)	(0.257)
Age	0.003	-0.000	0.001	0.001
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Foreign born	-1.125**	-0.966*	-0.948*	-0.973*
	(0.545)	(0.548)	(0.548)	(0.543)
High-Skilled	-0.715**	-0.695**	-0.727**	-0.734**
	(0.328)	(0.327)	(0.325)	(0.317)
Offshorability		-0.331	-0.278	-0.072
		(0.270)	(0.277)	(0.322)
Skill-Specificity			-0.050	-0.056
			(0.035)	(0.038)
Task-Tech				0.176
				(0.347)
Task-Inter				0.603
				(0.412)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7522	7522	7522	7510
R^2	0.068	0.081	0.084	0.087
AIC	5.7e+06	5.6e+06	5.6e+06	5.6e+06

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A8: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), Germany

```
// table A6: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), US
{
eststo clear
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign high i.rincome   [pw=phrf] if yea

eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2  i.samp
eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2 relskil

eststo: qui logit switching2_broad task3cog2and3  female age   foreign high i.rincome offshwalt2 relskil

esttab  , replace label se title(Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), Germany \label {tab:Table1rtilong




}
```

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), Germany \label {tab:Table1rtilongswnarrow
> task3cog2and3}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)           (2)           (3)           (4)
                +Demogr~c     +Offsho~g        +Skill           All
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Switching Vote
Routine              0.472*        0.463*        0.525**       0.576**
                    (0.241)       (0.240)       (0.241)       (0.234)
Female              -1.122***     -1.086***     -1.145***     -1.258***
                    (0.236)       (0.235)       (0.244)       (0.260)
Age                  0.002         0.001         0.001         0.001
                    (0.008)       (0.008)       (0.008)       (0.008)
Foreign born        -0.817        -0.664        -0.652        -0.668
                    (0.504)       (0.504)       (0.504)       (0.499)
High-Skilled        -0.712**      -0.724**      -0.752**      -0.784**
                    (0.310)       (0.313)       (0.312)       (0.305)
Offshorability                    -0.083        -0.008         0.153
                                  (0.217)       (0.227)       (0.322)
Skill-Specific~y                                -0.055        -0.047
                                                (0.033)       (0.034)
Task-Tech                                                     -0.086
                                                              (0.303)
Task-Inter                                                     0.334
                                                              (0.383)
Income                   Yes           Yes           Yes           Yes
Regional contr~s          No           Yes           Yes           Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations           8386          8386          8346          8334
```

```
R$^2$                 0.067        0.077        0.080        0.082
AIC                 6.1e+06      6.1e+06      6.0e+06      6.0e+06
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
    esttab  using "Table\SOEPdummy_2.tex", replace label se title(Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy),
```

```
(output written to Table\SOEPdummy_2.tex)
```

Table A8: Switching Vote, IV - Routine (dummy), Germany

	(1) +Demographic	(2) +Offshoring	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Switching Vote				
Routine	0.472*	0.463*	0.525**	0.576**
	(0.241)	(0.240)	(0.241)	(0.234)
Female	-1.122***	-1.086***	-1.145***	-1.258***
	(0.236)	(0.235)	(0.244)	(0.260)
Age	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Foreign born	-0.817	-0.664	-0.652	-0.668
	(0.504)	(0.504)	(0.504)	(0.499)
High-Skilled	-0.712**	-0.724**	-0.752**	-0.784**
	(0.310)	(0.313)	(0.312)	(0.305)
Offshorability		-0.083	-0.008	0.153
		(0.217)	(0.227)	(0.322)
Skill-Specificity			-0.055	-0.047
			(0.033)	(0.034)
Task-Tech				-0.086
				(0.303)
Task-Inter				0.334
				(0.383)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	8386	8386	8346	8334
R^2	0.067	0.077	0.080	0.082
AIC	6.1e+06	6.1e+06	6.0e+06	6.0e+06

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A9: Switching Vote (Only from the Right), IV - RTI

```
// table A9: Switching Vote (Only from the Right), IV - RTI
eststo clear
    eststo: qui logit switching2_r rti  female age   foreign high  i.rincome offshwalt2  i.sampreg [pw=p
eststo: qui logit switching2_r rti  female age   foreign high  i.rincome offshwalt2  i.sampreg [pw=phrf]
eststo: qui logit switching2_r rti  female age   foreign high  i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec  i.samp
eststo: qui logit switching2_r rti  female age   foreign high  i.rincome offshwalt2 relskillspec t2 t3 i
```

```
esttab , replace label se title(PSwitching Vote (Only from the Right), IV - RTI \label {tab:CDU})mti("+
```

```
(est1 stored)

(est2 stored)

(est3 stored)

(est4 stored)
```

```
PSwitching Vote (Only from the Right), IV - RTI \label {tab:CDU}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                +Demogr~c    +Offsho~g       +Skill          All
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Right to AfD
RTI Index          -0.251       -0.251       -0.244       -0.113
                  (0.335)      (0.335)      (0.307)      (0.324)
Female             -1.781***    -1.781***    -1.854***    -2.097***
                  (0.650)      (0.650)      (0.654)      (0.688)
Age                -0.001       -0.001       -0.000        0.002
                  (0.029)      (0.029)      (0.029)      (0.030)
Foreign born        0.797        0.797        0.671        0.522
                  (1.051)      (1.051)      (1.072)      (1.093)
High-Skilled       -0.406       -0.406       -0.461       -0.713
                  (0.806)      (0.806)      (0.806)      (0.560)
Offshorability      1.140*       1.140*       1.241*       2.050**
                  (0.668)      (0.668)      (0.691)      (1.008)
Skill-Specific~y                             -0.113       -0.074
                                            (0.094)      (0.095)
Task-Tech                                                -0.217
                                                        (1.092)
Task-Inter                                                1.517
                                                        (1.203)
Income                 Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
Regional contr~s       Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations          1484         1484         1484         1478
R$^2$                0.171        0.171        0.179        0.208
AIC                7.3e+05      7.3e+05      7.3e+05      7.0e+05
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\CDU.tex", replace label se title(PSwitching Vote (Only from the Right), IV - RTI, G
```

```
(output written to Table\CDU.tex)
```

Table A9: PSwitching Vote (Only from the Right), IV - RTI, Germany

	(1) +Demographic	(2) +Offshoring	(3) +Skill	(4) All
Right to AfD				
RTI Index	-0.251	-0.251	-0.244	-0.113
	(0.335)	(0.335)	(0.307)	(0.324)
Female	-1.781***	-1.781***	-1.854***	-2.097***
	(0.650)	(0.650)	(0.654)	(0.688)
Age	-0.001	-0.001	-0.000	0.002
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.030)
Foreign born	0.797	0.797	0.671	0.522
	(1.051)	(1.051)	(1.072)	(1.093)
High-Skilled	-0.406	-0.406	-0.461	-0.713
	(0.806)	(0.806)	(0.806)	(0.560)
Offshorability	1.140*	1.140*	1.241*	2.050**
	(0.668)	(0.668)	(0.691)	(1.008)
Skill-Specificity			-0.113	-0.074
			(0.094)	(0.095)
Task-Tech				-0.217
				(1.092)
Task-Inter				1.517
				(1.203)
Income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regional controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1484	1484	1484	1478
R^2	0.171	0.171	0.179	0.208
AIC	7.3e+05	7.3e+05	7.3e+05	7.0e+05

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A2: Descriptive statistic: Germany SOEP 2014 vs 2018.

```
*##########################################
* Descriptive
*##########################################

// table A2: Descriptive statistic: Germany SOEP 2014 vs 2018.

eststo clear
qui estpost sum  switching2_broad   rti age income female  foreign unemployed high  offshwalt2 relskills


esttab using "Table\summarystats_Germany.tex" ,  /// ,  ,
    cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.) fm
    nonumber label replace noobs varlabels(distance_redist "Distance Redistribution" distance_div "Dist
```

```
(output written to Table\summarystats_Germany.tex)
```

```
{
\def\sym#1{\ifmmode^{#1}\else\(^{#1}\)\fi}
\begin{tabular}{l*{1}{cccccc}}
\hline\hline
                    &        Mean&      Median&        S.D.&         Min.&         Max&        Obs.\\
\hline
Switching Vote      &        0.03&        0.00&        0.16&           0&           1&       29235\\
RTI Index           &       -0.12&       -0.44&        0.93&          -2&           2&       10185\\
Age                 &       50.75&       51.00&       18.91&          17&         103&       29235\\
income              &     2715.32&     2500.00&     1879.23&          20&       40000&       13712\\
Female              &        0.51&        1.00&        0.50&           0&           1&       29235\\
Foreign born        &        0.12&        0.00&        0.33&           0&           1&       29235\\
Unemployed          &        0.04&        0.00&        0.20&           0&           1&       29207\\
High-Skilled        &        0.32&        0.00&        0.47&           0&           1&       29235\\
Offshorability      &        0.46&        0.00&        0.50&           0&           1&       11383\\
Skill-Specificity   &        4.23&        3.58&        3.26&           1&          25&       11333\\
Task-Tech           &        0.34&        0.00&        0.47&           0&           1&       11319\\
Task-Inter          &        0.37&        0.00&        0.48&           0&           1&       11319\\
Region (West 1 - East 2)&        1.17&        1.00&        0.38&           1&           2&       29235\
\hline\hline
\end{tabular}
}
```

Additional Context of Switching in Germany [1_3_Switching_Appendix_SpoonKluver.do]

This do-file:

- Creates Table A11 using data from the ESS.

Input:

- `Data\Appendix_ESS.dta`

	Mean	Median	S.D.	Min.	Max	Obs.
Switching Vote	0.03	0.00	0.16	0	1	29235
RTI Index	-0.12	-0.44	0.93	-2	2	10185
Age	50.75	51.00	18.91	17	103	29235
income	2715.32	2500.00	1879.23	20	40000	13712
Female	0.51	1.00	0.50	0	1	29235
Foreign born	0.12	0.00	0.33	0	1	29235
Unemployed	0.04	0.00	0.20	0	1	29207
High-Skilled	0.32	0.00	0.47	0	1	29235
Offshorability	0.46	0.00	0.50	0	1	11383
Skill-Specificity	4.23	3.58	3.26	1	25	11333
Task-Tech	0.34	0.00	0.47	0	1	11319
Task-Inter	0.37	0.00	0.48	0	1	11319
Region (West 1 - East 2)	1.17	1.00	0.38	1	2	29235

Table A2: Descriptive statistic: USA GSS 2016 vs 2012

Output:

- Table A11: Switching in Western European Countries from Mainstream Left to Outsider Radical Right parties 2002-2018 [`Table\ESS_switching.tex`]

Table A10: Switching in Germany from mainstream to non-mainstream parties 2002-2009

```
*##########################################
* Load data
*##########################################

use "Data\SpoonKluever_2019_EJPR_PartyConvergence.dta", clear


*******************************************************************************
* Preparing variables
*******************************************************************************

* Election years
gen year = 2002 in 1
replace year = 2005 in 2
replace year = 2009 in 3
replace year = 2013 in 4

* Initialize variables
gen SPD = .
gen Liberal = .
gen CDU = .
gen Total_Switching = .

* Election dates and party codes
```

```
local dates "22sep2002 18sep2005 27sep2009 22sep2013"
local SPD 41320
local Liberal 41420
local CDU 41521

* Loop over each date
local i = 1
foreach date of local dates {
    * Total Switching for the date
    quietly summarize switch_main if country == 41 & edate == date("`date'", "DMY")
    replace Total_Switching = r(mean) * 100 in `i'

    * SPD
    quietly summarize switch_main if country == 41 & edate == date("`date'", "DMY") & party_last == `SPD'
    replace SPD = r(mean) * 100 in `i'

    * Liberal
    quietly summarize switch_main if country == 41 & edate == date("`date'", "DMY") & party_last == `Liberal'
    replace Liberal = r(mean) * 100 in `i'

    * CDU
    quietly summarize switch_main if country == 41 & edate == date("`date'", "DMY") & party_last == `CDU'
    replace CDU = r(mean) * 100 in `i'

    local i = `i' + 1
}

* Format the variables to display one decimal place
format SPD Liberal CDU Total_Switching %4.1f

// table A10: Switching in Germany from mainstream to non-mainstream parties 2002-2009

* Use tabdisp to display the results in a tabular format
tabdisp year, c(SPD Liberal CDU Total_Switching)
```

```
(Spoon/Klüver (2019) EJPR: Party covergence and vote switching)

(14,633 missing values generated)

(1 real change made)

(1 real change made)

(1 real change made)

(14,634 missing values generated)

(14,634 missing values generated)

(14,634 missing values generated)

(14,634 missing values generated)
```

```
  3.     replace Total_Switching = r(mean) * 100 in `i'
  4.
  5.     replace SPD = r(mean) * 100 in `i'
  6.
  7.     replace Liberal = r(mean) * 100 in `i'
  8.
  9.     replace CDU = r(mean) * 100 in `i'
 10.
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
(1 real change made)
```

year	SPD	Liberal	CDU	Total_Switching
2002	10.6	12.0	1.5	7.1
2005	0.4	8.1	4.1	5.0
2009	1.9	9.1	0.9	3.8
2013	9.8	22.2	3.1	6.7
.				

Switching Cross-sectional based on ESS [1_4_Switching_Appendix_ESS.do]

```
*##########################################
* Load data
*##########################################
use "Data\Appendix_ESS.dta", clear
```

Table A11: Switching in Western European Countries from Mainstream Left to Outsider Radical Right parties 2002-2018

```
// table A11: Switching in Western European Countries from Mainstream Left to Outsider Radical Right pa
{
eststo clear  // Clear any previously stored estimates

// Estimate logistic regression for 'switching2' with various predictors, storing the results. First re
eststo:  logit switching2  meanprobfreyosborne  unemplindiv2 female agea mbtru2 rlgdgr    i.country2 i.
eststo:  logit switching2  rti   unemplindiv2  female agea mbtru2 rlgdgr     i.country2 i.year if west2=
eststo:  logit switching2  task3cog2and3   unemplindiv2  female agea mbtru2 rlgdgr i.country2 i.year  i

// Estimate logistic regression for 'switching2_leftboth' (switching from left parties to nationalist)
eststo:  logit switching2_leftboth  meanprobfreyosborne  unemplindiv2 female agea mbtru2 rlgdgr     i.c
eststo:  logit switching2_leftboth  rti  unemplindiv2   female agea  mbtru2 rlgdgr    i.country2 i.year
eststo:  logit switching2_leftboth  task3cog2and3  unemplindiv2    female agea mbtru2 rlgdgr     i.coun

// Generate an output table with specific variables, saving it in the current results



}
```

```
   esttab   ///
        , keep(meanprobfreyosborne task3cog2and3 rti) replace label se compress nogap star(* 0.1 ** 0.05
        b(%6.3f) scalars( "N Observations"  )   ///
        indicate("Demographics = *male*" "Socio-econ = *mbtru2*"   "Country FE = *country*" "Year FE = *
        noconstant nonotes nomtitles nodepvars

   esttab using "Table\ESS_switching.tex", ///
         keep(meanprobfreyosborne task3cog2and3 rti) replace label se compress nogap star(* 0.1 ** 0.05
        b(%6.3f) scalars( "N Observations"  )   ///
        indicate("Demographics = *male*" "Socio-econ = *mbtru2*"   "Country FE = *country*" "Year FE = *
        noconstant nonotes nomtitles nodepvars
```

```
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)          (5)
>          (6)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ---------------
main
>
Computerizatio~)     0.626***                                  0.850***
>
                  (0.077)                                   (0.226)
>
RTI                                0.044*                                    0.112*
>
                                 (0.024)                                   (0.063)
>
Routine                                           0.698***
>        0.833***
                                                (0.056)
```

```
>      (0.157)
Demographics     $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$
>    $\check~$
Socio-econ       $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$
>    $\check~$
Country FE       $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$
>    $\check~$
Year FE          $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$    $\check~$
>    $\check~$
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ---------------
Observations        148688       153158       174298       136250       151345
>       172359
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ---------------

(output written to Table\ESS_switching.tex)
```

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
main						
Computerization (F&O)	0.626***			0.850***		
	(0.077)			(0.226)		
RTI		0.044*			0.112*	
		(0.024)			(0.063)	
Routine			0.698***			0.833***
			(0.056)			(0.157)
Demographics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socio-econ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	148688	153158	174298	136250	151345	172359

```
{
\def\sym#1{\ifmmode^{#1}\else\(^{#1}\)\fi}
\begin{tabular}{l*{6}{c}}
\hline\hline
                &\multicolumn{1}{c}{(1)}         &\multicolumn{1}{c}{(2)}         &\multicolumn{1}{c}{(3
\hline
main            &                     &                     &                     &                     &
Computerization (F\&O)&    0.626\sym{***}&                     &                     &    0.850\sym{***}&
                &  (0.077)            &                     &                     &  (0.226)            &
RTI             &                     &    0.044\sym{*}     &                     &                     &    0.112\
                &                     &  (0.024)            &                     &                     &  (0.063)
Routine         &                     &                     &    0.698\sym{***}&                     &
                &                     &                     &  (0.056)            &                     &
Demographics    &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &
Socio-econ      &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &
Country FE      &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &
Year FE         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &$\checkmark$         &
\hline
Observations    &   148688            &   153158            &   174298            &   136250            &   151345
\hline\hline
\end{tabular}
}
```

Messaging and Targeting Strategies: Candidate Rhetoric and Party Platforms

Majoritarian Systems: Messaging and Targeting Strategies in the US

Topic Analysis [2_3_Speech_US_Germany_Appendix_NMF.ipynb]

This file:

- Creates inputs for Table A17: NMF Topic Modeling.
- First it does the NMF for the US, then for Germany.
- Once topic are created the proportion of each one of them is calculated.

Input:

- `Data/cleaned_data.csv` # Data for the US
- `Data/cleaned_data_G.csv` # Data for Germany

Output:

- Inputs for Table A17: NMF Topic Modeling, 4 clusters, top-10 terms.

Rallies [2_1_Rally_US.do]

This do-file:

- Creates table A13 using data collected for rallies, visits, and exposure to automation.

Input:

- `Data\Rally_Visits_MSA.dta`

Output:

- Table 1: Trump's Campaign Strategy (Close election 5) [`Table\Trump_high_close5.tex`]
- Table A13: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Close election 10) [`Table\Trump_high_close10.tex`]
- Table A14: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Forecasting 2016) [`Table\Trump_high_forec.tex`]
- Table A12: Summary statistics of variables used in this study about Trump's campaign strategies: rallies [`Table\US_rallies_descriptive.tex`]

```
*Calling the data
use "Data\Rally_Visits_MSA.dta", clear
```

```
// table 1: Trump's Campaign Strategy
{
gen interaction_pop5=high_pop_pop*close_election5
gen interaction2_pop5=high_pop_pop*close_election5
gen interaction3_pop5=high_pop_pop*anti_pop
gen interaction4_pop5=close_election5*anti_pop

lab var interaction_pop5 "Exposed x Close Elections"
lab var interaction2_pop5 "Exposed x Close Elections"
lab var interaction3_pop5 "Exposed x Hate Incidents"
lab var interaction4_pop5 "Hate Incidents x Close"
lab var close_election5 "Close Elections"


eststo clear

eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election5  anti_pop $statesID , cluster(state_num)
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election5   interaction2_pop5  anti_pop $statesID ,cluste
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election5   interaction3_pop5  anti_pop $statesID ,cluste
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election5  interaction2_pop5 interaction3_pop5 interacti

esttab , replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy \label {TableRallies})  mti("Simple" "Close"



}
```

Table 1: Trump's Campaign Strategy

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Trump's Campaing Strategy \label {TableRallies}
--------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                   Simple        Close         Hate          All
--------------------------------------------------------------------
Workers Expose~n     0.194***     0.177**      0.169**      0.155**
                    (0.071)      (0.070)      (0.065)      (0.066)
Close Elections      0.005*       0.001        0.007**      0.002
                    (0.003)      (0.005)      (0.003)      (0.005)
Hate Incidents~p    -0.052*      -0.051*       0.015        0.015
                    (0.029)      (0.029)      (0.031)      (0.035)
Exposed x Clos~s                  0.344***                  0.331***
                                 (0.071)                   (0.091)
Exposed x Hate~s                              -0.259       -0.249
                                              (0.156)      (0.164)
Hate Incidents~e                                           -0.033
                                                           (0.031)
FE State               Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
--------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
Observations            381          381          381          381
R$^2$                 0.661        0.674        0.681        0.689
AIC                -2.2e+03     -2.2e+03     -2.2e+03     -2.3e+03
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\Trump_high_close5.tex", replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy \label {Ta
```

```
(output written to Table\Trump_high_close5.tex)
```

Table 1: Trump's Campaing Strategy

	(1) Simple	(2) Close	(3) Hate	(4) All
Workers Exposed to Automation	0.194***	0.177**	0.169**	0.155**
	(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.065)	(0.066)
Close Elections	0.005*	0.001	0.007**	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Hate Incidents Per 100K Pop	-0.052*	-0.051*	0.015	0.015
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.035)
Exposed x Close Elections		0.344***		0.331***
		(0.071)		(0.091)
Exposed x Hate Incidents			-0.259	-0.249
			(0.156)	(0.164)
Hate Incidents x Close				-0.033
				(0.031)
FE State	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	381	381	381	381
R^2	0.661	0.674	0.681	0.689
AIC	-2.2e+03	-2.2e+03	-2.2e+03	-2.3e+03

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
// table A13: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Close election 10)
{
gen interaction_pop=high_pop_pop*close_election
gen interaction2_pop=high_pop_pop*close_election
gen interaction3_pop=high_pop_pop*anti_pop
gen interaction4_pop=close_election*anti_pop


lab var interaction_pop "Exposed x Close Elections"
lab var interaction2_pop "Exposed x Close Elections"
lab var interaction3_pop "Exposed x Hate Incidents"
lab var interaction4_pop "Hate Incidents x Close"


eststo clear
```

```
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election  anti_pop $statesID , cluster(state_num)
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election interaction2_pop  anti_pop $statesID ,cluster(s
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election   interaction3_pop  anti_pop $statesID ,cluster
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop close_election  interaction2_pop interaction3_pop interaction4

esttab , replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy \label {TableRallies})  mti("Simple" "Close"



}
```

Table A13: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Close election 10)

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Trump's Campaing Strategy \label {TableRallies}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                   Simple        Close         Hate          All
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Workers Expose~n     0.191***     0.052*       0.167***     0.062
                    (0.067)      (0.029)      (0.062)      (0.039)
Close Elections      0.016**      0.006        0.015**      0.006
                    (0.006)      (0.004)      (0.006)      (0.004)
Hate Incidents~p    -0.048*      -0.040        0.016       -0.023
                    (0.028)      (0.026)      (0.030)      (0.050)
Exposed x Clos~s                  0.301***                  0.238***
                                 (0.077)                   (0.088)
Exposed x Hate~s                              -0.249       -0.075
                                              (0.156)      (0.185)
Hate Incidents~e                                           0.016
                                                           (0.038)
FE State                Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations            381          381          381          381
R$^2$                  0.671        0.727        0.689        0.731
AIC                -2.2e+03     -2.3e+03     -2.3e+03     -2.3e+03
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\Trump_high_close10.tex", replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy (Close el
```

```
(output written to Table\Trump_high_close10.tex)
```

Table A6: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Close election 10)

	(1) Simple	(2) Close	(3) Hate	(4) All
Workers Exposed to Automation	0.191***	0.052*	0.167***	0.062
	(0.067)	(0.029)	(0.062)	(0.039)
Close Elections	0.016**	0.006	0.015**	0.006
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Hate Incidents Per 100K Pop	-0.048*	-0.040	0.016	-0.023
	(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.050)
Exposed x Close Elections		0.301***		0.238***
		(0.077)		(0.088)
Exposed x Hate Incidents			-0.249	-0.075
			(0.156)	(0.185)
Hate Incidents x Close				0.016
				(0.038)
FE State	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	381	381	381	381
R^2	0.671	0.727	0.689	0.731
AIC	-2.2e+03	-2.3e+03	-2.3e+03	-2.3e+03

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
//table A14: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Forecasting 2016)
{
gen interaction_pop_f=high_pop_pop*forescasting2
gen interaction2_pop_f=high_pop_pop*forescasting2
gen interaction3_pop_f=high_pop_pop*anti_pop
gen interaction4_pop_f=forescasting2*anti_pop

lab var interaction_pop_f "Exposed x Close Elections"
lab var interaction2_pop_f "Exposed x Close Elections"
lab var interaction3_pop_f "Exposed x Hate Incidents"
lab var interaction4_pop_f "Hate Incidents x Close"
lab var forescasting2 "Close Elections"

eststo clear

eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop forescasting2  anti_pop $statesID , cluster(state_num)
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop forescasting2 interaction2_pop_f  anti_pop $statesID ,cluster(s
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop forescasting2   interaction3_pop_f  anti_pop $statesID ,cluste
eststo: qui reg rallies_pop high_pop_pop forescasting2  interaction2_pop_f interaction3_pop_f interacti

esttab , replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy \label {TableRallies})  mti("Simple" "Close"


}
```

Table A14: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Forecasting 2016)

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
```

```
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Trump's Campaing Strategy \label {TableRallies}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                   Simple        Close         Hate          All
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Workers Expose~n     0.192***     0.162**      0.168**      0.140**
                    (0.071)      (0.065)      (0.065)      (0.061)
Close Elections     -0.019***    -0.025***    -0.019***    -0.025***
                    (0.006)      (0.006)      (0.005)      (0.006)
Hate Incidents~p    -0.051*      -0.049*       0.015        0.017
                    (0.030)      (0.029)      (0.031)      (0.035)
Exposed x Clos~s                  0.315***                  0.353***
                                 (0.055)                   (0.080)
Exposed x Hate~s                              -0.256       -0.252
                                              (0.156)      (0.165)
Hate Incidents~e                                           -0.043
                                                           (0.034)
FE State                Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations            381          381          381          381
R$^2$                  0.662        0.678        0.681        0.694
AIC                -2.2e+03     -2.2e+03     -2.2e+03     -2.3e+03
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\Trump_high_forec.tex", replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy (Forecastin
```

```
(output written to Table\Trump_high_forec.tex)
```

```
////////////////////////////////////
* Descriptives
////////////////////////////////////

lab var rallies "\# Rallies per MSA"
lab var visited "Visit MSA (dummy)"

lab var rallies_pop "\# Rallies relative to population"
lab var visits_pop "Visit (dummy) relative to population"

lab var close_election5 "Close election 2012 (5\%)"
lab var forescasting2 "Close election - Forecasting 2016"

lab var close_election "Close election 2012 (10\%)"
lab var anti "\# Hate incident per MSA"
lab var high_pop_pop "Workers Exposed to Automation (relative to pop.)"
lab var high "Workers Exposed to Automation (relative to MSA)"
lab var high_pop "\# Workers Exposed to Automation per MSA"
```

Table A14: Trump's Campaing Strategy (Forecasting 2016)

	(1) Simple	(2) Close	(3) Hate	(4) All
Workers Exposed to Automation	0.192***	0.162**	0.168**	0.140**
	(0.071)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.061)
Close Elections	-0.019***	-0.025***	-0.019***	-0.025***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Hate Incidents Per 100K Pop	-0.051*	-0.049*	0.015	0.017
	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.035)
Exposed x Close Elections		0.315***		0.353***
		(0.055)		(0.080)
Exposed x Hate Incidents			-0.256	-0.252
			(0.156)	(0.165)
Hate Incidents x Close				-0.043
				(0.034)
FE State	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	381	381	381	381
R^2	0.662	0.678	0.681	0.694
AIC	-2.2e+03	-2.2e+03	-2.2e+03	-2.3e+03

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
// table A12: Summary statistics of variables used in this study about Trump's campaign strategies: ral

eststo clear

qui estpost sum rallies rallies_pop visited visits_pop high_pop high high_pop_pop  anti anti_pop close_
esttab , ///
    cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.) fm
    nonumber label replace noobs

esttab using "Table\US_rallies_descriptive.tex", ///
    cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.) fm
    nonumber label replace noobs
```

Table A12: Summary statistics of variables used in this study about Trump's campaign strategies: rallies

```
                          Mean       Median         S.D.         Min.
>    Max         Obs.
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> -------------------
\# Rallies per MSA          0.35         0.00         0.82         0.00
>   4.00          381
\# Rallies relativ~o        0.01         0.00         0.02         0.00
>   0.29          381
Visit MSA (dummy)           0.20         0.00         0.40         0.00
>   1.00          381
Visit (dummy) rela~a        0.00         0.00         0.01         0.00
```

```
>   0.07          381
\# Workers Exposed~n    182502.35     63114.92    386542.94     14190.64   4128
> 796.25          381
Workers Exposed to~r         0.26         0.26         0.03         0.18
>   0.42          381
Workers Expos..)             0.02         0.01         0.04         0.00
>   0.30          381
\# Hate incident p~A         3.75         0.00        19.92         0.00
> 329.00          381
Hate Incidents Per~p         0.04         0.00         0.20         0.00
>   2.46          381
Close election 201~)         0.15         0.00         0.36         0.00
>   1.00          381
Close election -~201         0.11         0.00         0.31         0.00
>   1.00          381
Close election 201~)         0.42         0.00         0.49         0.00
>   1.00          381
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> -------------------

(output written to Table\US_rallies_descriptive.tex)
```

	Mean	Median	S.D.	Min.	Max	Obs.
# Rallies per MSA	0.35	0.00	0.82	0.00	4.00	381
# Rallies relative to population	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.29	381
Visit MSA (dummy)	0.20	0.00	0.40	0.00	1.00	381
Visit (dummy) relative to population	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.07	381
# Workers Exposed to Automation per MSA	182502.35	63114.92	386542.94	14190.64	4128796.25	381
Workers Exposed to Automation (relative to MSA)	0.26	0.26	0.03	0.18	0.42	381
Workers Exposed to Automation (relative to pop.)	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.30	381
# Hate incident per MSA	3.75	0.00	19.92	0.00	329.00	381
Hate Incidents Per 100K Pop	0.04	0.00	0.20	0.00	2.46	381
Close election 2012 (5%)	0.15	0.00	0.36	0.00	1.00	381
Close election - Forecasting 2016	0.11	0.00	0.31	0.00	1.00	381
Close election 2012 (10%)	0.42	0.00	0.49	0.00	1.00	381

Table A1: Summary statistics of variables used in this study about Trump's campaign strategies: rallies

```
{
\def\sym#1{\ifmmode^{#1}\else\(^{#1}\)\fi}
\begin{tabular}{l*{1}{cccccc}}
\hline\hline
                    &\multicolumn{6}{c}{}                                                    \\
                    &        Mean&      Median&        S.D.&        Min.&         Max&        Obs.\\
\hline
\# Rallies per MSA  &        0.35&        0.00&        0.82&        0.00&        4.00&         381\\
\# Rallies relative to population&        0.01&        0.00&        0.02&        0.00&        0.29&
Visit MSA (dummy)   &        0.20&        0.00&        0.40&        0.00&        1.00&         381\\
Visit (dummy) relative to population&        0.00&        0.00&        0.01&        0.00&        0.07&
\# Workers Exposed to Automation per MSA&   182502.35&    63114.92&   386542.94&    14190.64&  4128796.
Workers Exposed to Automation (relative to MSA)&        0.26&        0.26&        0.03&        0.18&
Workers Exposed to Automation (relative to pop.)&        0.02&        0.01&        0.04&        0.00&
\# Hate incident per MSA&        3.75&        0.00&       19.92&        0.00&      329.00&         381\
Hate Incidents Per 100K Pop&        0.04&        0.00&        0.20&        0.00&        2.46&         3
```

```
Close election 2012 (5\%)&        0.15&        0.00&        0.36&        0.00&        1.00&         381\
Close election - Forecasting 2016&        0.11&        0.00&        0.31&        0.00&        1.00&
Close election 2012 (10\%)&        0.42&        0.00&        0.49&        0.00&        1.00&         38
\hline\hline
\end{tabular}
}
```

Campaign Rhetoric Preparing [2_0_Speech_US_dictionaries.ipynb]

This file:

- Creates dictionaries, and applies them to all Trump speeches in the sample.
- These are inputs for the regression analysis conducted in `2_2_Speech_US.do`

Input:

- `Data/Text/Rallies_MSA.xlsx` It is a xlsx file which contains data on the MSA and an identifier to merge with other files for the analysis.
- `Data/Text/Presidential...` All txt files. From https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/
- `Data/Text/Youtube...` All txt files. Additional rallies obtained from Youtube.

Output:

- `Data/combined_df.csv` It is a csv file with the scores per each speech.

NOTE: the code for this file can be accessed in the jupyter notebook in the folder `do`.

Campaign Rhetoric Analysis [2_2_Speech_US.do]

This do-file:

- Creates Table 2 and A15 using data from Trump Speeches.

Input:

- `Data\Text\combined_df.csv` // This file contains the data from speeches
- `Data\Rally_Visits_MSA.dta` // This file contains information about the MSA (e.g, number of exposed workers)
- Alternatively you can go to line 45 and use prepared data:
  - `Data\Speech_MSA.dta`

Output:

- Table 2: Trump's Campaign Strategy: Speeches [`Table\Trump_text_IVchanged.tex`]
- Table A15: Trump's Campaing Strategy: Speeches (Total count) [`Table\Trump_text_IVchanged_count.tex`]

```
*****************************************
* Alternatively load prepared data
*****************************************

use "Data\Speech_MSA.dta", clear
```

```
*******************************************************************************
* Preparing variables
*******************************************************************************
{
encode state, generate(state_num2)  // Encode 'state' as numeric
encode msa_state, generate(msa_num)  // Encode 'msa_state' as numeric

// Calculate word shares
gen pro_w = pro_worker_count / word_count  // Pro-worker word share
gen pro_c = culture_count / word_count  // Pro-culture word share

// Create interaction terms
gen int_exp_close = high_pop_pop * veryclose10  // Interaction: exposure x closeness
gen int_exp_anti = high_pop_pop * anti_pop  // Interaction: exposure x hate incidents

// Label variables
lab var veryclose10 "Close"
lab var int_exp_close "Exposed x Close"
lab var int_exp_anti "Exposed x Hate"
lab var high_pop_pop "Workers Exp. to Auto."
lab var anti_pop "Hate Inc.x 100K Pop"
}
```

```
****************************************
* Regression
****************************************


//table 2: Trump's Campaign Strategy: Speeches
{
preserve  // Preserve the current dataset

keep if msa_num ~= .  // Keep observations with non-missing 'msa_num' (0 observations deleted)

eststo clear  // Clear any previously stored estimates

// DV: Share of pro-worker rhetoric
eststo: qui reg pro_w high_pop_pop veryclose10 i.month foreign anti_pop  i.state_num2, cluster(state_nu
eststo: qui reg pro_w high_pop_pop veryclose10 int_exp_close  i.month foreign anti_pop  i.state_num2, c
eststo: qui reg pro_w high_pop_pop veryclose10 int_exp_close int_exp_anti i.month foreign anti_pop  i.s

// DV: Share of pro-culture rhetoric
eststo: qui reg pro_c high_pop_pop veryclose10 i.month foreign anti_pop i.state_num2 ,cluster(state_num
eststo: qui reg pro_c high_pop_pop veryclose10 int_exp_close i.month foreign anti_pop  i.state_num2, cl
eststo: qui reg pro_c high_pop_pop veryclose10 int_exp_close int_exp_anti i.month foreign anti_pop  i.s

// Create regression table
```

```
restore  // Restore the original dataset

/////
}
```

Table 2: Trump's Campaign Strategy: Speeches

```
(0 observations deleted)
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)
(est5 stored)
(est6 stored)
```

```
// Save regression table to a .tex file
// Create regression table
esttab , replace label se ///
    title("Trump's Campaign Strategy \label {TableSpeech2}") ///
    compress nogap ///
    star(* 0.1 ** 0.05 *** 0.01) ///
    b(%6.3f) ///
    keep(high_pop* anti* *close* int*) ///
    scalars("N Observations" "r2 R$^2$" "aic AIC") ///
    indicate("FE State = *state*" "Foreign = foreign*" "FE Month = *month") ///
    nomtitle collabels(none) mgroups("Pro-worker Rhetoric (1-3)" "Cultural Rhetoric (4-6)", pattern(1 0
    prefix(\multicolumn{@span}{c}{) suffix(}) span)

// Create regression table
esttab using "Table\Trump_text_IVchanged.tex", replace label se ///
    title("Trump's Campaign Strategy \label {TableSpeech2}") ///
    compress nogap ///
    star(* 0.1 ** 0.05 *** 0.01) ///
    b(%6.3f) ///
    keep(high_pop* anti* *close* int*) ///
    scalars("N Observations" "r2 R$^2$" "aic AIC") ///
    indicate("FE State = *state*" "Foreign = foreign*" "FE Month = *month") ///
    nomtitle collabels(none) mgroups("Pro-worker Rhetoric (1-3)" "Cultural Rhetoric (4-6)", pattern(1 0
    prefix(\multicolumn{@span}{c}{) suffix(}) span)
```

```
Trump's Campaign Strategy \label {TableSpeech2}
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ---------------
                \multicolumn{3}{c}{Pro-worker Rhetoric (1-3)} \multicolumn{3}{
> c}{Cultural Rhetoric (4-6)}
                        (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)          (5)
>          (6)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ---------------
Workers E.. to~.     0.444***    -2.874***    -2.693***     0.024**      0.043
>        0.044
```

```
                   (0.150)      (0.557)      (0.512)      (0.011)      (0.080)
>      (0.082)
Close               -0.041***    -0.447***    -0.410***     0.007***     0.009
>        0.009
                   (0.012)      (0.069)      (0.059)      (0.001)      (0.010)
>      (0.010)
Hate Inc.x 100~p    -0.047**     -0.051**      0.157**     -0.004**     -0.004*
> *     -0.002
                   (0.021)      (0.019)      (0.057)      (0.001)      (0.001)
>      (0.004)
Exposed x Close                   3.361***     3.060***                  -0.019
>       -0.021
                                 (0.515)      (0.446)                   (0.081)
>      (0.084)
Exposed x Hate                                -0.778***
>       -0.007
                                              (0.210)
>      (0.012)
FE State               Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes
Foreign                Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes
FE Month               Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ---------------
Observations            98           98           98           98           98
>           98
R$^2$                0.503        0.537        0.571        0.336        0.336
>        0.337
AIC                -320.397     -327.377     -332.854     -828.802     -828.840
>     -826.928
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ---------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

(output written to Table\Trump_text_IVchanged.tex)
```

```
// table A15: Trump's Campaing Strategy: Speeches (Total count)
{
preserve  // Preserve the current dataset

keep if msa_num ~= .  // Keep observations with non-missing 'msa_num' (0 observations deleted)

eststo clear  // Clear any previously stored estimates

********* Now number of words counts instead of share of words **************
eststo clear
eststo: qui reg pro_worker_count high_pop_pop  i.month foreign anti_pop i.state_num2 ,cluster(state_num
eststo: qui reg pro_worker_count high_pop_pop veryclose10 foreign i.month  anti_pop  i.state_num2, clus
```

Table 2: Trump's Campaign Strategy

	Pro-worker Rhetoric (1-3)			Cultural Rhetoric (4-6)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Workers Exp. to Auto.	0.444***	-2.874***	-2.693***	0.024**	0.043	0.044
	(0.150)	(0.557)	(0.512)	(0.011)	(0.080)	(0.082)
Close	-0.041***	-0.447***	-0.410***	0.007***	0.009	0.009
	(0.012)	(0.069)	(0.059)	(0.001)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Hate Inc.x 100K Pop	-0.047**	-0.051**	0.157**	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.002
	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.057)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.004)
Exposed x Close		3.361***	3.060***		-0.019	-0.021
		(0.515)	(0.446)		(0.081)	(0.084)
Exposed x Hate			-0.778***			-0.007
			(0.210)			(0.012)
FE State	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Foreign	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE Month	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	98	98	98	98	98	98
R^2	0.503	0.537	0.571	0.336	0.336	0.337
AIC	-320.397	-327.377	-332.854	-828.802	-828.840	-826.928

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
eststo: qui reg pro_worker_count high_pop_pop veryclose10 foreign int_exp_close  i.month  anti_pop  i.st
eststo: qui reg pro_worker_count high_pop_pop veryclose10 foreign int_exp_close int_exp_anti i.month  an

eststo: qui reg culture_count high_pop_pop  i.month foreign anti_pop  i.state_num2 ,cluster(state_num2)
eststo: qui reg culture_count high_pop_pop veryclose10 foreign i.month  anti_pop i.state_num2 ,cluster(s
eststo: qui reg culture_count high_pop_pop veryclose10 int_exp_close foreign i.month  anti_pop  i.state_
eststo: qui reg culture_count high_pop_pop veryclose10 int_exp_close foreign int_exp_anti i.month  anti_




restore

/////
}
```

Table A15: Trump's Campaing Strategy: Speeches (Total count)

```
(0 observations deleted)
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)
(est5 stored)
(est6 stored)
(est7 stored)
(est8 stored)
```

```
// Save regression table to a .tex file
esttab , replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy: Speeches (Total count) \label {TableTotal})
    prefix(\multicolumn{@span}{c}{} suffix(}) span) compress nogap star(* 0.1 ** 0.05 *** 0.01) b(%6.2f)

esttab using "Table\Trump_text_IVchanged_count.tex", replace label se title(Trump's Campaing Strategy: S
    prefix(\multicolumn{@span}{c}{} suffix(}) span)  compress nogap star(* 0.1 ** 0.05 *** 0.01) b(%6.2f
```

```
Trump's Campaing Strategy: Speeches (Total count) \label {TableTotal}
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
                  \multicolumn{4}{c}{Pro-worker Rhetoric (1-3)}       \multicolu
> mn{4}{c}{Cultural Rhetoric (4-6)}
                        (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)          (5)
>          (6)          (7)          (8)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
Workers E.. to~.    636.18       636.18     -4017.86***  -3658.56***    -12.97
>       -12.97       399.21       377.56
                   (450.61)     (450.61)    (1375.41)    (1246.38)      (40.57)
>      (40.57)     (234.13)     (231.52)
Hate Inc.x 100~p   -119.44*     -119.44*     -124.44*      287.08        -3.23
>        -3.23        -2.79       -27.59
                   (67.36)      (67.36)      (62.78)     (277.98)       (5.17)
>       (5.17)       (4.61)      (16.76)
Close                           198.14***   -371.74**    -297.68*
>        63.79***    114.26***    109.80***
                                (28.05)     (168.17)     (144.97)
>       (4.69)      (29.17)      (29.43)
Exposed x Close                               4714.86***   4116.91***
>                  -417.56*     -381.54*
                                            (1243.99)    (1063.07)
>                  (217.72)     (220.61)
Exposed x Hate                                           -1542.64
>                                 92.95*
                                                         (985.93)
>                                (51.69)
FE State               Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes
Foreign                Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes
Fe Month               Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
Observations            98           98           98           98           98
>           98           98           98
R$^2$                 0.38         0.38         0.40         0.42         0.50
>         0.50         0.51         0.51
AIC                1222.34      1222.34      1220.39      1218.40       785.24
>       785.24       783.93       784.70
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
```

```
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

(output written to Table\Trump_text_IVchanged_count.tex)
```

Table A15: Trump's Campaing Strategy: Speeches (Total count)

	Pro-worker Rhetoric (1-4)				Cultural Rhetoric (5-8)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Workers Exp. to Auto.	636.18	636.18	-4017.86***	-3658.56***	-12.97	-12.97	399.21	377.56
	(450.61)	(450.61)	(1375.41)	(1246.38)	(40.57)	(40.57)	(234.13)	(231.52)
Hate Inc.x 100K Pop	-119.44*	-119.44*	-124.44*	287.08	-3.23	-3.23	-2.79	-27.59
	(67.36)	(67.36)	(62.78)	(277.98)	(5.17)	(5.17)	(4.61)	(16.76)
Close		198.14***	-371.74**	-297.68*		63.79***	114.26***	109.80***
		(28.05)	(168.17)	(144.97)		(4.69)	(29.17)	(29.43)
Exposed x Close			4714.86***	4116.91***			-417.56*	-381.54*
			(1243.99)	(1063.07)			(217.72)	(220.61)
Exposed x Hate				-1542.64				92.95*
				(985.93)				(51.69)
FE State	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Foreign	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE Month	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
R^2	0.38	0.38	0.40	0.42	0.50	0.50	0.51	0.51
AIC	1222.34	1222.34	1220.39	1218.40	785.24	785.24	783.93	784.70

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

PRITM Systems: Time-Series-Cross-Sectional Evidence on Messaging

CMP main analysis [3_2_CMP_PRITM.do]

This do-file:

```
A. Call the Data
B. Define variables
C. Export Tables
```

Input: **Manifesto Project database**

```
- Data\CMP\MPDataset_MPDS2020a_stata14.dta // Data download from https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/datas
```

Final output:

- Cleaned data:
  - `Data\CMP_main.dta` this data contains the relevant variables for the analysis with the DV as the polarization over redistribution, and fixed-value positions, estimated as the distance between establishment left and outsider parties.
- Tables:

- table 3: PRITM: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes [Table\TabWithin.tex]
- table A19: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes Different Cut-Of [Table\TabWithin_cutoff.tex]
- table A20: Alternative measures of Partisan Polarization over Fixed Attributes between Mainstream Left and Right-Populist [Table\TabWithin_FValternative.tex]
- table A18: Descriptive statistic: PRITM 1970-2019 [Table\desc_PRITM.tex]

```
*****************************************
* Alternatively load prepared data
*****************************************

use "Data\CMP_main.dta", clear
```

```
(Manifesto Project Dataset Version 2020a. Please type "notes" for more details)
```

```
// table 3: PRITM: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes
{
preserve

eststo clear
eststo: qui reg distance_redist L.distance_redist shock totseats   oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryn
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed L.distance_fixed shock totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countrynam
eststo: qui reg distance_redist L.distance_redist IFR2 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryna
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed L.distance_fixed IFR2 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryname



esttab , replace label se title(Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes  \label {TableCMPA


restore

}
```

Table 3: PRITM: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)

Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes \label {TableCMPAll}
--------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
                Redistr~n    Fixed V~s    Redistr~n    Fixed V~s
--------------------------------------------------------------------
High LMP period      2.919        2.708***
                   (2.304)      (0.866)
Robots Stock                                     0.074        0.561**
```

```
                                                  (0.215)      (0.219)
LDV                     Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
FE Year                 Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
-------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations            186          186           62           62
r2                    0.519        0.333        0.492        0.372
aic                 783.599      768.187      291.086      285.773
-------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\TabWithin.tex", replace label se title(Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed A
```

```
(output written to Table\TabWithin.tex)
```

Table 3: Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes

	(1) Redistribution	(2) Fixed Values	(3) Redistribution	(4) Fixed Values
High LMP period	2.919	2.708***		
	(2.304)	(0.866)		
Robots Stock			0.074	0.561**
			(0.215)	(0.219)
LDV	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	186	186	62	62
r2	0.519	0.333	0.492	0.372
aic	783.599	768.187	291.086	285.773

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
// table A19: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes Different Cut-Of
{
gen shock92=.
replace shock92 =0 if year > 1969 & year < 1993
replace shock92 =1 if  year > 1992

gen shock93=.
replace shock93 =0 if year > 1969 & year < 1994
replace shock93 =1 if  year > 1993

gen shock96=.
replace shock96 =0 if year > 1969 & year < 1996
replace shock96 =1 if  year > 1997

gen shock97=.
replace shock97 =0 if year > 1969 & year < 1997
replace shock97 =1 if  year > 1998
```

```
gen shock98=.
replace shock98 =0 if year > 1969 & year < 1998
replace shock98 =1 if  year > 1999


lab var shock98 "Post-LMP"
lab var shock92 "Post-LMP"
lab var shock93 "Post-LMP"
lab var shock96 "Post-LMP"
lab var shock97 "Post-LMP"


preserve

eststo clear
eststo: qui reg distance_redist L.distance_redist shock92 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(country
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed L.distance_fixed shock92 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryna

eststo: qui reg distance_redist L.distance_redist shock93 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(country
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed L.distance_fixed shock93 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryna


eststo: qui reg distance_redist L.distance_redist shock96 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(country
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed L.distance_fixed shock96 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryna


eststo: qui reg distance_redist L.distance_redist shock97 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(country
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed L.distance_fixed shock97 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryna


eststo: qui reg distance_redist L.distance_redist shock98 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(country
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed L.distance_fixed shock98 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryna

esttab , replace label se title(Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes Differen


restore
}
```

Table A19: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes Different Cut-Off

```
(202 missing values generated)
(91 real changes made)
(111 real changes made)
(202 missing values generated)
(92 real changes made)
(110 real changes made)
(202 missing values generated)
(106 real changes made)
(92 real changes made)
(202 missing values generated)
(108 real changes made)
(86 real changes made)
(202 missing values generated)
```

```
(110 real changes made)
(80 real changes made)
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)
(est5 stored)
(est6 stored)
(est7 stored)
(est8 stored)
(est9 stored)
(est10 stored)

Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes Different Cut-Of
> f \label {Tablewithincut}
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)          (5)
>          (6)          (7)          (8)          (9)         (10)
                   Redist        Fixed       Redist        Fixed       Redist
>        Fixed       Redist        Fixed       Redist        Fixed
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ------------------------------------------------------------------
Post-LMP             2.919        2.708***
>
                  (2.304)      (0.866)
>
Post-LMP                                        2.919        2.708***
>
                                               (2.304)      (0.866)
>
Post-LMP                                                                  2.921
>        2.679***
                                                                         (2.297)
>      (0.855)
Post-LMP
>                    2.791        2.696***

>                  (2.269)      (0.864)
Post-LMP
>                                              2.642        2.671***

>                                             (2.240)      (0.838)
LDV                   Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
FE Year               Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations          186          186          186          186          182
>          182          178          178          174          174
R$^2$               0.519        0.333        0.519        0.333        0.516
>        0.344        0.531        0.352        0.542        0.360
AIC                783.599      768.187      783.599      768.187      771.187
```

```
>      752.039      751.737      733.099      733.090      709.586
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\TabWithin_cutoff.tex", replace label se title(Partisan Polarization over Redistribu
```

```
(output written to Table\TabWithin_cutoff.tex)
```

Table A19: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes Different Cut-Off

	(1) Redist	(2) Fixed	(3) Redist	(4) Fixed	(5) Redist	(6) Fixed	(7) Redist	(8) Fixed	(9) Redist	(10) Fixed
Post-LMP	2.919	2.708***								
	(2.304)	(0.866)								
Post-LMP			2.919	2.708***						
			(2.304)	(0.866)						
Post-LMP					2.921	2.679***				
					(2.297)	(0.855)				
Post-LMP							2.791	2.696***		
							(2.269)	(0.864)		
Post-LMP									2.642	2.671***
									(2.240)	(0.838)
LDV	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	186	186	186	186	182	182	178	178	174	174
R^2	0.519	0.333	0.519	0.333	0.516	0.344	0.531	0.352	0.542	0.360
AIC	783.599	768.187	783.599	768.187	771.187	752.039	751.737	733.099	733.090	709.586

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
lab var distance_fixed_eu "Anti-EU"
lab var distance_nat "Internationalism"
lab var distance_fixed_all "Anti-Global and Cultural"
lab var distance_fixed_nolog "Anti-Global and Cultural (no log)"


// table A20: Alternative measures of Partisan Polarization over Fixed Attributes between Mainstream Le
{
preserve

eststo clear

foreach x of varlist distance_fixed_eu  distance_nat  distance_fixed_all distance_fixed_nolog {
eststo: qui reg `x' L.`x' shock totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryname)
eststo: qui reg `x' L.`x' IFR2 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(countryname)
```

```
}
esttab, replace label se title(Alternative measures of Partisan Polarization over Fixed Attributes betw


restore

}
```

Table A20: Alternative measures of Partisan Polarization over Fixed Attributes between Mainstream Left and Right-Populist

```
  2. eststo: qui reg ‘x’ L.‘x’ shock totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(cou
> ntryname)
  3. eststo: qui reg ‘x’ L.‘x’ IFR2 totseats  oecdmember   i.year, cluster(coun
> tryname)
  4.
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)
(est3 stored)
(est4 stored)
(est5 stored)
(est6 stored)
(est7 stored)
(est8 stored)

Alternative measures of Partisan Polarization over Fixed Attributes between Mai
> nstream Left and Right-Populist \label {FVPritm}
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
                        (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)          (5)
>          (6)          (7)          (8)
                   Anti-EU      Anti-EU    Interna~m    Interna~m    Anti-Gl~l
>    Anti-Gl~l    Anti-Gl~g    Anti-Gl~g
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
High LMP period      2.581***                 1.491***                 3.603*
> **                 21.639***
                    (0.362)                  (0.450)                  (0.571)
>                    (5.703)
Robots Stock                        0.306**                  0.411**
>        0.589***                   5.678***
                                   (0.125)                  (0.167)
>      (0.177)                     (1.714)
Controls               Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes
LDV                    Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes
FE Year                Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes          Yes
>          Yes          Yes          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
Observations           186          62          186          62          186
>           62          186          62
```

```
R$^2$                 0.532        0.472        0.373        0.363        0.408
>        0.467        0.614        0.552
AIC                 666.836      249.215      699.495      258.617      787.820
>      278.176     1509.478      534.144
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ----------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\TabWithin_FValternative.tex", replace label se title(Alternative measures of Partisa
```

```
(output written to Table\TabWithin_FValternative.tex)
```

Table A20: Alternative measures of Partisan Polarization over Fixed Attributes between Mainstream Left and Right-Populist

	(1) Anti-EU	(2) Anti-EU	(3) Internationalism	(4) Internationalism	(5) Anti-Global and Cultural	(6 Anti-Global a
High LMP period	2.581***		1.491***		3.603***	
	(0.362)		(0.450)		(0.571)	
Robots Stock		0.306**		0.411**		0.589
		(0.125)		(0.167)		(0.1
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Ye
LDV	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Ye
FE Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Ye
Observations	186	62	186	62	186	62
R^2	0.532	0.472	0.373	0.363	0.408	0.4
AIC	666.836	249.215	699.495	258.617	787.820	278.

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
*##########################################
* Descriptive
*##########################################

lab var distance_fixed_eu "DFVP - Net Anti-EU"
lab var distance_nat "DFVP - Net Anti-Global Narrow (Internationalism)"
lab var distance_fixed_all "DFVP - Anti-Global and Cultural"
lab var distance_fixed_nolog "DFVP - Anti-Global and Cultural (no log)"


// table A18: Descriptive statistic: PRITM 1970-2019
{
lab var IFR "\# Robot Stock (IFR)"
lab var IFR2 "Ln \# Robot Stock (IFR)"
lab var distance_fixed_nolog "DFVP - Anti-Global and Cultural (no log)"
preserve

    eststo clear
```

```
qui estpost sum  totseats number2 oecdmember distance_redist  distance_fixed  distance_fixed_eu   distan




    restore
    }
```

```
esttab ,cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.)
    nonumber label replace noobs  title(Descriptive statistic: PRITM 1970-2019 \label {SummarystatPRITM}

esttab using "Table\desc_PRITM.tex",cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S
    nonumber label replace noobs  title(Descriptive statistic: PRITM 1970-2019 \label {SummarystatPRITM}
```

Table A18: Descriptive statistic: PRITM 1970-2019

```
Descriptive statistic: PRITM 1970-2019 \label {SummarystatPRITM}
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ------------------

>
                            Mean       Median         S.D.         Min.
>    Max         Obs.
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ------------------
Total Number of Se~s       235.44       175.00       162.72           60
>    709          202
Total Number of Pa~s         7.72         8.00         2.62            3
>     19          202
OECD member                  9.16        10.00         2.78            0
>     10          202
Distance Redistrib~N         4.46         4.02         2.65            0
>     17          202
Distance Fixed-Val~(         3.07         2.84         2.12            0
>     12          202
DFVP - Net Anti-EU           2.19         1.82         1.93            0
>      9          202
DFVP - Anti-Global~l         3.18         2.62         2.37            0
>     13          202
DFVP - Net Anti-Gl~I         2.63         2.50         1.83            0
>      9          202
DFVP - Anti-Global~l         3.18         2.62         2.37            0
>     13          202
DFVP - Anti-Global~         18.59        12.11        20.42            0
>    110          202
\# Robot Stock (IFR)     17829.68      4399.50     41004.76            6
> 200497           62
Ln \# Robot Stock ~)         7.90         8.39         2.34            2
>     12           62
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
> ------------------
```

```
(output written to Table\desc_PRITM.tex)
```

Table A18: Descriptive statistic: PRITM 1970-2019

	Mean	Median	S.D.	Min.	Max	Obs.
Total Number of Seats	235.44	175.00	162.72	60	709	202
Total Number of Parties	7.72	8.00	2.62	3	19	202
OECD member	9.16	10.00	2.78	0	10	202
Distance Redistribution (DR) - Net Welfare	4.46	4.02	2.65	0	17	202
Distance Fixed-Value Positions (DFVP) - Net Anti-Global	3.07	2.84	2.12	0	12	202
DFVP - Net Anti-EU	2.19	1.82	1.93	0	9	202
DFVP - Anti-Global and Cultural	3.18	2.62	2.37	0	13	202
DFVP - Net Anti-Global Narrow (Internationalism)	2.63	2.50	1.83	0	9	202
DFVP - Anti-Global and Cultural	3.18	2.62	2.37	0	13	202
DFVP - Anti-Global and Cultural (no log)	18.59	12.11	20.42	0	110	202
# Robot Stock (IFR)	17829.68	4399.50	41004.76	6	200497	62
Ln # Robot Stock (IFR)	7.90	8.39	2.34	2	12	62

CMP Appendix - average distance [3_3_CMP_PRITM_Appendix_Average.do]

This do-file:

```
A. Call the Data
B. Define variables
C. Export Tables
```

Input: **Manifesto Project database**

```
- ‘Data\CMP\MPDataset_MPDS2020a_stata14.dta‘ // Data download from https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/data
```

Final output:

- Cleaned data: * `Data\CMP_average.dta` this data contains the relevant variables for the analysis with the DV as the polarization over redistribution, and fixed-value positions, estimated as the average distance of the party system.
- Tables: * table A21: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes

```
*****************************************
* Alternatively load prepared data
*****************************************

use "Data\CMP_average.dta", clear
```

```
(Manifesto Project Dataset Version 2020a. Please type "notes" for more details)
```

```
*##########################################
* Analysis
*##########################################
// table A21: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes
{

preserve

eststo clear
eststo: qui reg dist_av_welfare_policy L.dist_av_welfare_policy shock totseats  oecdmember  number2 i.y
eststo: qui reg dist_av_fixed L.dist_av_fixed shock totseats  oecdmember  number2 i.year, cluster(counti

esttab , replace label se title(Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes  \label




restore

}
```

Table A21: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)

Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes \label {TabWithi
> npoldistav}
--------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)
                Redistr~n    Fixed V~s
--------------------------------------------
High LMP period     -1.505        3.399***
                   (1.933)      (1.011)
Controls               Yes          Yes
LDV                    Yes          Yes
FE Year                Yes          Yes
--------------------------------------------
Observations           186          186
R$^2$                0.631        0.705
AIC                899.206      889.795
--------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\Tab_Within_d_av.tex", replace label se title(Partisan Polarization over Redistributi
```

```
(output written to Table\Tab_Within_d_av.tex)
```

Table A21: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes

	(1) Redistribution	(2) Fixed Values
High LMP period	-1.505	3.399***
	(1.933)	(1.011)
Controls	Yes	Yes
LDV	Yes	Yes
FE Year	Yes	Yes
Observations	186	186
R^2	0.631	0.705
AIC	899.206	889.795

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

CMP Appendix - Dalton index [3_4_CMP_PRITM_Appendix_Dalton.do]

This do-file:

```
A. Call the Data
B. Define variables
C. Export Tables
```

Input: ** Manifesto Project database**

```
- ‘Data\CMP\MPDataset_MPDS2020a_stata14.dta‘ // Data download from https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/data
```

Final output:

- Cleaned data: * `Data\CMP_Dalton.dta` this data contains the relevant variables for the analysis with the DV as the polarization over redistribution, and fixed-value positions, estimated as Dalton index
- Tables: * table A22: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes, Dalton Index

```
*******************************************
* Alternatively load prepared data
*******************************************

use "Data\CMP_Dalton.dta", clear
```

```
(Manifesto Project Dataset Version 2020a. Please type "notes" for more details)
```

```


*******************************************
* Analysis
*******************************************
{
// table A22: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes, Dalton Index
{
```

```
preserve
keep if PRITM==1
   keep if year>1969

eststo clear
// Redistribution
eststo: qui reg welfare_policy_dt2 L.welfare_policy_dt2 shock totseats  oecdmember  number2 i.year, clus
eststo: qui reg fixed_dt2 L.fixed_dt2 shock totseats  oecdmember  number2 i.year, cluster(countryname)



esttab , replace label se title(Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes, Dalton Index \lab




restore
}
}
```

Table A22: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes, Dalton Index

```
(0 observations deleted)
(0 observations deleted)
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)

Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes, Dalton Index \label {Tab
> Withindalton}
--------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)
                Redistr~n    Fixed V~s
--------------------------------------------
High LMP period    -12.476***     9.747***
                   (2.216)      (1.003)
Controls               Yes          Yes
LDV                    Yes          Yes
FE Year                Yes          Yes
--------------------------------------------
Observations           186          186
R$^2$                0.384        0.401
AIC                1074.384     1031.899
--------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\TabWithindalton.tex", replace label se title(Polarization over Redistribution and Fi

(output written to Table\TabWithindalton.tex)
```

CMP Appendix - ER [3_5_CMP_PRITM_Appendix_ER.do]

This do-file:

Table A22: Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes, Dalton Index

	(1) Redistribution	(2) Fixed Values
High LMP period	-12.476***	9.747***
	(2.216)	(1.003)
Controls	Yes	Yes
LDV	Yes	Yes
FE Year	Yes	Yes
Observations	186	186
R^2	0.384	0.401
AIC	1074.384	1031.899

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
A. Call the Data
B. Define variables
C. Export Tables
```

Input: ** Manifesto Project database**

```
- ‘Data\CMP\MPDataset_MPDS2020a_stata14.dta‘ // Data download from https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/data
```

Final output:

- Cleaned data:

  ```
  * ‘Data\CMP_ER.dta‘ this data contains the relevant variables for the analysis with the DV as the p
  ```

- Tables:

  ```
  * table A23: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes
  ```

```
*******************************************
* Alternatively load prepared data
*******************************************

use "Data\CMP_ER.dta", clear
```

```
(Manifesto Project Dataset Version 2020a. Please type "notes" for more details)
```

```
*******************************************
* Analysis
*******************************************
{

// table A23: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes
```

```
{
preserve

eststo clear
eststo: qui reg distance_welfare_policy3 L.distance_welfare_policy3 shock totseats  oecdmember  number2
eststo: qui reg distance_fixed3 L.distance_fixed3 shock totseats  oecdmember  number2 , cluster(countryn



esttab , replace label se title(Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes  \label


restore
}
}
```

Table A23: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes

```
(est1 stored)
(est2 stored)

Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes \label {TabWithi
> nER}
--------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)
                Redistr~n    Fixed V~s
--------------------------------------------
High LMP period   -3.3e+03      1.1e+04***
                 (1.3e+04)    (3248.358)
Control variab~s       Yes          Yes
LDV                    Yes          Yes
--------------------------------------------
Observations           180          180
R$^2$                0.326        0.295
AIC                4589.552     4358.513
--------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\TabWithin_ER.tex", replace label se title(Partisan Polarization over Redistribution
```

```
(output written to Table\TabWithin_ER.tex)
```

PRITM Systems: Campaign Message and Targeting Strategies in Germany

Topic Analysis [2_3_Speech_US_Germany_Appendix_NMF.ipynb]

This file:

- Creates inputs for Table A17: NMF Topic Modeling.
- First it does the NMF for the US, then for Germany.

Table A23: Partisan Polarization over Redistribution and Fixed Attributes

	(1) Redistribution	(2) Fixed Values
High LMP period	-3.3e+03	1.1e+04***
	(1.3e+04)	(3248.358)
Control variables	Yes	Yes
LDV	Yes	Yes
Observations	180	180
R^2	0.326	0.295
AIC	4589.552	4358.513

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

- Once topic are created the proportion of each one of them is calculated.

Input:

- `Data/cleaned_data.csv` # Data for the US
- `Data/cleaned_data_G.csv` # Data for Germany

Output:

- Inputs for Table A17: NMF Topic Modeling, 4 clusters, top-10 terms.

NOTE: the code for this file can be accessed in the jupyter notebook in the folder `do`.

Targeting Strategies: Electoral Performance Across Districts [3_0_Regional_Germany_HateIncidents.rmd] & [3_1_Regional_Germany.do]

[3_0_Regional_Germany_HateIncidents.rmd] This Rmarkdown:

- Creates a file with the data for hate incidents by region in Germany.

Input:

- Download `arvig` data from the package

Output:

- `Data/final_aggregated_data.dta` It is a dta file with the count of hate incidents per geographic area.

```
# install.packages("devtools")
devtools::install_github("davben/arvig")
```

```
library(arvig)
library(tidyverse)
library(sf)

data("arvig")
```

```
## Preparing the data
#I will count the events, and create a single variable called anti, which refers to the count of incide

data(arvig, package = "arvig")
arvig$count<-1
arvig <- arvig %>%
  mutate(attack = case_when(
    category_en %in% c("arson & miscellaneous attack",
                       "demonstration & miscellaneous attack",
                       "assault",
                       "miscellaneous attack",
                       "miscellaneous attack & assault",
                       "arson",
                       "other") ~ 1,
    TRUE ~ 0 # Assigns 0 if none of the conditions above are met
  ))

arvig <- arvig %>%
  mutate(demonstration = case_when(
    category_en %in% c("demonstration",
                       "demonstration & miscellaneous attack",
                       "suspicion") ~ 1,
    TRUE ~ 0 # Assigns 0 if none of the conditions above are met
  ))
```

Common format to merge

To merge the data with the other sources I need to modify community_id and call it kreis.

```
arvig$kreis <- ifelse(substr(arvig$community_id, 1, 1) == "0",
                          substr(arvig$community_id, 2, 5),
                          substr(arvig$community_id, 1, 5))
```

```
arvig$new_column <- as.numeric(substr(arvig$community_id, 1, 5))
# Check data types for specific columns
sapply(arvig[c("kreis", "count", "attack", "demonstration")], class)
```

```
        kreis         count        attack demonstration
  "character"     "numeric"     "numeric"     "numeric"
```

```
# Ensure we're working with the correct data types
arvig$kreis <- as.numeric(arvig$kreis)
arvig$anti <- as.numeric(arvig$count)

arvig$kreis[arvig$kreis == 3159] <- 3158
arvig$kreis[arvig$kreis == 11000] <- 11100
arvig$state_state<-arvig$state
```

Subsetting for the period of interest 1 year previous to the election

```
# Ensure that the 'date' column is in Date format
arvig$date <- as.Date(arvig$date)
```

```
subset_arvig <- subset(arvig, date >= as.Date("2016-09-01") & date <= as.Date("2017-10-01") )
```

Collapsing by geographic unit

Since the data is a list of events I am aggregating it so I can have an indicator per region.

```
# Aggregating numeric variables
agg_data <- aggregate(cbind(anti, attack, demonstration) ~ kreis, data = subset_arvig, sum, na.rm = TRU

arvig_sorted <- subset_arvig[order(subset_arvig$kreis), ]
first_instances <- arvig_sorted[!duplicated(arvig_sorted$kreis), c("kreis", "community_id", "longitude"

# Merging aggregated numeric data with first instances of other variables



final_aggregated_data <- merge(agg_data, first_instances, by = "kreis")

# Replace specific 'kreis' values
```

Saving the data I will use to merge with others sources

```
# Get the directory of the current Rmd file
#current_dir <- dirname(rstudioapi::getActiveDocumentContext()$path)

# Define the path to the "Publication" folder
#publication_folder <- normalizePath(file.path(current_dir, ".."))

# Set the working directory to the "Publication" folder
#setwd(publication_folder)

# Verify the working directory has been set correctly
#print(getwd())

# Load the haven package
library(haven)

# Use write_dta to save the dataframe as a .dta file
write_dta(final_aggregated_data, "Data/Region_Germany/final_aggregated_data.dta")
```

[3__1__Regional__Germany.do] This do-file:

- Creates Table 4 and A16 using data from electoral perfomance of the AfD, hate incidents, and exposure to automation.

Input:

- `Data\Region_Germany\btw2017kreis (3).csv` // This file contains electoral results.
- `Data\Region_Germany\ RegionEntries14.dta` // This file contains replication data from "Trade and Manufacturing Jobs in Germany" By Wolfgang Dauth, Sebastian Findeisen, and Jens Suedekum

- `Data\Region_Germany\final_aggregated_data.dta` // This file contains hate incidents in Germany, subset prepared from ARVIG data. The rmd which creates this file is named as `3_0_Regional_Germany_HateIncidents.rmd`

Alternatively you can go to line 79 and use prepared data: - `Data\Regional_Germany.dta`

Output:

- Table 4: AfD Performance [`Table\AfD_high_pop_r2.tex`]
- Table A16: Summary statistics of variables used in this study about AfD regional performance [`Table\AfD_descriptive.tex`]

```
*Calling the data
use "Data\Regional_Germany.dta", clear
```

```
*******************************************************************************
* Analysis
*******************************************************************************
// Table 4: AfD Performance


eststo clear

eststo: qui reg afp_prop rou_pop anti_pop , cluster(state_n)

eststo: qui reg afp_prop rou_pop anti_pop perc_foreign $controls reg_south reg_east reg_north i.state_n

eststo: qui reg afp_prop rou_pop anti_pop interaction_pop     reg_south reg_east reg_north perc_foreign
eststo: qui reg afp_prop rou_pop anti_pop interaction_pop     reg_south reg_east reg_north  i.state_n p


esttab , replace label se title(AfD Performance \label {TableAfd})   compress nogap star(* 0.1 ** 0.05 *
```

Table 4: AfD Performance

```
(est1 stored)

(est2 stored)

(est3 stored)

(est4 stored)


AfD Performance \label {TableAfd}
------------------------------------------------------------------------
                      (1)          (2)          (3)          (4)
```

```
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Share of  expo~s    -0.220        0.294*       -0.035        0.004
                   (0.219)      (0.142)      (0.182)      (0.186)
Hate Incidents~p     0.654***    -0.042       -1.618***    -1.226*
                   (0.115)      (0.090)      (0.527)      (0.655)
Exposed x Hate                                18.772***    14.033*
                                             (5.879)      (7.039)
Other controls          No           Yes          Yes          Yes
FE State                No           Yes           No          Yes
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Observations           400          400          400          400
R$^2$                0.144        0.699        0.603        0.704
AIC               -1.2e+03     -1.6e+03     -1.5e+03     -1.6e+03
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
```

```
esttab using "Table\AfD_high_pop_r2.tex", replace label se title(AfD Performance \label {TableAfd})   c
```

```
(output written to Table\AfD_high_pop_r2.tex)
```

Table 4: AfD Performance

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Share of exposed workers	-0.220	0.294*	-0.035	0.004
	(0.219)	(0.142)	(0.182)	(0.186)
Hate Incidents Per 1K Pop	0.654***	-0.042	-1.618***	-1.226*
	(0.115)	(0.090)	(0.527)	(0.655)
Exposed x Hate			18.772***	14.033*
			(5.879)	(7.039)
Other controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE State	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	400	400	400	400
R^2	0.144	0.699	0.603	0.704
AIC	-1.2e+03	-1.6e+03	-1.5e+03	-1.6e+03

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

```
////////////////////////////////////
* Descriptives
////////////////////////////////////


eststo clear

// table A16: Summary statistics of variables used in this study about AfD regional performance
{
qui estpost sum afp_prop rou_pop anti_pop  anti    reg_south reg_east reg_north  $controls, d

}
```

```
esttab , ///
    cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.) fm
    nonumber label replace noobs
eststo clear

esttab using "Table\AfD_descriptive.tex", ///
    cells("mean(label(Mean) fmt(2)) p50(label(Median) fmt(2)) sd(label(S.D.) fmt(2)) min(label(Min.) fm
    nonumber label replace noobs
eststo clear
```

Table A16: Summary statistics of variables used in this study about AfD regional performance

```
                            Mean       Median         S.D.         Min.
>    Max         Obs.
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ------------------
AfD Share of votes          0.12         0.11         0.06         0.00
>   0.37          400
Share of  exposed ~s        0.08         0.08         0.01         0.04
>   0.15          400
Hate Incidents Per~p        0.02         0.01         0.03         0.00
>   0.36          400
\# Hate incidents ~t        4.33         2.00         9.42         0.00
> 156.00          400
South Region                0.35         0.00         0.48         0.00
>   1.00          400
East Region                 0.19         0.00         0.39         0.00
>   1.00          400
North Region                0.15         0.00         0.36         0.00
>   1.00          400
Employment share o~h       14.30        12.98         5.55         5.77
>  36.42          400
Employment share o~n        7.27         6.79         4.15         0.85
>  21.46          400
Employment share o~)       45.81        45.81         4.35        29.34
>  58.43          400
Employment sh.. (\%)       21.53        20.08         9.98         1.86
>  56.96          400
Employment sh.. of~)        1.04         0.00         5.04         0.00
>  54.34          400
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
> ------------------


(output written to Table\AfD_descriptive.tex)
```

	Mean	Median	S.D.	Min.	Max	Obs.
AfD Share of votes	0.12	0.11	0.06	0.00	0.37	400
Share of exposed workers	0.08	0.08	0.01	0.04	0.15	400
Hate Incidents Per 1K Pop	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.36	400
# Hate incidents per district	4.33	2.00	9.42	0.00	156.00	400
South Region	0.35	0.00	0.48	0.00	1.00	400
East Region	0.19	0.00	0.39	0.00	1.00	400
North Region	0.15	0.00	0.36	0.00	1.00	400
Employment share of workers with University degree (%)	14.30	12.98	5.55	5.77	36.42	400
Employment share of Foreign Born (%)	7.27	6.79	4.15	0.85	21.46	400
Employment share of Female (%)	45.81	45.81	4.35	29.34	58.43	400
Employment share of other manuf. (%)	21.53	20.08	9.98	1.86	56.96	400
Employment share of manuf. of cars (%)	1.04	0.00	5.04	0.00	54.34	400

Appendix Figures

[4_1_Figures_ISSP.do]

```
*****************************************
* Load  data
*****************************************

use "Data\Figures_ISSP.dta", clear
```

Figure A3: Importance of job security, Difficulties to find a new job, Concerns about losing the job and Job dissatisfaction

```
// Figure A3: Importance of job security, Difficulties to find a new job, Concerns about losing the job
{
* The code categorizes individuals based on whether they find it difficult to get a new job, then runs a
* Code commented for first graph whether it is difficult to find a new job. Then code for the other thre


* Graph style for figure A3
{
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, nogrid
grstyle color background white
}
* W_easynewjob
{
* Generate a new variable 'W_easynewjob_difficult' to categorize the difficulty of finding a new job
* Set 'W_easynewjob_difficult' to 1 if 'W_easynewjob' is 4 or 5 (indicating it is difficult)
gen W_easynewjob_difficult = 1 if W_easynewjob == 4 | W_easynewjob == 5
```

```
* Replace 'W_easynewjob_difficult' with 0 if 'W_easynewjob' is 1, 2, or 3 (indicating it is not difficul
replace W_easynewjob_difficult = 0 if W_easynewjob == 1 | W_easynewjob == 2 | W_easynewjob == 3

* Run a logistic regression model with 'W_easynewjob_difficult' as the dependent variable
logit W_easynewjob_difficult rti [pweight=weight]

* Calculate the marginal effects of 'rti' on the predicted probability of 'W_easynewjob_difficult'
* atmeans calculates the marginal effect at the means of the covariates
* at() specifies a range of values for 'rti' from -1.52 to 2.24 with increments of 0.05
margins, atmeans at(rti=(-1.52(0.05)2.24))

* Plot the margins with a line graph and display the confidence intervals as dotted lines
 margins, atmeans at(rti=(-1.52(0.05)2.24))
     marginsplot , recast(line) recastci(rline) ci1opts(fintensity(50) lpattern(dot)) xti(Risk of automa
}


* W_satisfaction
{
gen dissatisfied=1 if W_satisfaction==5 | W_satisfaction==6 | W_satisfaction==7
replace dissatisfied=0 if W_satisfaction==1 | W_satisfaction==2 | W_satisfaction==3 | W_satisfaction==4


logit dissatisfied rti [pweight=weight]

 margins, atmeans at(rti=(-1.52(0.05)2.24))
     marginsplot , recast(line) recastci(rline) ci1opts(fintensity(50) lpattern(dot)) xti(Risk of automa
}


* W_losing
{
gen W_losing2=1 if W_losing==1 | W_losing==2 | W_losing==3
replace W_losing2=0 if W_losing==4


logit W_losing2   rti [pweight=weight]

 margins, atmeans at(rti=(-1.52(0.05)2.24))
     marginsplot , recast(line) recastci(rline) ci1opts(fintensity(50) lpattern(dot)) xti(Risk of automa
}

* W_jobsec
{
gen W_jobsec2=1 if W_jobsec==1 | W_jobsec==2
replace W_jobsec2=0 if W_jobsec==3 | W_jobsec==4 | W_jobsec==5


logit W_jobsec2 rti [pweight=weight]
 margins, atmeans at(rti=(-1.52(0.05)2.24))
     marginsplot , recast(line) recastci(rline) ci1opts(fintensity(50) lpattern(dot)) xti(Risk of automa
}
* Combine the specified graphs into one figure
```

```
graph combine "Figure/security.gph" "Figure/difficult.gph" "Figure/losing.gph" "Figure/dissatisfied.gph

* Export the combined graph as a PDF file, replacing any existing file
graph export "Figure/jobdisatisfactionpredictedtogetherall.pdf", as(pdf) replace

* Delete the individual graph files after combining them
erase "Figure/security.gph"
erase "Figure/difficult.gph"
erase "Figure/losing.gph"
erase "Figure/dissatisfied.gph"

}
```

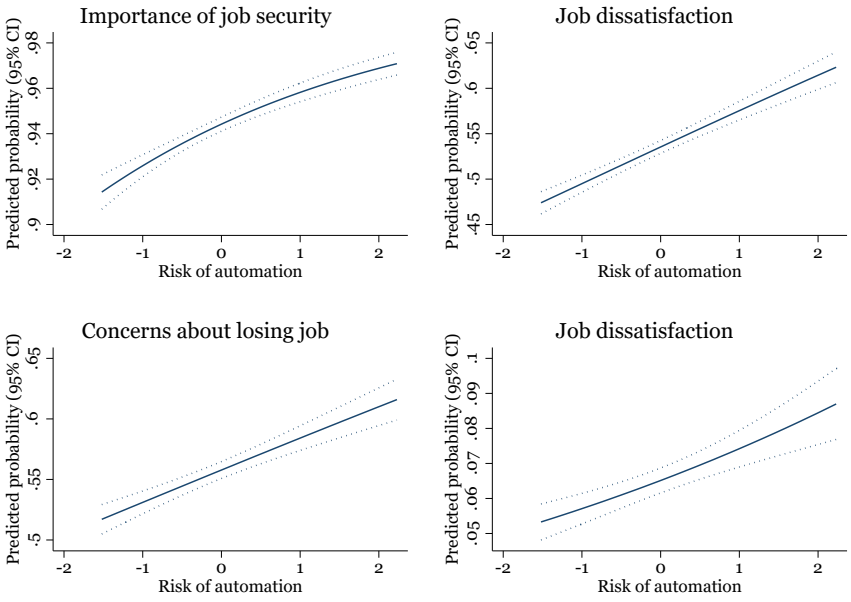

Figure 5: Figure A3: Importance of job security, Difficulties to find a new job, Concerns about losing the job and Job dissatisfaction

[4_2_Figures_Appendix_ESS.do]

This do-file:

- Creates Figure A2 using data from the ESS.

Input:

- `Data\Appendix_ESS.dta`

Output:

- Figure A2: Share routine and non-routine 2002-2018 [`Figure\Share routine and non routine.pdf`]

```
*##########################################
* Load  data
*##########################################

use "Data\Appendix_ESS.dta", clear
```

Figure A2: Share routine and non-routine 2002-2018

```
*******************************************************************************
* Graphs
*******************************************************************************
* Graph style
{
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, box
grstyle color background white
grstyle color major_grid gs8
grstyle linepattern major_grid dot
}
// Figure A2: Share routine and non-routine 2002-2018
{
preserve
// Preserve the current dataset in memory to allow restoration later

// Generate a binary variable 'tokeep' to identify the countries to be kept for Figure A2
gen tokeep = (cou == "BEL" | cou == "CZE" | cou == "EST" | cou == "HUN" | cou == "LUX" | cou == "SVK" |

// Keep only the observations for the countries specified in 'tokeep'
keep if tokeep == 1


// Keep observations where 'mnactic' is 1 or 3 (paid work or unemployed looking for a job), and 'rti' i
keep if inlist(mnactic, 1, 3) & rti ~= .

// Generate a binary variable 'routine' to indicate whether the task is routine (rti > 0)
gen routine = 1 if rti > 0
replace routine = 0 if rti < 0

// Calculate the total number of people in each occupation per year for each country and routine catego
bysort year routine cou: egen empl = sum(dweight)

// Calculate the total number of people in each ISCO2 category per year for each country
bysort year cou: egen tot = sum(dweight)

// Calculate the share of people within each type of task (routine or non-routine) per year
gen share = empl / tot * 100

// Label the variables with descriptive names
```

```
label var empl "total no people within occup/year"
label var tot "total no people with isco2 within year"
label var share "share of people within type of task routinary or not /year"
lab var cou "Country"

// Collapse the dataset to calculate the weighted share of routine and non-routine tasks by year and co
collapse share [aw=pweight], by(routine year cou)

// Sort the dataset by country, year, and routine status
sort cou year routine share

// Generate separate variables for the share of non-routine and routine tasks
gen routine0 = share if routine == 0
gen routine1 = share if routine == 1

// Calculate the total share of non-routine tasks per year and country
bysort year cou: egen share0 = total(routine0)

// Calculate the total share of routine tasks per year and country
bysort year cou: egen share1 = total(routine1)

// Calculate the polarization between non-routine and routine tasks
gen polarization = share0 - share1

// Generate a line graph showing the share of routine and non-routine tasks over time for each country
graph twoway ///
    line share year if routine == 1, lc(red) legend(label(1 "Routine")) by(cou) || ///
    line share year if routine == 0, lc(blue) legend(label(2 "Non-Routine")) by(cou)

// Export the graph to a PDF file
graph export "Figure\Share routine and non routine.pdf", as(pdf) replace

// Restore the original dataset that was in memory before any modifications
restore

}
```

```
(85,256 observations deleted)
(181,328 observations deleted)
(99,690 missing values generated)
(99,690 real changes made)
(177 missing values generated)
(177 missing values generated)
file Figure\Share routine and non routine.pdf saved as PDF format
```

[4_3_Figures_Appendix_CHES.do]

This do-file:

- Creates Figure A4 using data from CHES.

Input:

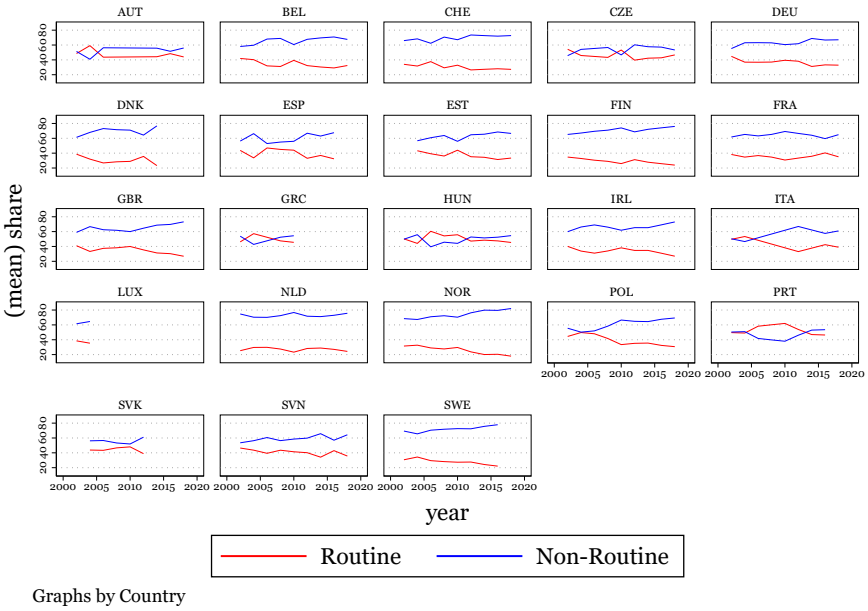

Figure 6: Figure A2: Share routine and non-routine 2002-2018

- `Data\1999-2019_CHES_dataset_means(v3).dta`

Output:

- Figure A4: Number of Radical Right Parties in the Party System [`Figures\NewParty.pdf`]

```
*##########################################
* Load  data
*##########################################

use "Data\1999-2019_CHES_dataset_means(v3).dta", clear
```

Figure A4: Number of Radical Right Parties in the Party System

```
*******************************************************************************
* Preparing variables
*******************************************************************************
{
gen radright=1 if family==1
replace radright=0 if family>1
}

*******************************************************************************
* Graph
*******************************************************************************
* Graph style
```

```
{
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, box
grstyle color background white
grstyle set color dknavy
grstyle yesno draw_major_hgrid yes
grstyle yesno draw_major_ygrid yes
grstyle color major_grid gs8
grstyle linepattern major_grid dot
grstyle color ci_area gs12%50
 graph set window fontface "Georgia"
}
// Figure A4: Number of Radical Right Parties in the Party System
{
preserve
collapse (sum) radright, by(year)  // Collapse the data by summing the 'radright' variable for each yea

line radright year, ytitle("Number of Radical Right Parties", size(small))   xtitle("Year", size(small))
graph export "Figure\NewParty.pdf", as(pdf) replace

restore
}
```

```
(1,077 missing values generated)
(1,077 real changes made)


file Figure\NewParty.pdf saved as PDF format
```

[4_4_Figures_Appendix_CMP.do]

This do-file:

- Creates Figure A5 using data from ISSP.

Input:

- `Data\CMP\MPDataset_MPDS2020a_stata14.dta`

Output:

- Figure A5: Number of Nationalist Parties in Elections [`Figures\Nationalist.pdf`]

```
*****************************************
* Load  data
*****************************************

use "Data\CMP\MPDataset_MPDS2020a_stata14.dta", clear
```

```
(Manifesto Project Dataset Version 2020a. Please type "notes" for more details)
```

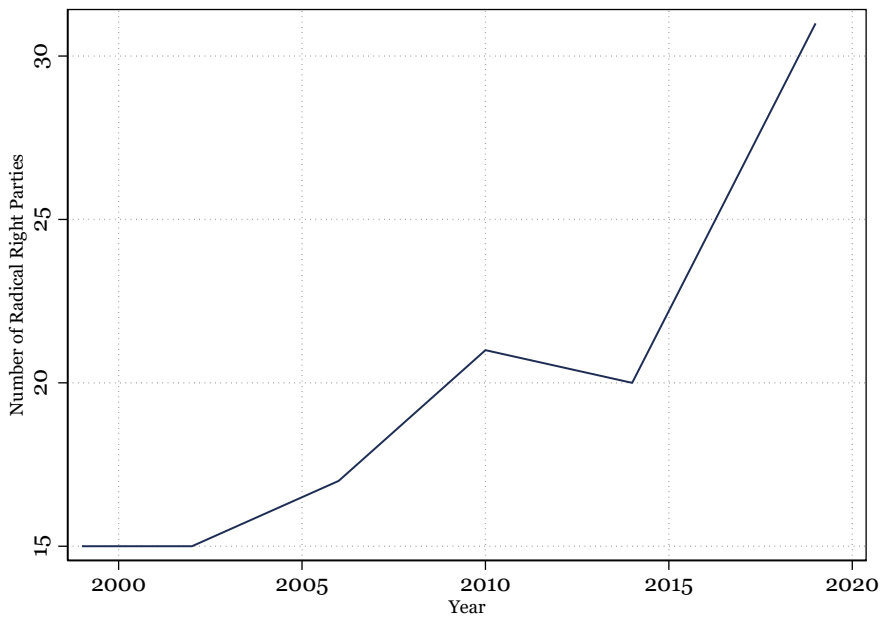

Figure 7: Figure A4: Number of Radical Right Parties in the Party System

Figure A5: Number of Nationalist Parties in Elections

```
*******************************************************************************
* Preparing variables
*******************************************************************************
{
gen year = year(edate)

keep if countryname=="Australia" |  countryname=="Canada" |  countryname=="Greece" |  countryname=="New

gen radright=1 if parfam==70
replace radright=0 if parfam>70 | parfam<70
}

*******************************************************************************
* Graphs
*******************************************************************************
* Graph style
{
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, box
grstyle color background white
grstyle set color dknavy
grstyle yesno draw_major_hgrid yes
grstyle yesno draw_major_ygrid yes
grstyle color major_grid gs8
grstyle linepattern major_grid dot
```

```
grstyle color ci_area gs12%50
 graph set window fontface "Georgia"
}
// Figure A5: Number of Nationalist Parties in Elections
{
sort year  // Sort the dataset by year
collapse (sum) radright, by(year)  // Collapse the data by summing the 'radright' variable for each yea
tsset year  // Declare the dataset to be time-series data with 'year' as the time variable

rolling, window(4) saving(rolling_dataset, replace): egen ma_radright = total(radright)  // Calculate a

use "rolling_dataset.dta", clear  // Load the 'rolling_dataset.dta' file
line mean start if start > 1969, title("Number of Nationalist Parties with 4-Yr Moving Average") xtitle
graph export "Figure\Nationalist.pdf", as(pdf) replace  // Export the graph to a PDF file and replace a

* Drop the .dta file
erase "rolling_dataset.dta"  // Delete the 'rolling_dataset.dta' file from the directory

}
```

```
(1,682 observations deleted)
(2,679 missing values generated)
(2,679 real changes made)



Time variable: year, 1920 to 2019, but with gaps
        Delta: 1 unit
(running egen on estimation sample)
(file rolling_dataset.dta not found)

Rolling replications (97)
----+--- 1 ---+--- 2 ---+--- 3 ---+--- 4 ---+--- 5
..................................................    50
.....................................
file rolling_dataset.dta saved
(rolling: egen)
file Figure\Nationalist.pdf saved as PDF format
```

[4_5_Figures_Appendix_StockRobots.do]

This do-file:

- Creates Figure A1 using data from Acemoglu & Restrepo.

Input:

- `Data\reproducingacemoglu.csv`

Output:

Figure 8: Figure A5: Number of Nationalist Parties in Elections

- Figure A1: Stock of robots per thousand of workers base 1993 [`Figures\number_robots.pdf`]

```
*******************************************
* Load  data
*******************************************

 import delimited "Data\reproducingacemoglu.csv", clear
```

```
(encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
(5 vars, 22 obs)
```

Figure A1: Stock of robots per thousand of workers base 1993

```


*******************************************************************************
* Graph setting
*******************************************************************************
* Graph style
{
grstyle clear
set scheme s2color
grstyle init
grstyle set plain, box
grstyle color background white
grstyle set color dknavy
grstyle yesno draw_major_hgrid yes
grstyle yesno draw_major_ygrid yes
```

```
grstyle color major_grid gs8
grstyle linepattern major_grid dot
grstyle color ci_area gs12%50
 graph set window fontface "Georgia"
}
 //Figure A1: Stock of robots per thousand of workers base 1993
 {
twoway ///
    (line germany year, lcolor(blue) lwidth(medium) lpattern(solid)) ///
    (line denmarkfinlandfranceitalyandswed year, lcolor(gs10) lwidth(medium) lpattern(longdash)) ///
    (line unitedstates year, lcolor(blue) lwidth(medium) lpattern(shortdash)) ///
    (line norwayspainanduk year, lcolor(blue) lwidth(medium) lpattern(dash_dot)), ///
    xtitle("Year") ytitle("Stock of robots per thousand of workers") ///
    legend(order(1 "Germany" 2 "Denmark, Finland, France, Italy and Sweden" 3 "United States" 4 "Norway
    yscale(range(0 6)) xscale(range(1993 2014)) legend(size(small))


graph export "Figure\number_robots.pdf", as(pdf) replace
}
```

```
file Figure\number_robots.pdf saved as PDF format
```

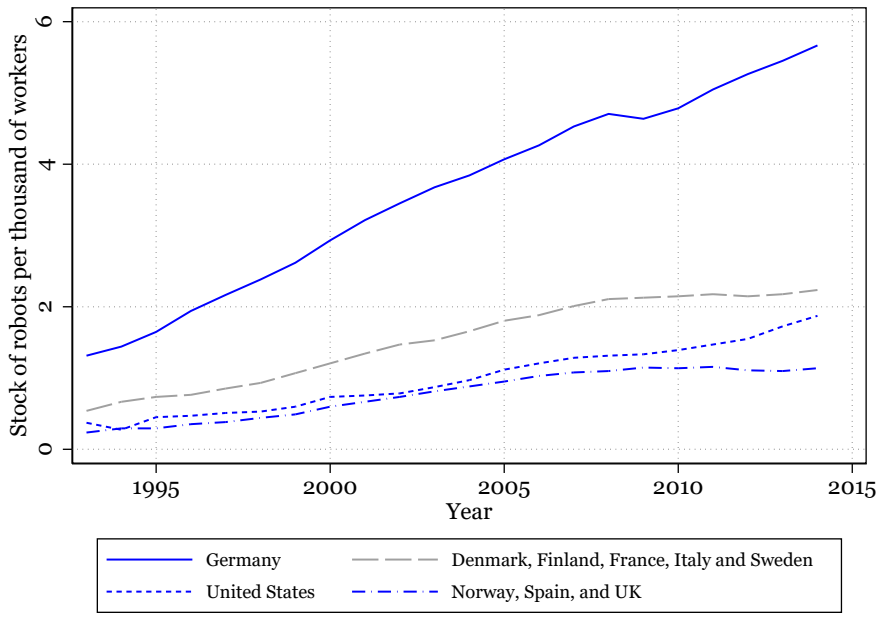

Figure 9: Figure A1: Stock of robots per thousand of workers base 1993