

ONLINE APPENDIX

Who Still Likes Social Democracy?

The Support Base of Social Democratic Parties Reconsidered

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Appendix A: Further information on the data

Table A.1: ESS rounds covered in our analysis, with indication of the election year

	Round 5 [2010]	Round 6 [2012]	Round 7 [2014]	Round 8 [2016]	Round 9 [2018]
Austria	*	--	2013	2013	2017
Belgium	2010	2010	2014	2014	2014
Denmark	*	2011	2011	--	--
Finland	*	2011	2011	2015	2015
France	*	2012	2012	2012	2017
Germany	2009	2009	2013	2013	2017
Iceland	--	2009	--	2016	--
Ireland	2011	2011	2011	2016	2016
Italy	--	2013	--	2013	2018
Netherlands	2010	2012	2012	2012	2017
Norway	2009	2009	2013	2013	2017
Portugal	2009	2011	2015	2015	2015
Spain	2008	2011	2011	2016	2019
Sweden	2010	2010	2014	2014	2018
Switzerland	*	2011	2011	2015	2015
United Kingdom	2010	2010	2010-15	2015	2017

Note: * = Election took place before the Great Recession, -- = country not included in ESS round

Table A.2: List of all parties included

	Party abbreviation	Full party name
Austria	SPO	Social Democratic Party of Austria
Belgium	SP	Belgian Socialist Party (Flemish)
	PS	Socialist Party (Francophone)
Denmark	Sd	Social Democrats
Finland	SSDP	Social Democratic Party of Finland
France	PS	Socialist Party
Germany	SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany
Iceland	Sam	Social Democratic Alliance
Ireland	Lab	Labour Party
Italy	PD	Democratic Party
Netherlands	PvdA	Labour Party
Norway	DNA	Norwegian Labour Party
Portugal	PS	Socialist Party
Spain	PSOE	Spanish Socialist Workers Party
Sweden	SAP	Social Democrats
Switzerland	SP-PS	Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
United Kingdom	Lab	Labour Party

Table A.3: Operationalisation of key variables

Variable	Question Wording	Measurement
Support for social democracy	Vote Choice: Which party did you vote for in that election? (see below) Party Identification: Is there a particular political party you feel closer to than all the other parties? Which one? (see below)	Categorical variable: 1=Core supporters; 2=Distant supporters; 3=Potential supporters; 4=Non-supporters
Class (full)	What is/was the name or title of your main job? In your main job, what kind of work do/did you do most of the time? What training or qualifications are/were needed for the job?	Categorical variable: 1 = Production workers; 2 = Service workers; 3 = Clerks; 4 = Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals; 5 = Technical (semi-)professionals; 6 = (Associate) managers; 7 = Small business owners; 8 = Self-employed professionals and large employers
Class (simplified)		Categorical variable: 1=Working class; 2=Socio-cultural professionals; 3=Managers/owners; 4= Other middle class
Attitude Pro-Redistribution	Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels.	Categorical variable: 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (disagree strongly)
Attitude Pro-Immigration	And, using this card, would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?	Numerical variable: 0 (cultural life undermined) to 10 (cultural life enriched) Numerical variable: 0 (bad for economy) to 10 (good for economy)
Right-left scale	In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale?	Numerical variable: 0 (right) to 10 (left)
Union membership	Are you or have you ever been a member of a trade union or similar organisation? If yes, is that currently or previously?	Categorical variable: 1=Yes, currently; 0=Non member
Age	Age of respondent, calculated	Numerical variable
Sex	What is your sex?	Binary variable: 0=Male; 1=Female
Education	What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed?	Categorical Variable: 1=Lower secondary and less; 2=Upper secondary; 3=Post-secondary, non-tertiary; 4= Tertiary
Employment status	And which of these descriptions best describes your situation?	Categorical variable: 1=Paid work; 2=In education; 3=Unemployed; 4=Retired; 5=Housework; 6=Other
Residence	Which phrase on this card best describes the area where you live?	Categorical variable: 1=Big city; 2=Suburbs/outskirts; 3=Small city; 4=Village

The specific wording and the answer categories of the two questions used to identify support for social democratic parties are shown below. The question wording changed a little bit during the eight waves but the categorisation remained the same across all waves.

Party identification:

- Is there a particular political party you feel closer to than all the other parties?
 - Yes
 - No
 - (Refusal)

- (Don't know)
- FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Which one? [Country-specific codes]
 - List of parties
 - (Refusal)
 - (Don't know)

Vote choice:

- Some people don't vote nowadays for one reason or another. Did you vote in the last [country] national election in [month/year]?
 - Yes
 - No
- ASK IF YES AT PREVIOUS QUESTIONS: Which party did you vote for in that election?

Table A.4: Summary statistics

Variable	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Support for social democracy	114,472	3.499	1.014	1	4
Class (full scheme)	107,976	3.757	2.168	1	8
Class (simplified scheme)	107,976	2.266	1.161	1	4
Attitude Pro-Redistribution	113,064	3.836	1.022	1	5
Attitude Pro-Immigration	110,458	5.534	2.221	0	10
Right-left scale	105,007	4.955	2.125	0	10
Union membership	112,311	.233	.423	0	1
Age	114,121	51.517	17.811	15	114
Sex	114,453	.519	.499	0	1
Education	113,696	2.406	1.198	1	4
Employment status	113,911	2.467	1.665	1	6
Residence	114,357	2.936	1.066	1	4

Appendix B: Full regression tables

Table B.1: Determinants of support for social democracy, multilevel linear probability models (Figure 3)

		M1: SD support	M2: +interaction
<i>Fixed effects</i>			
Class (Ref.=socio-cultural prof.)	Working class	0.013 (0.02)	0.014 (0.02)
	Managers/owners	-0.042*** (0.01)	-0.041*** (0.01)
	Other middle class	0.000 (0.01)	0.001 (0.01)
Attitudes	Pro-redistributive attitudes	0.041*** (0.00)	0.041*** (0.00)
	Pro-immigration attitudes	0.046*** (0.00)	0.045*** (0.00)
Union membership (Ref.=non-member)	Union member	0.073*** (0.00)	0.073*** (0.00)
Age		0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Sex (Ref.=Men)	Female	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)
Education (Ref.=Upper secondary)	Lower secondary	0.007* (0.00)	0.008* (0.00)
	Post-secondary	-0.008 (0.01)	-0.008 (0.01)
	Tertiary	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)
	In education	-0.008 (0.01)	-0.008 (0.01)
Employment status (Ref.=Paid work)	Unemployed	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)
	Retired	0.022*** (0.00)	0.022*** (0.00)
	Housework	0.006 (0.01)	0.006 (0.01)
	Other	0.013+ (0.01)	0.013+ (0.01)
Residence (Ref.=Small city)	Big city	0.012** (0.00)	0.012** (0.00)
	Suburbs/outskirts	0.009* (0.00)	0.009* (0.00)
	Village	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)
Pro-redis. # Pro-immig.			0.006*** (0.00)
Constant		0.183*** (0.02)	0.183*** (0.02)
<i>Random effects</i>			
Var working class		0.005*** (0.00)	0.005*** (0.00)
Var managers		0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Var other middle class		0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Var intercept		0.007*** (0.00)	0.007*** (0.00)
Var residual		0.159*** (0.00)	0.159*** (0.00)
N		100724	100724
AIC		100589.9	100563.1
ICC		0.040	0.040

Standard errors in parentheses + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. The models include ESS round-fixed effects (not shown).

Table B.2: Determinants of belonging to the demobilised and distant supporters (Figure 4)

		M3: demobilised	M4: distant
<i>Fixed effects</i>			
Class (Ref.=socio-cultural prof.)	Working class	0.035*	0.016
		(0.02)	(0.01)
	Managers/owners	0.006	-0.007
		(0.01)	(0.02)
	Other middle class	0.005	-0.008
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Attitudes	Pro-redistributive attitudes	-0.020***	-0.021***
		(0.00)	(0.00)
	Pro-immigration attitudes	-0.014***	-0.049***
		(0.00)	(0.00)
Union membership (Ref.=non-member)	Union member	-0.057***	-0.068***
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Age		-0.003***	-0.004***
		(0.00)	(0.00)
Sex (Ref.=Men)	Female	0.000	0.038***
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Education (Ref.=Upper secondary)	Lower secondary	0.004	0.001
		(0.01)	(0.01)
	Post-secondary	-0.010	-0.006
		(0.01)	(0.01)
	Tertiary	0.004	0.003
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Employment status (Ref.=Paid work)	In education	0.038 ⁺	-0.054*
		(0.02)	(0.02)
	Unemployed	0.091***	0.011
		(0.02)	(0.02)
	Retired	0.018	-0.043***
		(0.01)	(0.01)
	Housework	0.000	-0.061***
		(0.02)	(0.02)
	Other	0.070***	-0.020
		(0.02)	(0.02)
Residence (Ref.=Small city)	Big city	-0.007	-0.020 ⁺
		(0.01)	(0.01)
	Suburbs/outskirts	-0.005	-0.005
		(0.01)	(0.01)
	Village	-0.008	-0.011
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant		0.236***	0.528***
		(0.02)	(0.03)
<i>Random effects</i>			
Var working class		0.001***	0.001***
		(0.00)	(0.00)
Var managers		0.000	0.002***
		(0.00)	(0.00)
Var other middle class		0.000	0.000
		(0.00)	(0.00)
Var intercept		0.005***	0.012***
		(0.00)	(0.00)
Var residual		0.168***	0.226***
		(0.00)	(0.00)
N		13884	18803
AIC		14768.6	25565.6
ICC		0.028	0.051

Standard errors in parentheses ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. The models include ESS round-fixed effects (not shown).

Appendix C: Robustness checks

C.1: ESS rounds as a third level

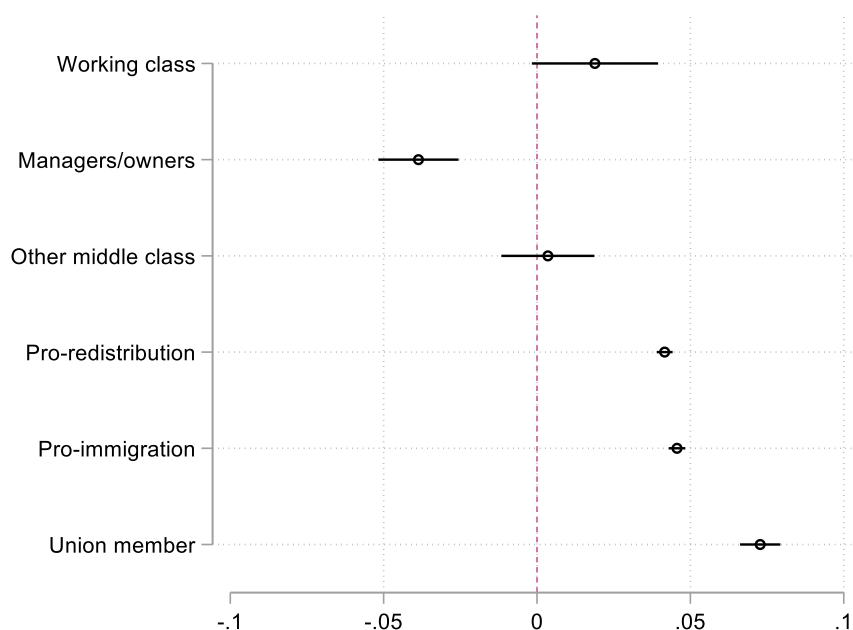


Figure C.1.1: Average marginal effects (AMEs) of class, attitudes and union membership on support for social democracy

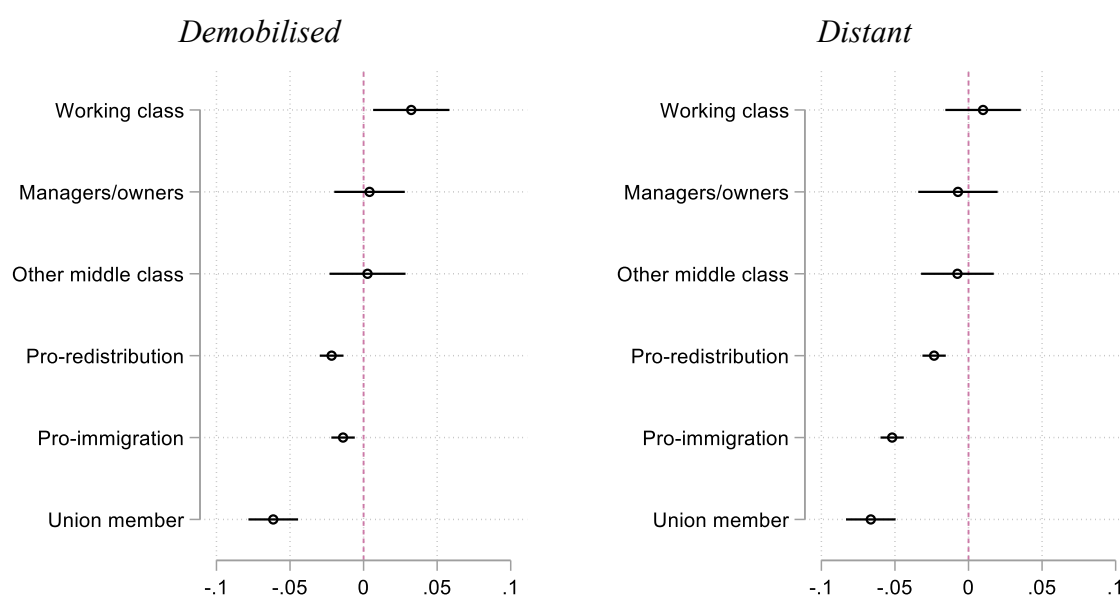


Figure C.1.2: AMEs of class, attitudes and union membership on the different support groups of social democracy

C.2 Analyses with all available ESS waves (1-9)

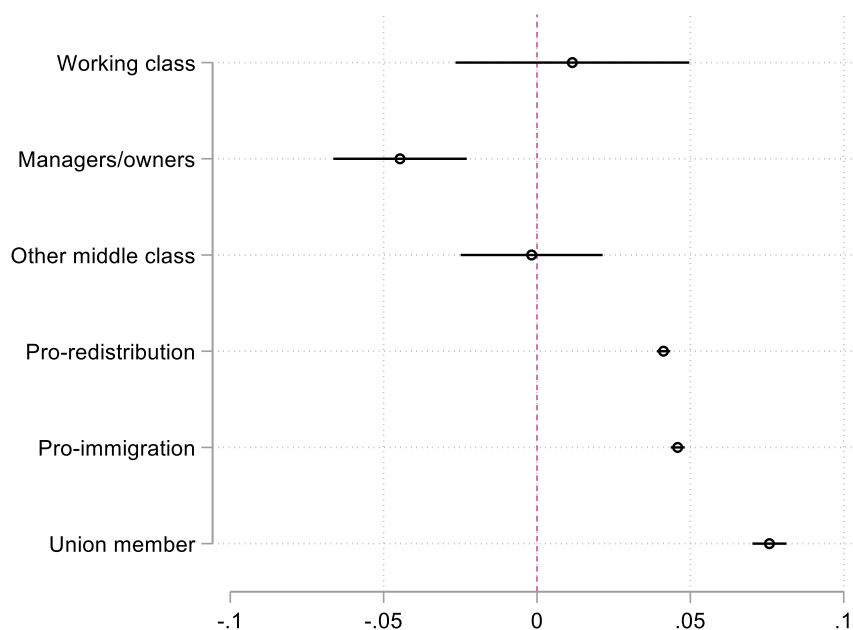


Figure C.2.1: Average marginal effects (AMEs) of class, attitudes and union membership on support for social democracy

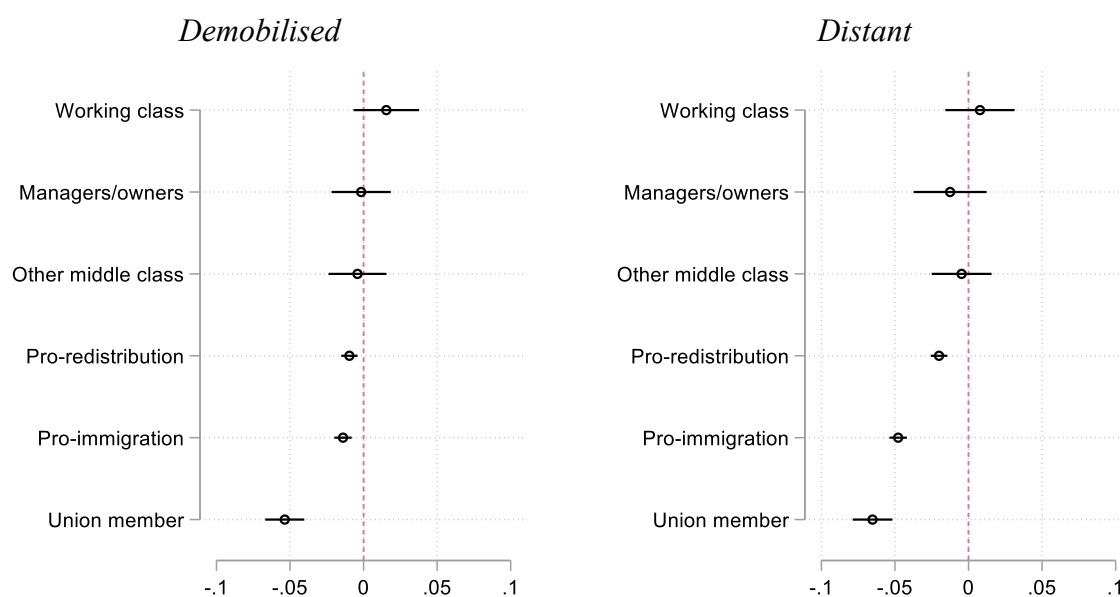


Figure C.2.2: AMEs of class, attitudes and union membership on the different support groups of social democracy

C.3 Analyses with logistic regressions

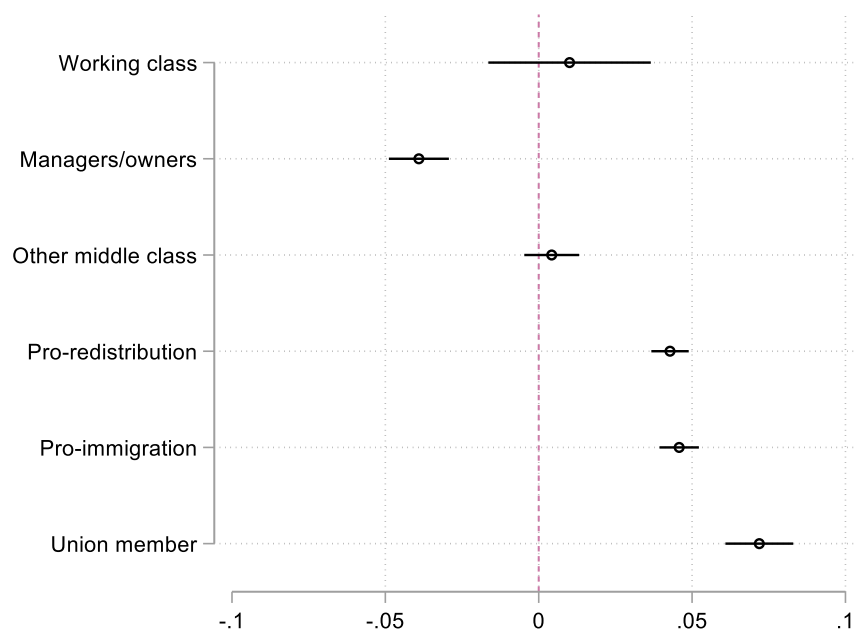


Figure C.3.1: Average marginal effects (AMEs) of class, attitudes and union membership on support for social democracy

Note: The regression models include a random intercept and a random slope for working class.

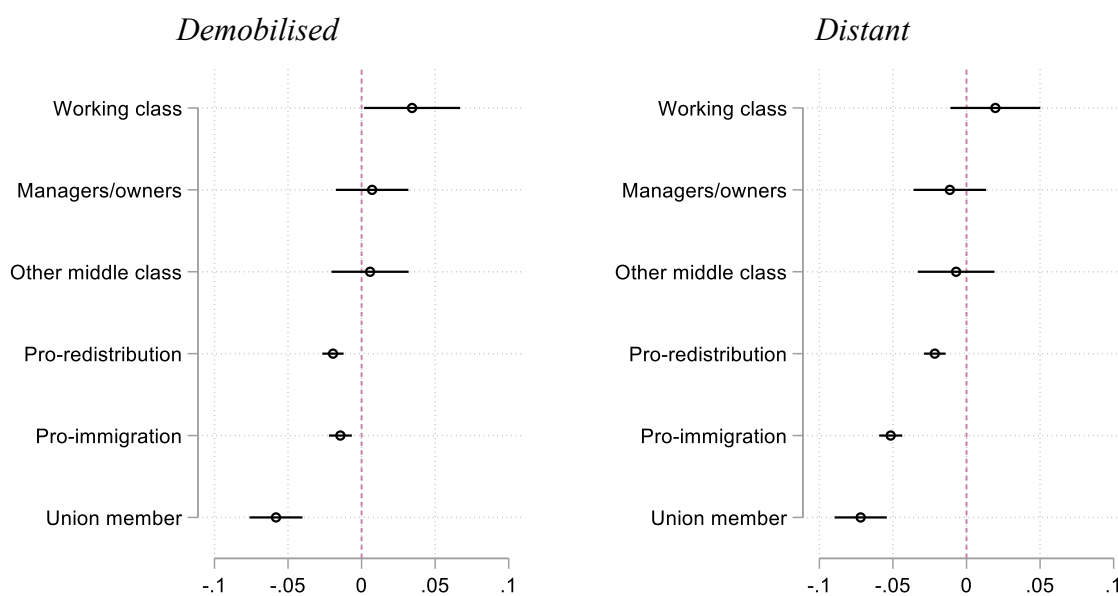


Figure C.3.2: AMEs of class, attitudes and union membership on membership on the different support groups of social democracy

Note: The regression models include a random intercept and a random slope for working class.

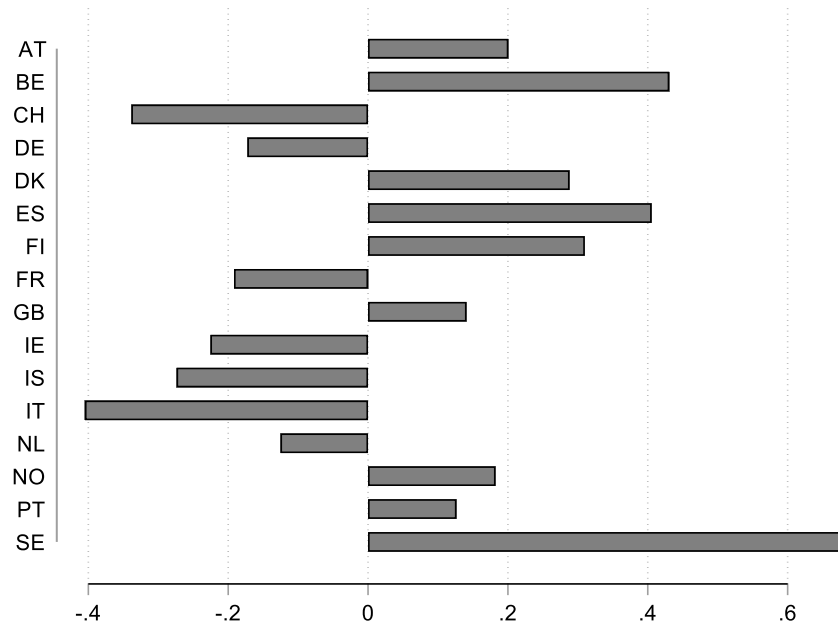


Figure C.3.3: Country-specific predicted random slopes for working class (relative to socio-cultural professionals) on belonging to the supporters

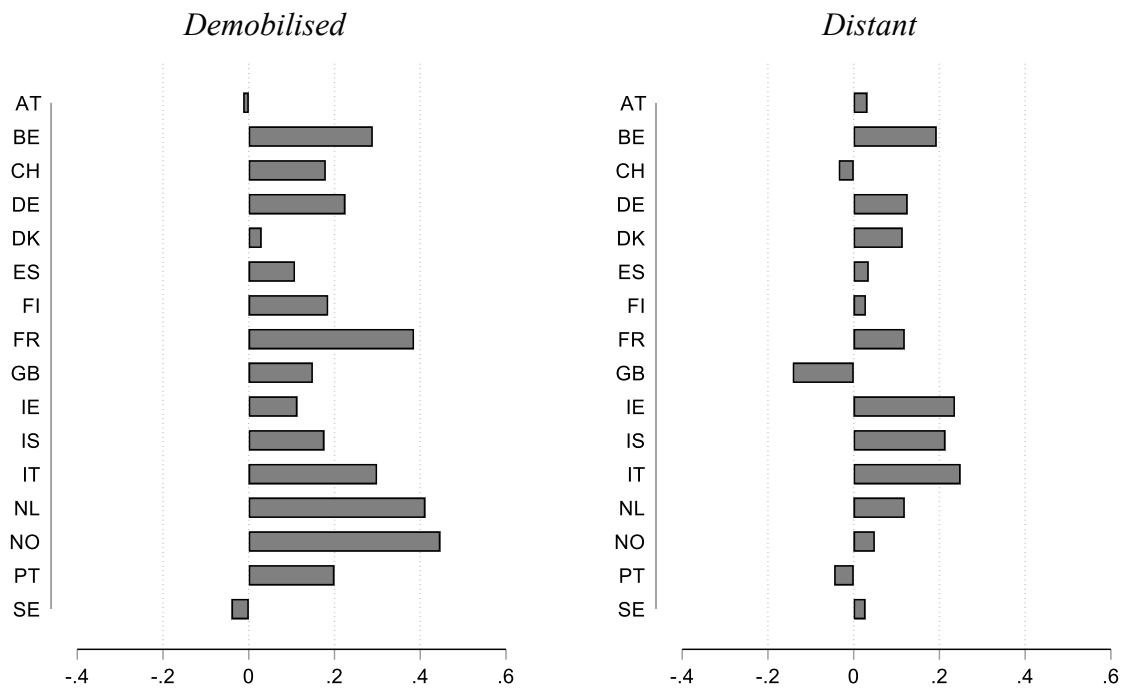


Figure C.3.4: Country-specific predicted random slopes for working class (relative to socio-cultural professionals) on belonging to the demobilised and distant supporters

C.4 Analyses with full class schema with country and wave fixed effects

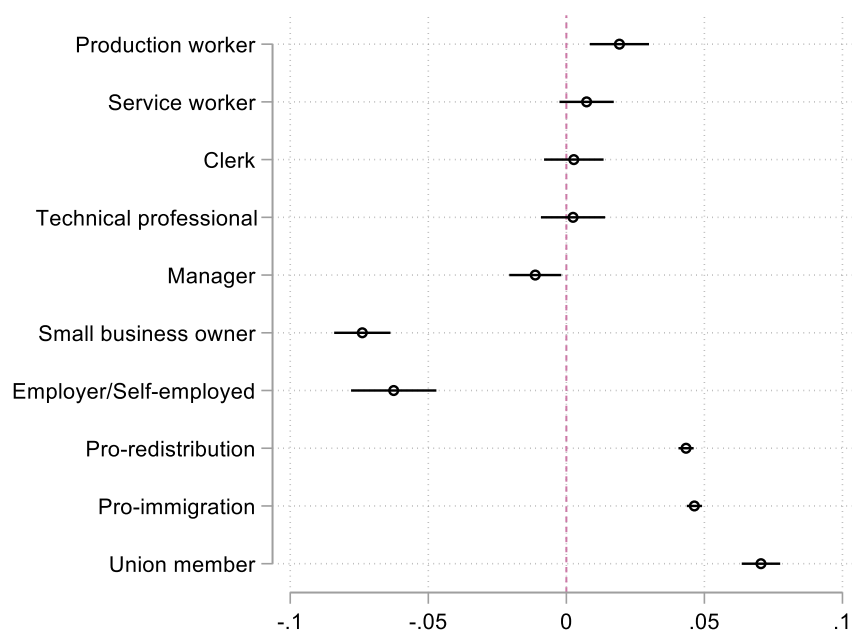


Figure C.4.1: Average marginal effects (AMEs) of class, attitudes and union membership on support for social democracy



Figure C.4.2: AMEs of class, attitudes and union membership on the different support groups of social democracy

C.5 Analyses with left-right variable instead of ideology variables

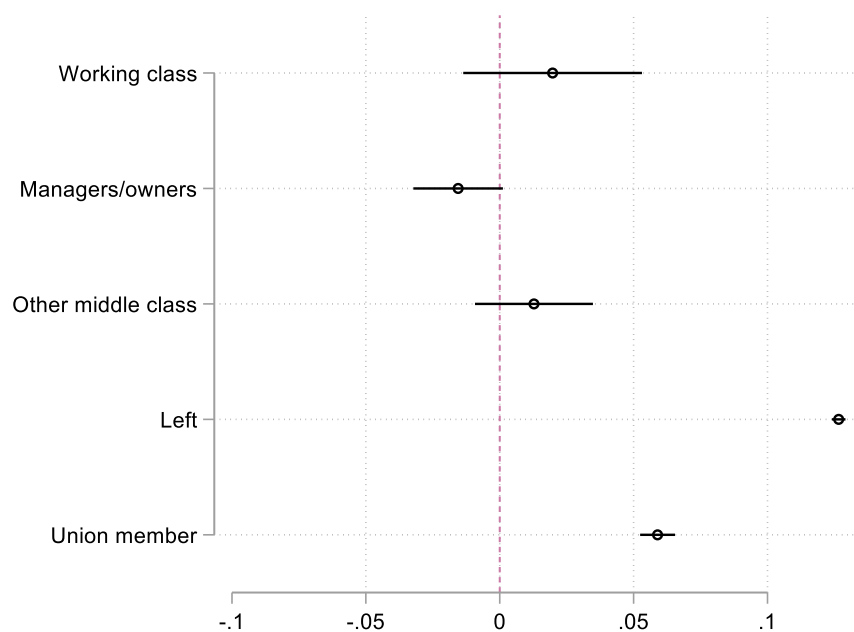


Figure C.5.1: AMEs of class, left-right self-placement and union membership on support for social democracy

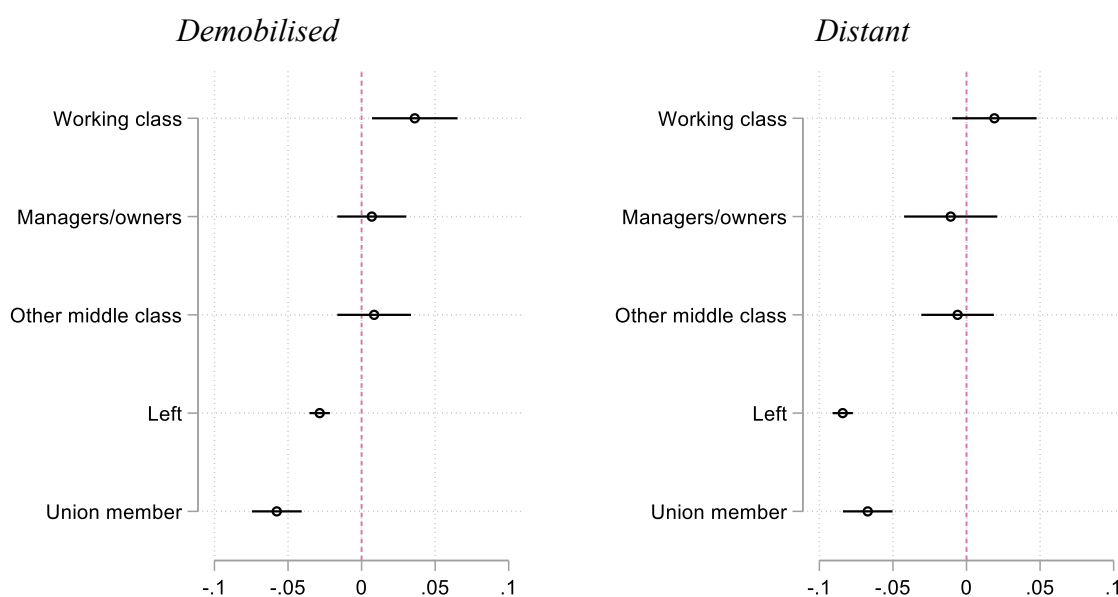


Figure C.5.2: AMEs of class, left-right self-placement and union membership on the different support groups of social democracy

C.6 Analyses with survey weights

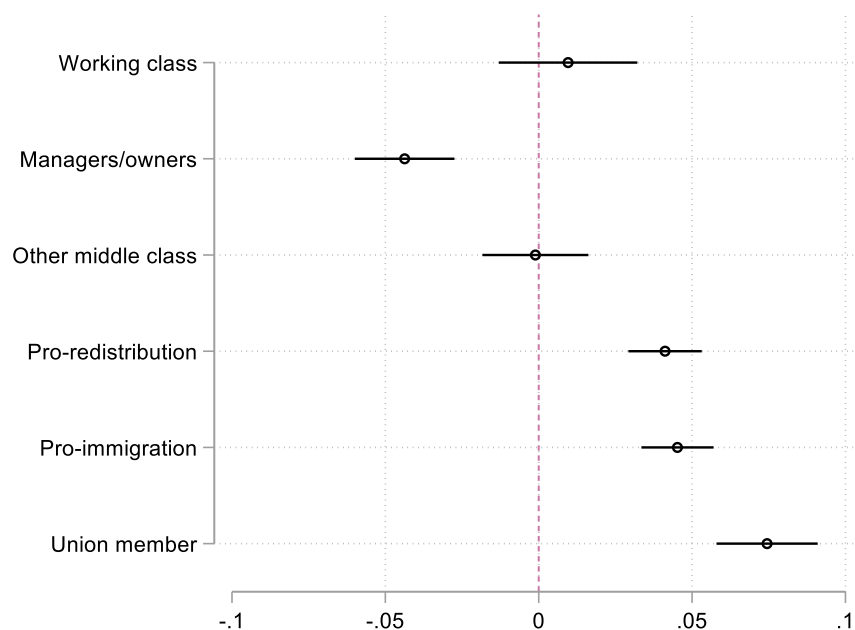


Figure C.7.1: Average marginal effects (AMEs) of class, attitudes and union membership on support for social democracy, with ESS post-stratification weight

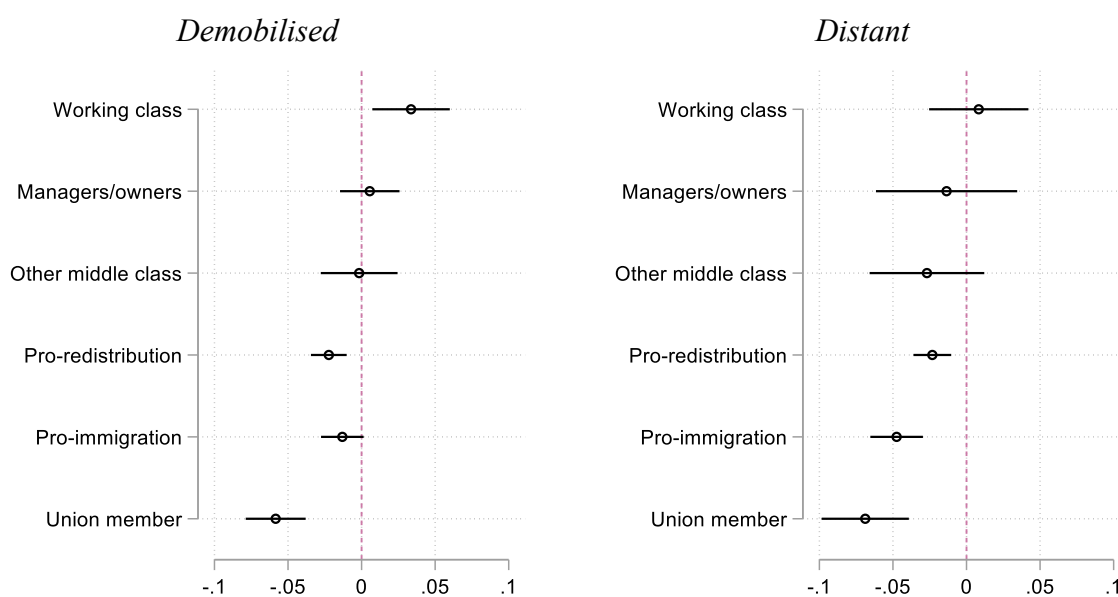


Figure C.7.2: AMEs of class, attitudes and union membership on the different support groups of social democracy, with ESS post-stratification weight

Appendix D: Additional analyses

D.1 Determinants of partisan identity and vote separately

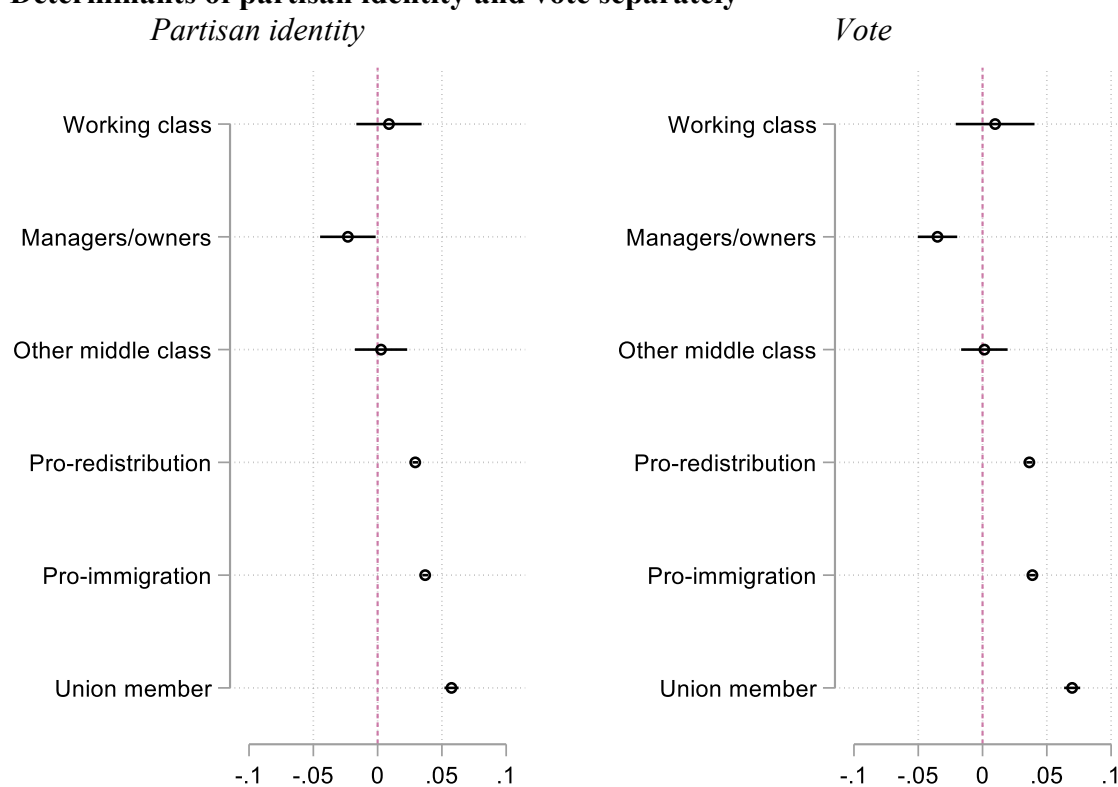


Figure D.1.1: AMEs of class, attitudes and union membership on identification and vote for social democracy

D.2 Analyses contrasting demobilised to distant supporters

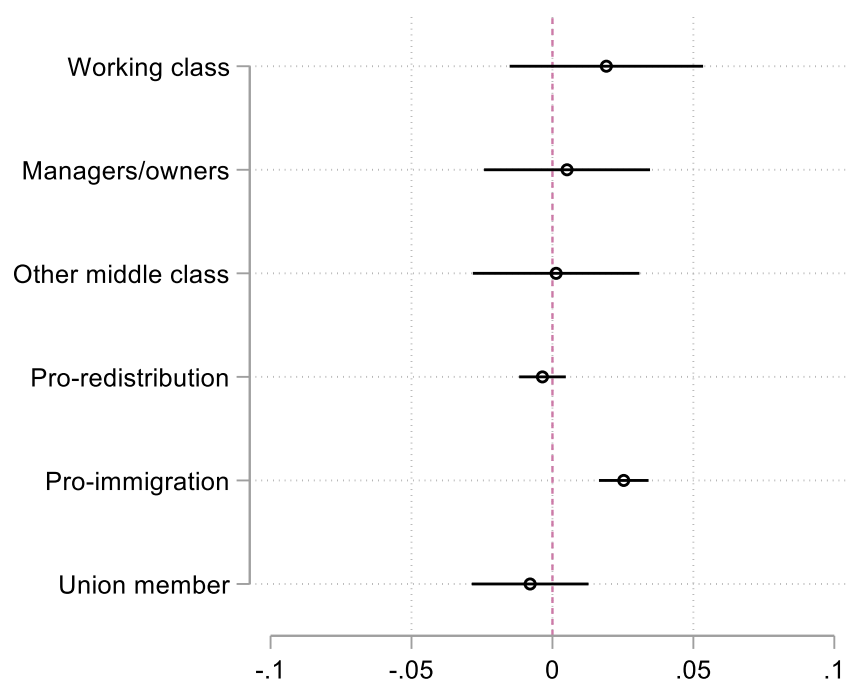


Figure D.2.1: Average marginal effects (AMEs) of class, attitudes and union membership on being a demobilised supporter (as contrasted to a distant supporter)

Note: The dependent variable takes the value 1 if respondents are demobilised supporters and the value 0 if they are distant supporters. All other respondents are excluded from the analysis.

D.3 Interaction effects

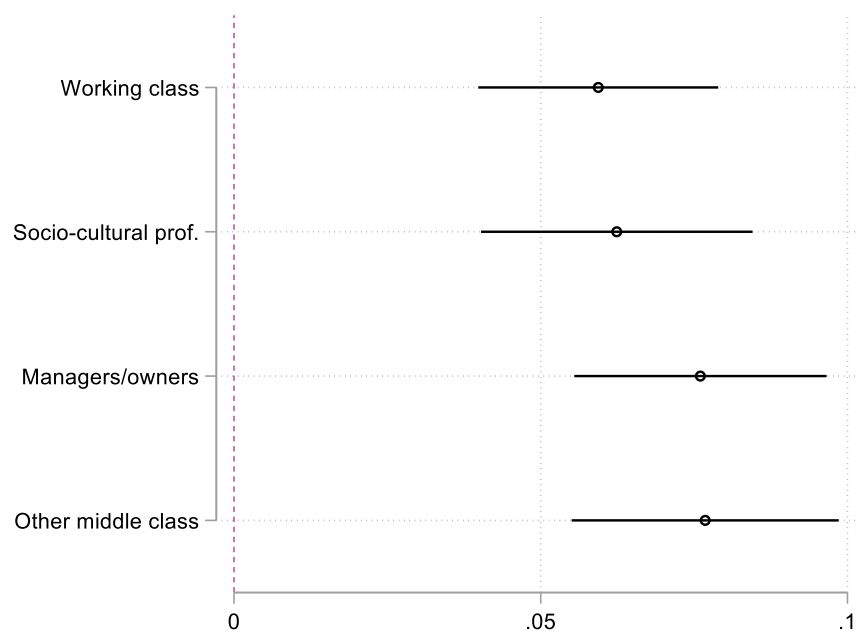


Figure D.3.1: Average marginal effect of union membership by social class on support for social democracy

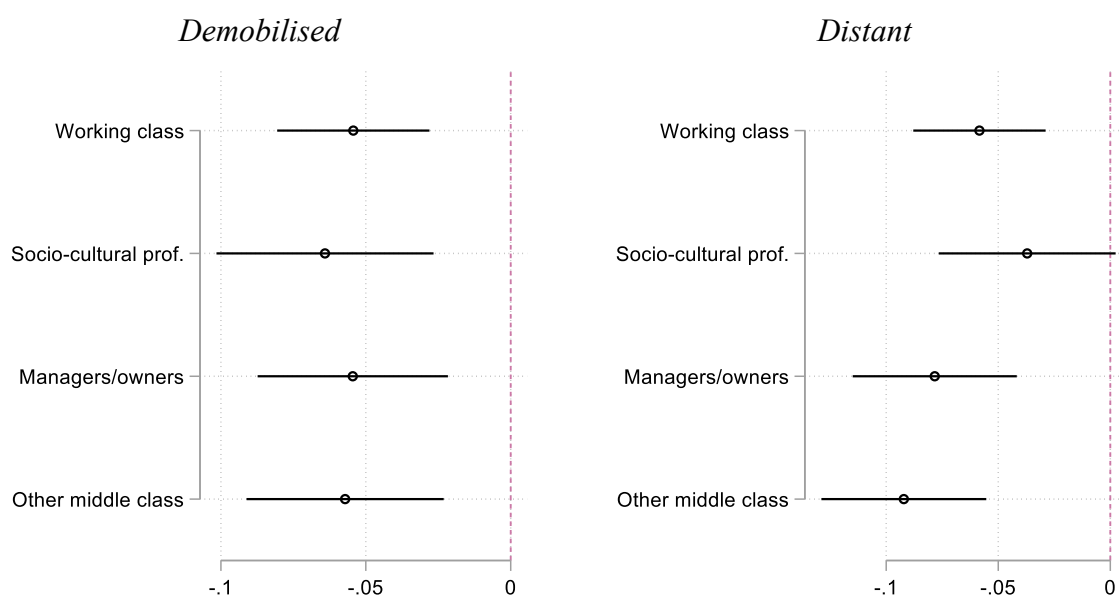


Figure D.3.2: Average marginal effect of union membership by social class on being a demobilised supporter and a distant supporter

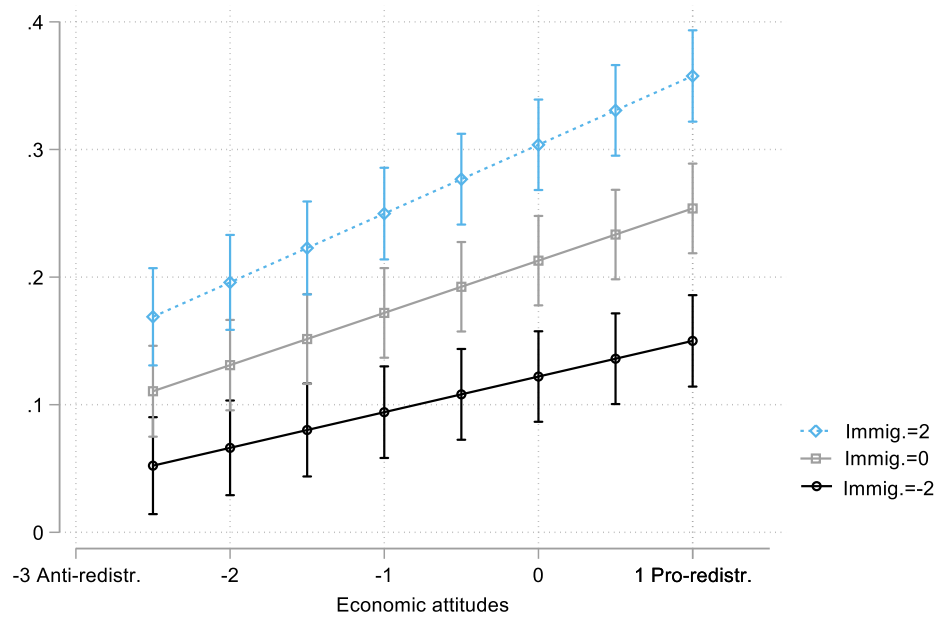


Figure D.3.3: Average marginal effect of economic attitudes on support for social democracy conditional on cultural attitudes

Note: The results are based on M2 in Table B.1. The immigration and economic scales are standardized with 0 as the mean and 1 as one standard deviation. Values on the immigration scale are computed for anti-immigration attitudes (-2), mean immigration values (0), and pro-immigration attitudes (2).

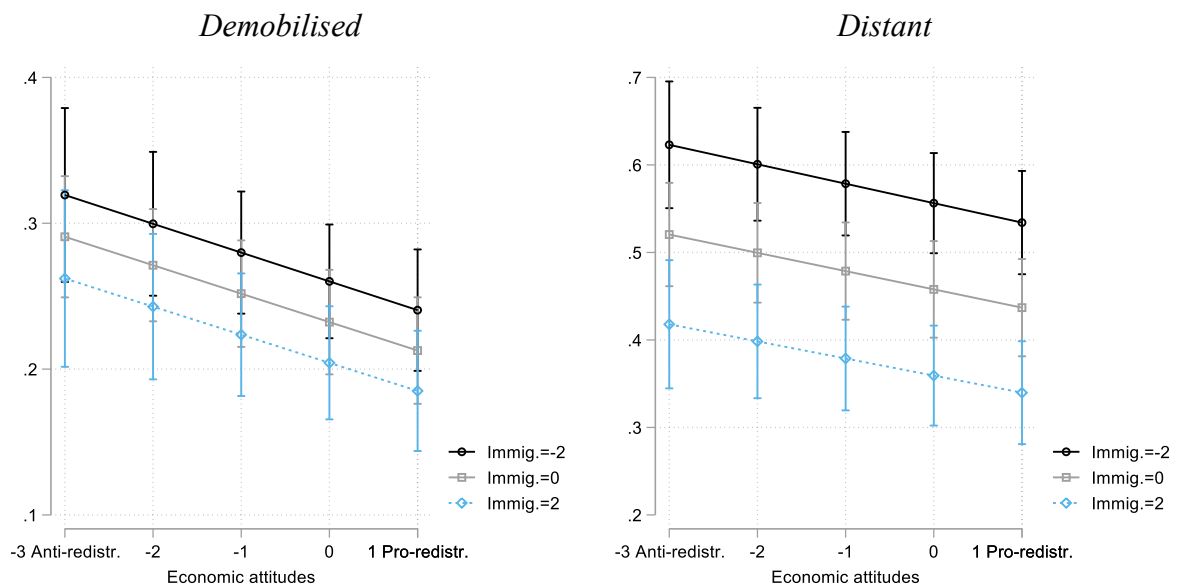


Figure D.3.4: Average marginal effect of economic attitudes on belonging to the demobilised and distant supporters conditional on cultural attitudes

D.4 Country-level differences

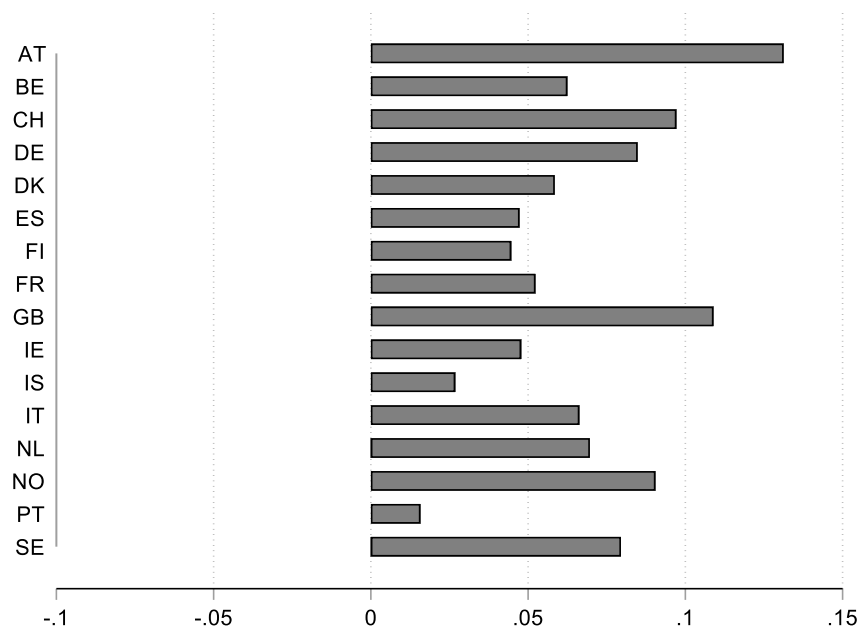


Figure D.4.1: Country-specific predicted random slopes for union membership on belonging to the supporters

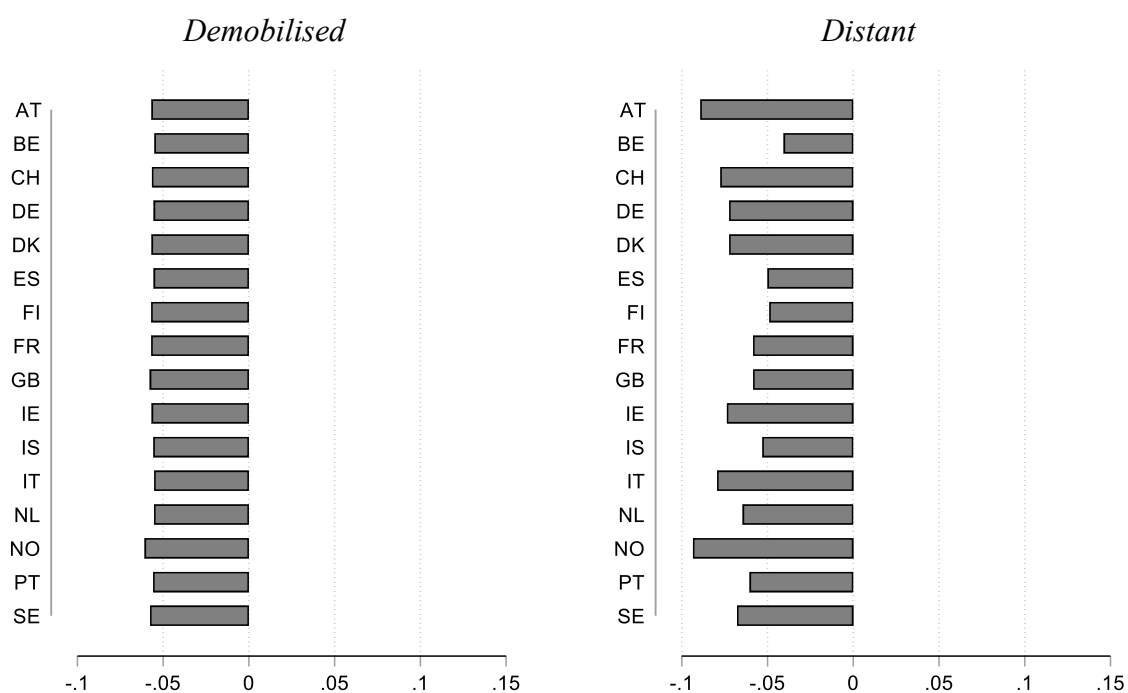


Figure D.4.2: Country-specific predicted random slopes for union membership on belonging to the demobilised and distant supporters

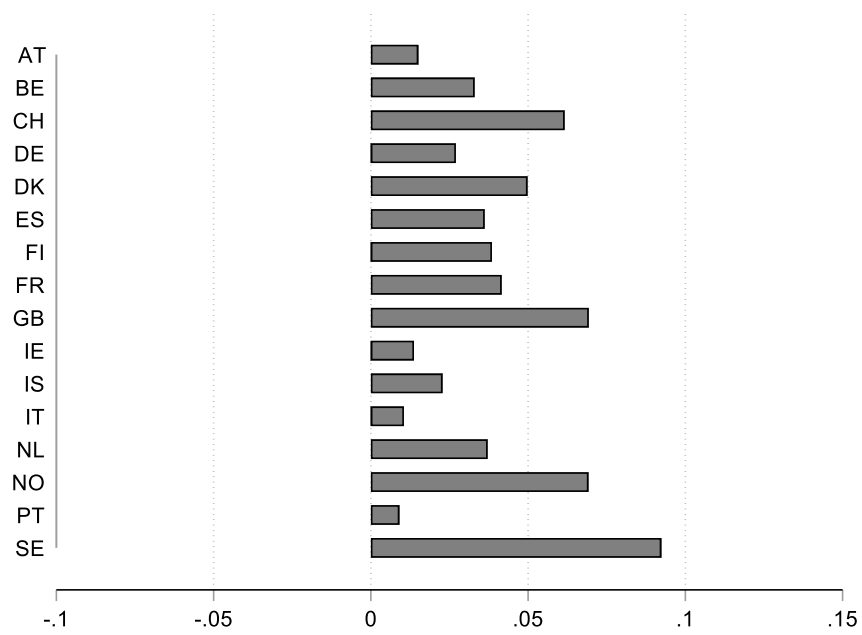


Figure D.4.3: Country-specific predicted random slopes for redistribution on belonging to the supporters

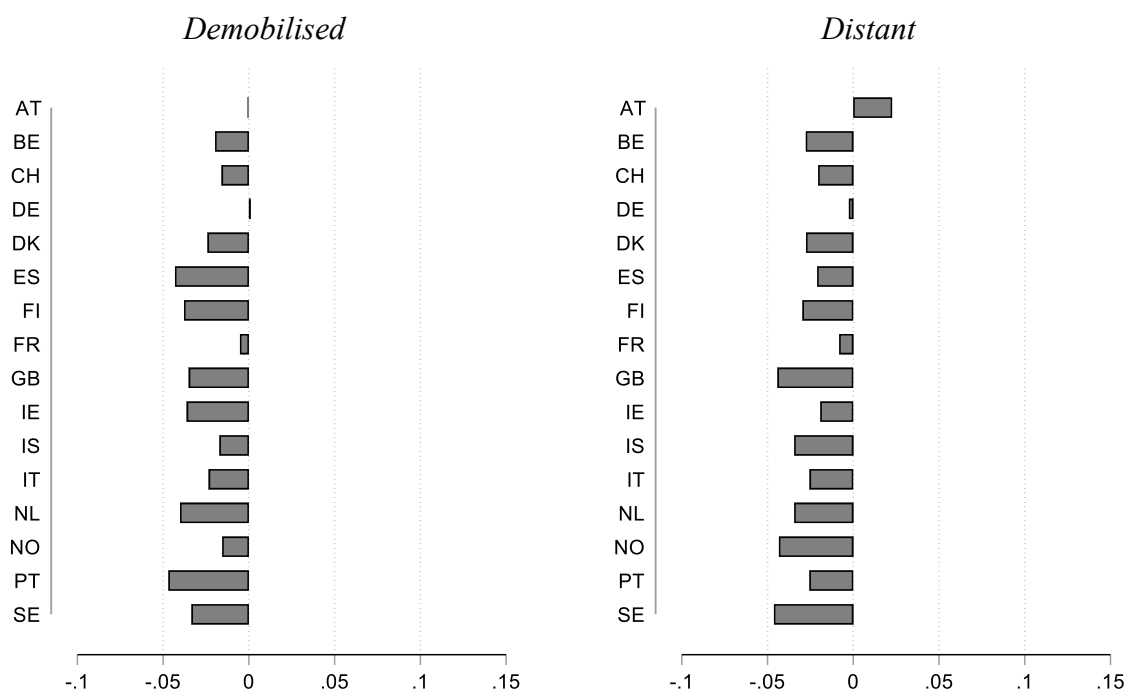


Figure D.4.4: Country-specific predicted random slopes for redistribution on belonging to the demobilised and distant supporters

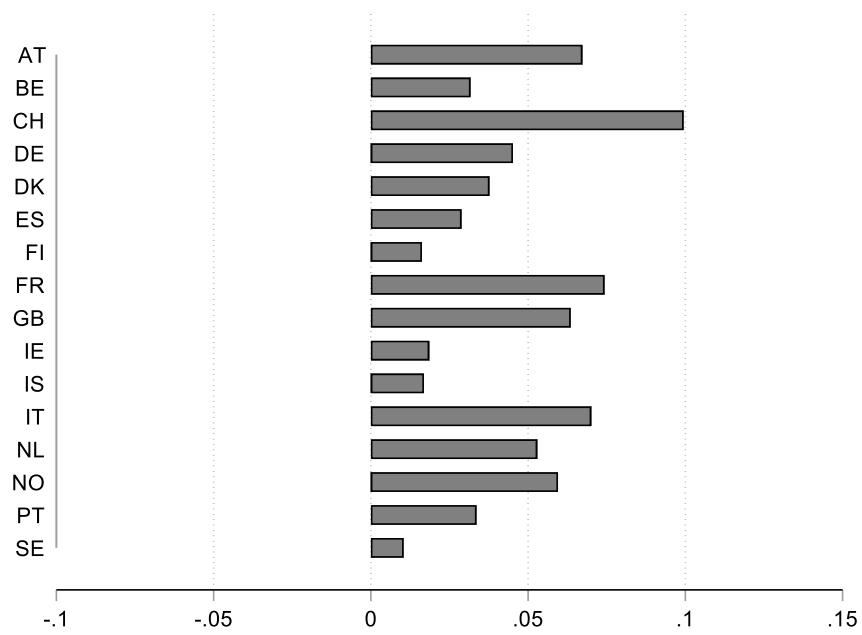


Figure D.4.5: Country-specific predicted random slopes for immigration on belonging to the supporters

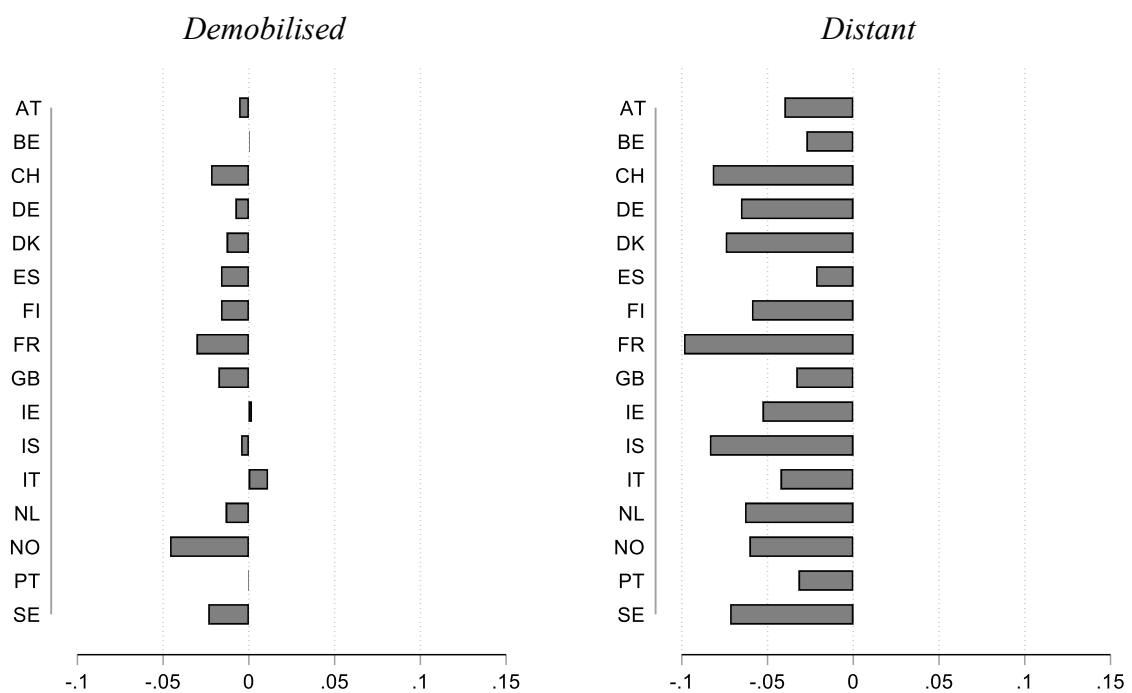


Figure D.4.6: Country-specific predicted random slopes for immigration on belonging to the demobilised and distant supporters

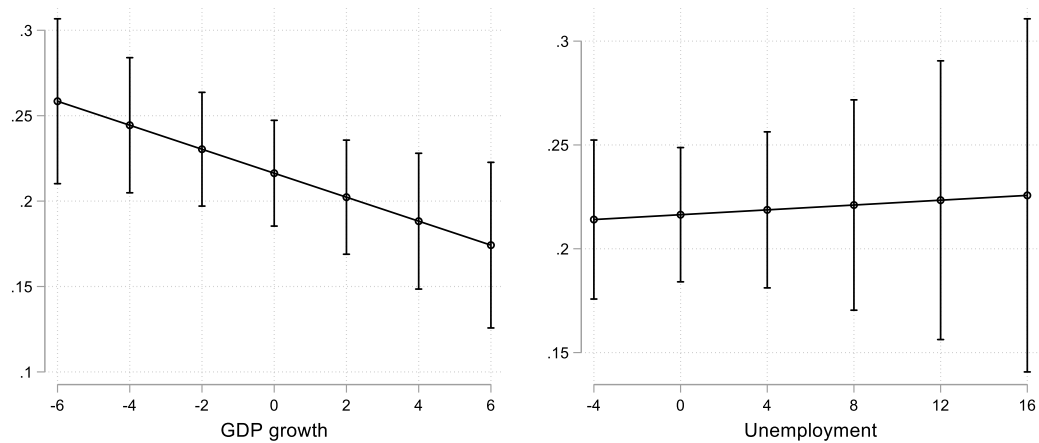


Figure D.4.7: Effect of economic growth and unemployment on support for social democracy

Note: The results show predicted probabilities of social democratic support depending on GDP growth and unemployment (included in two separate regressions). The entries are based on multilevel linear probability models with a random intercept at the country-year level, a random intercept at the country level and random slopes for social class. GDP growth and unemployment are annual figures from the OECD and were matched with each ESS round. The two variables are centred at their mean.

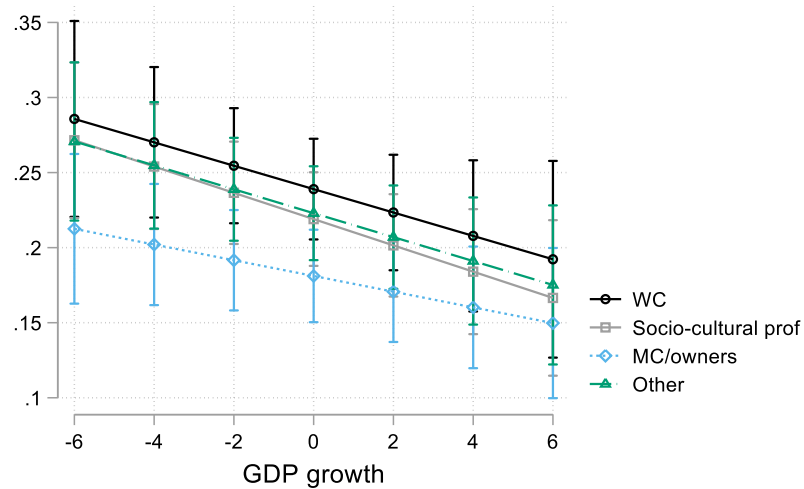


Figure D.4.8: Effect of economic growth on support for social democracy by social class (cross-level interaction)

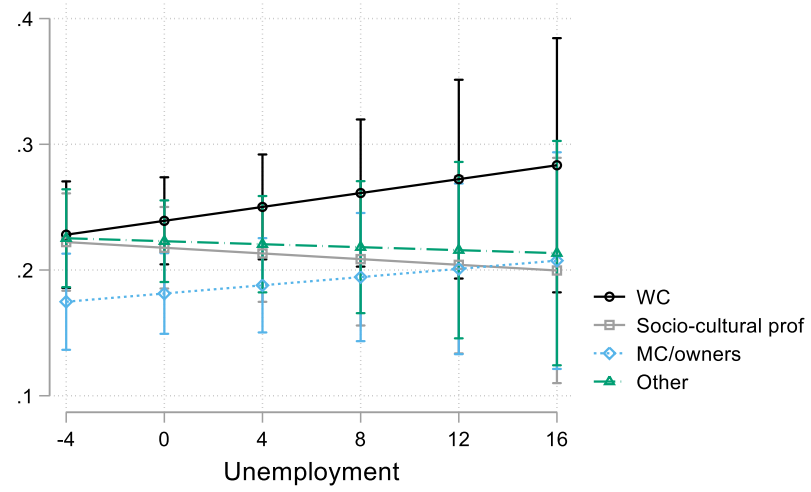


Figure D.4.9: Effect of unemployment on support for social democracy by social class (cross-level interaction)

Appendix E: Further analyses of different forms of supporting social democratic parties

E.1 Separate analyses of the different forms of support depending on the other form of support



Figure E.1.1: Average marginal effects of class, attitudes, and union membership on voting for social democratic parties depending on partisan identification

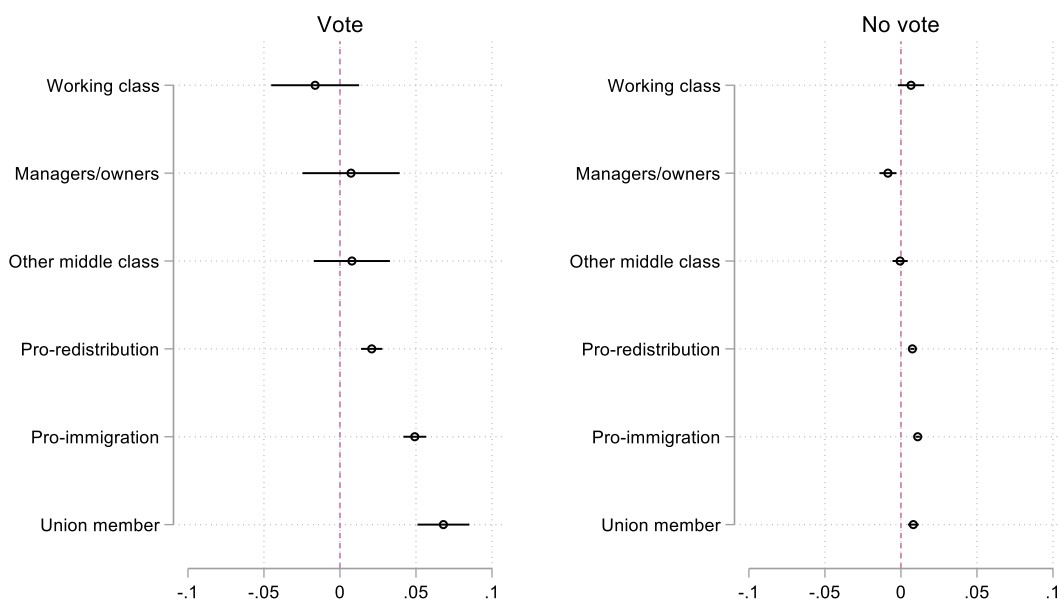


Figure E.1.2: Average marginal effects of class, attitudes, and union membership on partisan attachment for social democratic parties depending on voting

E.2 Patterns of abstention vs. voting among demobilised supporters

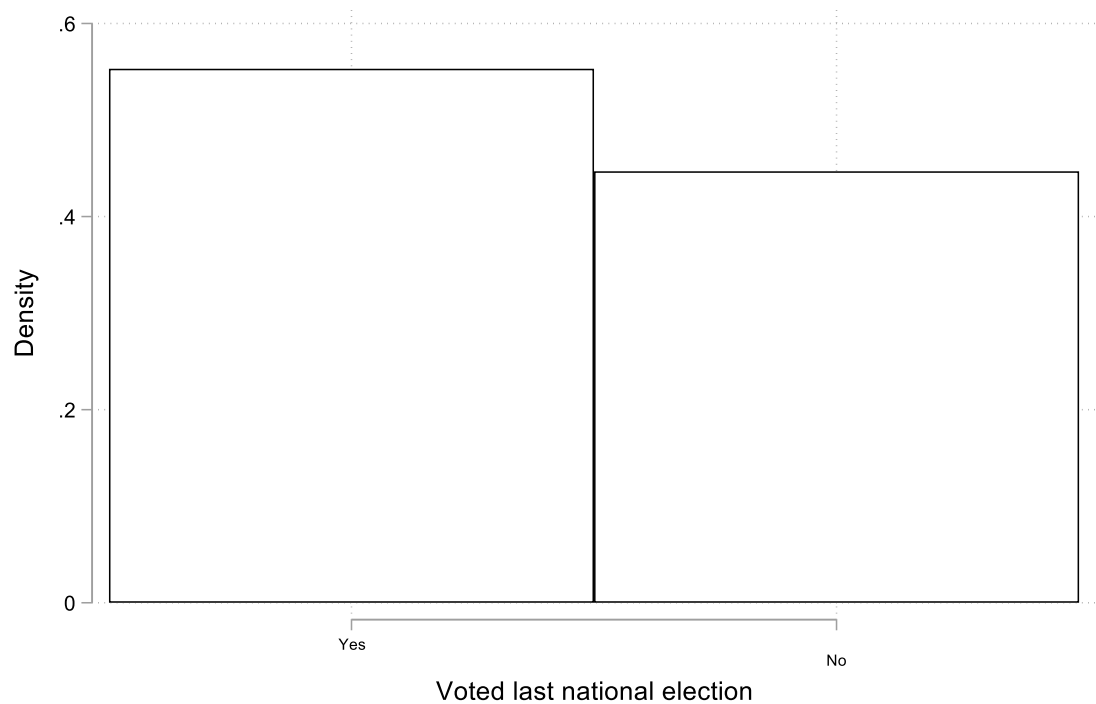
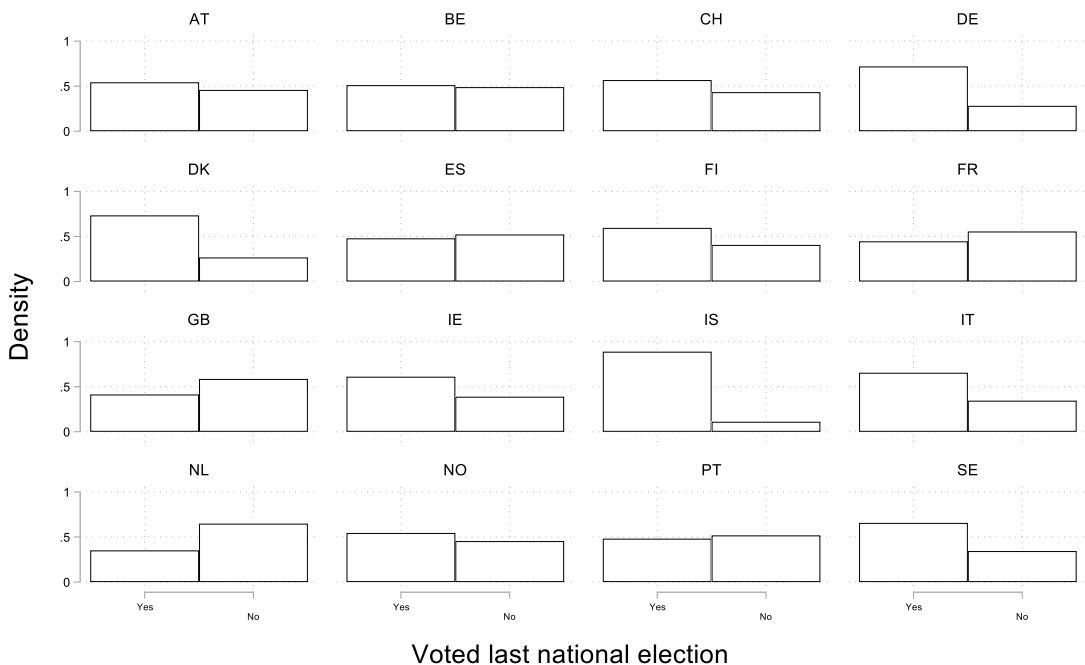


Figure E.2.1: Share of demobilised supporters who voted at the last national election



Graphs by Country

Figure E.2.2: Share of demobilised supporters who voted at the last national election by country

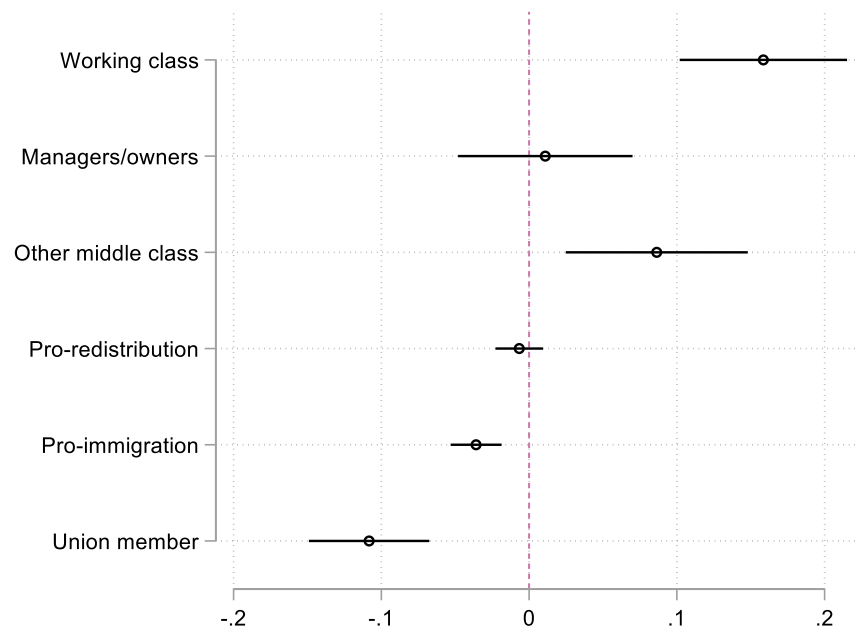


Figure E.2.3: AMEs of class, attitudes, and union membership on the abstention (not voting) at the last election among demobilised supporters

E.3 Patterns of partisan attachment among distant supporters

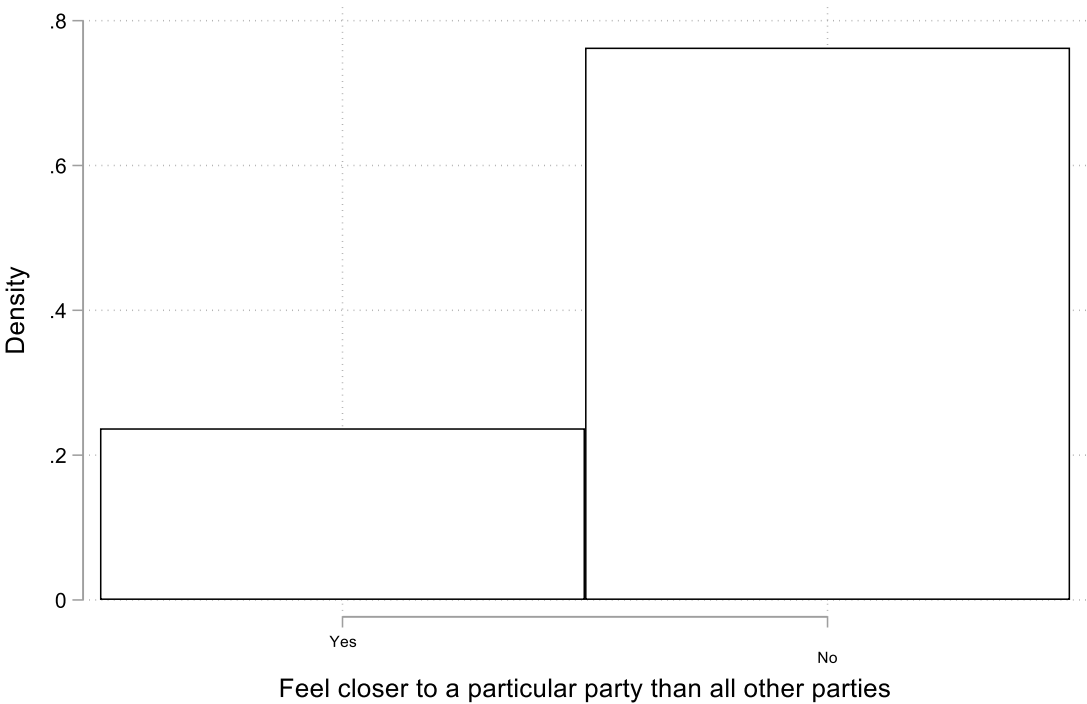


Figure E.3.1: Share of distant supporters who feel close to a different (non-social democratic) party

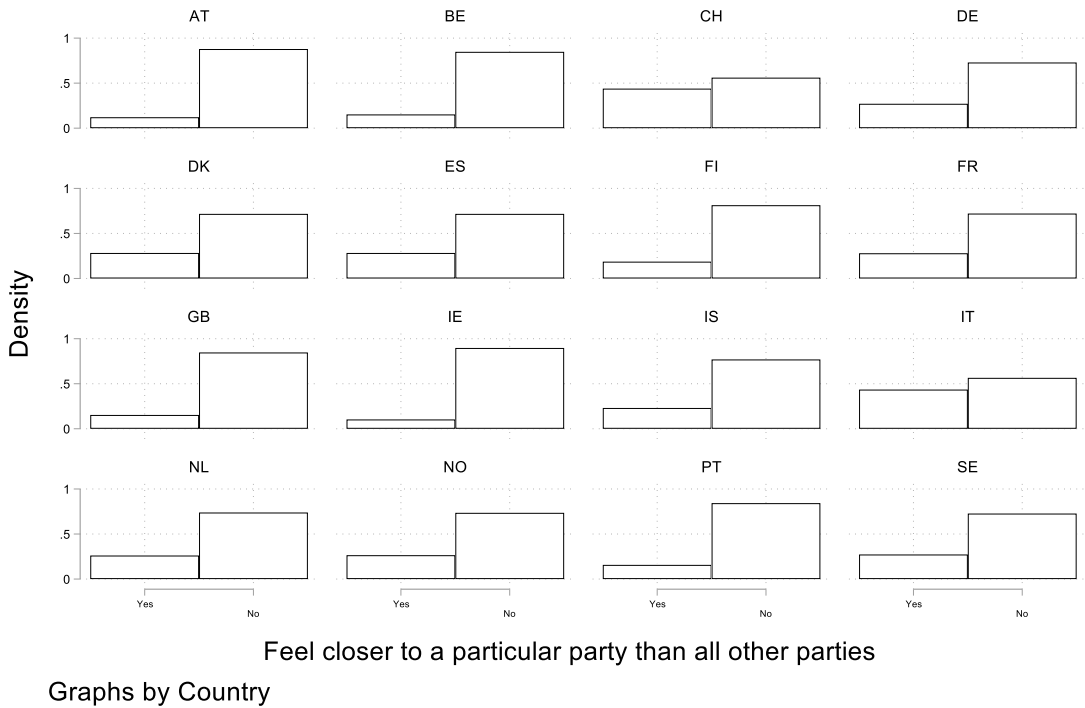


Figure E.3.2: Share of distant supporters who feel close to a different (non-social democratic) party by country

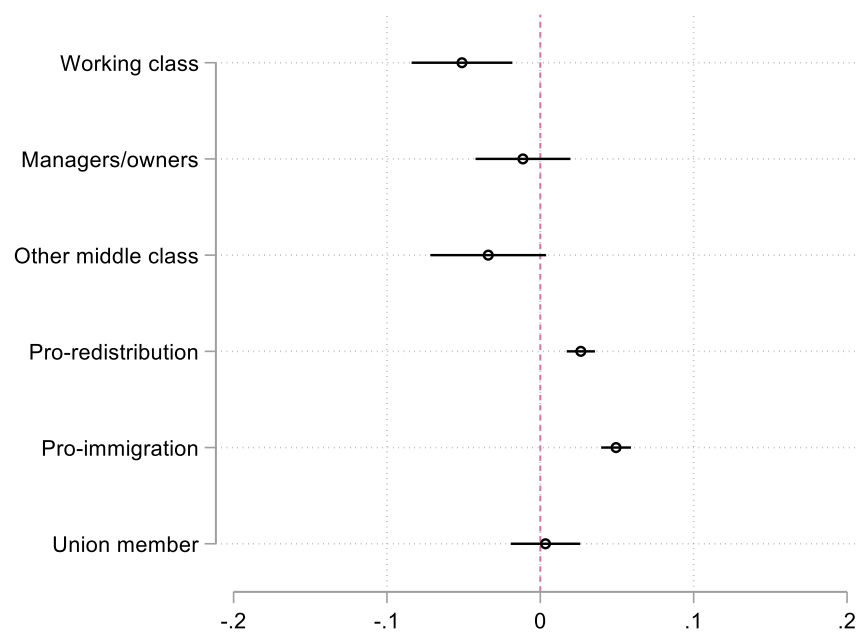


Figure E.3.3: Average marginal effects of class, attitudes, and union membership on partisan attachment for a different (non-social democratic) party among distant supporters