Online Appendix – „**Populism and Layers of Social Belonging: Support of Populist Parties in Europe**

ONLINE APPENDIX

*Table S1: Parties in ESS & Populist classification by PopuList*

|  | ESS Party | PopuList Party | PopuList Short | PL Populist | PL Far Right | PL Far Left | Classification |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| BE | Vlaams Belang | Flemish Interest | VB | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BE | Lijst Dedecker | Libertarian, Direct, Democratic | LDD | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| BE | Front National | National Front | FN | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BE | Parti Populaire | People’s Party | Pp | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BG | PP GERB | Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria | GERB | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| BG | PP VMRO – Balgarsko natsionalno dvizhenie | IMRO - National Bulgarian Movement | IMRO | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BG | PP Ataka | Attack | Ataka | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BG | PP Natsionalen front za dpasenie na Bulgaria | National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria | NFSB | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BG | PP Red, zakonnost i spravedlivost (RZS) | Order, Law and Justice | RZS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BG | Grazhdani za evropei<U+0306>sko razvitie na Bulgariya (GERB) | Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria | GERB | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| BG | Volya | Will | Volya | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| BG | Obedineni patrioti - NFSB, Ataka i VMRO | National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria | NFSB | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| CH | Swiss People’s Party | Swiss People’s Party | SVP | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| CH | Federal Democratic Union | Federal Democratic Union of Switzerland | EDU-UDF | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| CH | Movement of the Citizens belonging to French-speaking Switzerland | Geneva Citizens’ Movement | MCR | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| CH | Ticino League | Ticino League | LdT | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| CZ | VV | Public Affairs | VV | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| CZ | ANO 2011 | Action of Dissatisfied Citizens | ANO | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| CZ | Úsvit prímé demokracie Tomia Okamury | Dawn-National Coalition | Dawn | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| CZ | Svoboda a prímá demokracie | Freedom and Direct Democracy Ã¢â‚¬â€œ Tomio Okamura | SPD | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| DE | Die Linke | The Left (Germany) | Linke | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| DE | AfD | Alternative for Germany | AfD | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| DE | The Left (Die Linke) | The Left (Germany) | Linke | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| DE | Alternative for Germany (AFD) | Alternative for Germany | AfD | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| DK | Dansk Folkeparti - Danish peoples party | Danish People’s Party | DF | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| DK | Dansk Folkeparti - Danish People’s Party | Danish People’s Party | DF | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| EE | Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond (endine Rahvaliit) | Estonian Conservative People’s Party | EKRE | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| EE | Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond (endie Rahvaliit) | Estonian Conservative People’s Party | EKRE | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| EE | Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond | Estonian Conservative People’s Party | EKRE | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| FI | True Finns | Finns Party | Ps | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| FR | FN (Front National) | National Front / Rally | FN / RN | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| FR | FI (La France Insoumise) | France Unbowed | FI | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| FR | Debout la France | Republic Arise | France Arise | DLR|DLF | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| GB | Sinn Fein (nir) | Sinn Fein | SF | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| GB | UK Independence Party | United Kingdom Independence Party | UKIP | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| GB | Sinn Féin (nir) | Sinn Fein | SF | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| HU | Fidesz - KDNP (Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt) | Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Party / Christian Democratic People’s Party | Fi+KDNP | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| HU | Jobbik (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom) | Jobbik, the Movement for a Better Hungary | Jobbik | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| HU | MIÉP (Magyar Igazság És Élet Pártja) | Hungarian Justice and Life Party | MIÃ‰P | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| HU | Fidesz - KDNP (Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség Keresztényd) | Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Party / Christian Democratic People’s Party | Fi+KDNP | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| HU | Fidesz (Fidesz Magyar Polgári Párt) | Fidesz - Hungarian Civic Alliance | FIDESZ | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| IE | Sinn Féin | Sinn FÃƒÂ©in | SF | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| IS | Borgarahreyfinguna | Civic Movement – The Movement | B-H | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| IS | Flokk fólksins | People’s Party | FIF | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| IS | Miðflokkinn | Centre Party | M | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| IT | Popolo delle Libertà (PdL) | The People of Freedom / Forza Italia (FI) | PdL | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| IT | Movimento 5 Stelle | Five Star Movement | M5S | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| IT | Lega Nord | (Northern) League | LN | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| IT | Fratelli d’Italia | Brothers of Italy | FdI | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| IT | Forza Italia | The People of Freedom / Forza Italia (FI) | FI/PdL | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| LT | Labour Party (DP) | Labour Party | DP | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| LT | Party Order and Justice (TT) | Order and Justice | TT | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| LT | Party ‘Young Lithuania’ (JL) | Young Lithuania | JL | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| LT | Political Party ‘The Way of Courage’ (DK) | The Way of Courage | DK | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| NL | PVV (List Wilders) | Party for Freedom | PVV | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| NL | Socialistic Party | Socialist Party (Netherlands) | SP | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| NL | Party for Freedom | Party for Freedom | PVV | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| NL | Socialist Party | Socialist Party (Netherlands) | SP | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| NL | Forum for Democracy | Forum for Democracy | FvD | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| NO | Progress Party (FRP) | Progress Party (Norway) | FrP | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| NO | Coastal Party (KYST) | Coastal Party | Kp | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| NO | Fremskrittspartiet | Progress Party (Norway) | FrP | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| NO | Kystpartiet | Coastal Party | Kp | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| PL | Law and Justice | Law and Justice | PiS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| PL | Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc | Law and Justice | PiS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| PL | Kukiz’15 | Kukiz ’15 | Kukiz ’15 | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SE | Sverigedemokraterna | Sweden Democrats | SD | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SI | Slovenian Democratic Party - SDS | Slovenian Democratic Party | SDS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SI | Social Democrats - SD | United Left / The Left | ZdLe / L | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| SI | Slovene National Party - SNS | Slovenian National Party | SNS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SI | SDS - Slovenska demokratska stranka | Slovenian Democratic Party | SDS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SI | SD - Socialni demokrati | United Left / The Left | ZdLe / L | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| SI | SNS - Slovenska nacionalna stranka | Slovenian National Party | SNS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SI | LMŠ - Lista Marjana Šarca | List of Marjan Sarec | LMS | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| SI | L - Levica | The Left | L | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| SK | SMER-Social Democracy | Direction - Social Democracy | Smer | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| SK | Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OLaNO) | Ordinary People | OLaNO | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| SK | Smer – SD | Direction - Social Democracy | Smer | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| SK | Slovenská národná strana (SNS) | Slovak National Party | SNS | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SK | SME Rodina | We are family | SR | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| SK | Obycajní Ludia a nezávislé osobnosti | Ordinary People | OLaNO | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| AT | FPÖ | Freedom Party of Austria | FPÃ– | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| AT | BZÖ | Alliance for the Future of Austria | BZÃ– | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| AT | Team Frank Stronach | Team Stronach | TS | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| ES | Unidos Podemos | Podemos | Podemos | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| ES | En Comú Podem | In Common We Can | ECP | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| ES | En Marea | In Tide | EM | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| ES | VOX | Voice | Vox | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| ES | Unidas Podemos | Podemos | Podemos | 1 | 0 | 1 | Populist left |
| HR | Most nezavisnih lista (Most) | Bridge of Independent Lists | MOST | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| HR | Koalicija Živi zid, Promijenimo Hrvatsku, Abeceda, HDSS | Human Shield | Zivi Zid | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |
| HR | Koalicija HDSSB-HKS | Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja | HDSSB | 1 | 1 | 0 | Populist right |
| LV | Politiska partija KPV LV | Who owns the state? | KPV LV | 1 | 0 | 0 | Valence |

Robustness Checks

Table S2: Robustness Tests: Populist vs. Mainstream – additional controls

|  | Main Model | Without Political Orientation | Social Trust | Immigration Attitudes | Class + Confession + Urban |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intercept | 0.180 \*\*\* | 0.176 \*\*\* | 0.237 \*\*\* | 0.268 \*\*\* | 0.203 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.009) | (0.008) | (0.008) |
| Relative Social Activity | -0.005 \*\*\* | -0.004 \*\* | -0.004 \*\* | -0.003 \* | -0.005 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Contact Frequency | -0.007 \*\*\* | -0.006 \*\*\* | -0.005 \*\*\* | -0.006 \*\*\* | -0.006 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Relationship Quality | -0.003 \* | -0.004 \*\* | -0.001 | 0.002 | -0.002 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Group Membership | -0.018 \*\*\* | -0.017 \*\*\* | -0.017 \*\*\* | -0.015 \*\*\* | -0.013 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.003) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.003) |
| Pol. Orientation | 0.044 \*\*\* |  | 0.044 \*\*\* | 0.037 \*\*\* | 0.045 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) |  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Immigration Attitudes |  |  |  | -0.023 \*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.001) |  |
| Social Trust |  |  | -0.011 \*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.001) |  |  |
| Urban |  |  |  |  | -0.006 \* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.002) |
| Christian |  |  |  |  | -0.029 \*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) |
| R^2 | 0.177 | 0.164 | 0.179 | 0.189 | 0.178 |
| Adj. R^2 | 0.176 | 0.163 | 0.178 | 0.189 | 0.178 |
| Num. obs. | 95866 | 95866 | 95854 | 95467 | 95784 |

Table S3: Robustness Tests: Nonvoter vs. Mainstream – additional controls

|  | Main Model | Without Political Orientation | Social Trust | Immigration Attitudes | Class + Confession + Urban |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intercept | 0.302 \*\*\* | 0.301 \*\*\* | 0.375 \*\*\* | 0.365 \*\*\* | 0.312 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Relative Social Activity | -0.022 \*\*\* | -0.022 \*\*\* | -0.021 \*\*\* | -0.020 \*\*\* | -0.023 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Contact Frequency | -0.008 \*\*\* | -0.008 \*\*\* | -0.006 \*\*\* | -0.007 \*\*\* | -0.007 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Relationship Quality | -0.015 \*\*\* | -0.015 \*\*\* | -0.013 \*\*\* | -0.012 \*\*\* | -0.015 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Group Membership | -0.072 \*\*\* | -0.072 \*\*\* | -0.070 \*\*\* | -0.069 \*\*\* | -0.064 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Pol. Orientation | 0.001 |  | 0.001 | -0.003 \* | 0.003 \* |
|  | (0.001) |  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Immigration Attitudes |  |  |  | -0.017 \*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.001) |  |
| Social Trust |  |  | -0.014 \*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.001) |  |  |
| Urban |  |  |  |  | -0.003 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) |
| Christian |  |  |  |  | -0.041 \*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) |
| R^2 | 0.152 | 0.152 | 0.155 | 0.158 | 0.155 |
| Adj. R^2 | 0.152 | 0.152 | 0.155 | 0.158 | 0.155 |
| Num. obs. | 100795 | 100795 | 100778 | 100385 | 100698 |

Table S4: Robustness Tests: Left Populist vs. Mainstream – additional controls

|  | Main Model | Without Political Orientation | Social Trust | Immigration Attitudes | Class/Confession/Urban |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intercept | 0.099 \*\*\* | 0.115 \*\*\* | 0.117 \*\*\* | 0.109 \*\*\* | 0.104 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.007) |
| Relative Social Activity | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Contact Frequency | -0.009 \*\*\* | -0.010 \*\*\* | -0.009 \*\*\* | -0.009 \*\*\* | -0.008 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Relationship Quality | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.001 | -0.000 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Group Membership | -0.016 \*\*\* | -0.019 \*\*\* | -0.015 \*\*\* | -0.015 \*\*\* | -0.009 \*\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Pol. Orientation | -0.055 \*\*\* |  | -0.056 \*\*\* | -0.056 \*\*\* | -0.052 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) |  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Immigration Attitudes |  |  |  | -0.002 \*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.001) |  |
| Social Trust |  |  | -0.004 \*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.001) |  |  |
| Urban |  |  |  |  | 0.007 \* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) |
| Christian |  |  |  |  | -0.034 \*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.003) |
| R^2 | 0.083 | 0.045 | 0.084 | 0.084 | 0.084 |
| Adj. R^2 | 0.083 | 0.044 | 0.083 | 0.083 | 0.084 |
| Num. obs. | 32881 | 32881 | 32879 | 32832 | 32872 |

Table S5: Robustness Tests: Right Populist vs. Mainstream – additional controls

|  | Main Model | Without Political Orientation | Social Trust | Immigration Attitudes | Class + Confession + Urban |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Intercept | 0.172 \*\*\* | 0.164 \*\*\* | 0.236 \*\*\* | 0.274 \*\*\* | 0.186 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.009) | (0.008) | (0.008) |
| Relative Social Activity | -0.007 \*\*\* | -0.005 \*\*\* | -0.005 \*\*\* | -0.004 \*\*\* | -0.007 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Contact Frequency | -0.004 \*\* | -0.003 \*\* | -0.003 \* | -0.003 \* | -0.004 \*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Relationship Quality | -0.004 \*\*\* | -0.005 \*\*\* | -0.002 | 0.000 | -0.003 \*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Group Membership | -0.006 \*\* | -0.005 \* | -0.005 \* | -0.002 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Pol. Orientation | 0.067 \*\*\* |  | 0.067 \*\*\* | 0.059 \*\*\* | 0.068 \*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) |  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Immigration Attitudes |  |  |  | -0.026 \*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.001) |  |
| Social Trust |  |  | -0.012 \*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.001) |  |  |
| Urban |  |  |  |  | -0.011 \*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.002) |
| Christian |  |  |  |  | -0.015 \*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.002) |
| R^2 | 0.231 | 0.189 | 0.235 | 0.254 | 0.233 |
| Adj. R^2 | 0.231 | 0.188 | 0.235 | 0.253 | 0.232 |
| Num. obs. | 80904 | 80904 | 80896 | 80603 | 80836 |

Table S6: Jackknife Estimate and Significance Level - Populist vs. Mainstream

*Jackknife Estimate and Significance Level - Populist vs. Mainstream*

| Country excluded | Activity beta | p | Frequency beta | p | Quality beta | p | Group beta | p |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Full Model | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.04 | -0.018 | 0 |
| AT | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.002 | n.s. | -0.015 | 0 |
| BE | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | n.s. | -0.020 | 0 |
| BG | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.01 | -0.019 | 0 |
| CH | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.026 | -0.017 | 0 |
| CZ | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.024 | -0.017 | 0 |
| DE | -0.005 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.021 | -0.017 | 0 |
| DK | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.048 | -0.018 | 0 |
| EE | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | n.s. | -0.020 | 0 |
| ES | -0.006 | 0.000 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.045 | -0.017 | 0 |
| FI | -0.003 | 0.010 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | n.s. | -0.019 | 0 |
| FR | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.044 | -0.019 | 0 |
| GB | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.033 | -0.019 | 0 |
| HR | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.035 | -0.019 | 0 |
| HU | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.015 | -0.020 | 0 |
| IE | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.04 | -0.014 | 0 |
| IS | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.002 | n.s. | -0.018 | 0 |
| IT | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.031 | -0.018 | 0 |
| LT | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.002 | n.s. | -0.016 | 0 |
| LV | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.04 | -0.018 | 0 |
| NL | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.002 | n.s. | -0.018 | 0 |
| NO | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.002 | n.s. | -0.018 | 0 |
| PL | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.028 | -0.026 | 0 |
| SE | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.034 | -0.019 | 0 |
| SI | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.021 | -0.019 | 0 |
| SK | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.044 | -0.019 | 0 |

Table S7: Jackknife Estimate and Significance Level - Nonvoter vs. Mainstream

| Country excluded | Activity beta | p | Frequency beta | p | Quality beta | p | Group beta | p |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Full Model | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| AT | -0.022 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.071 | 0 |
| BE | -0.023 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.073 | 0 |
| BG | -0.022 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.073 | 0 |
| CH | -0.022 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.070 | 0 |
| CZ | -0.023 | 0 | -0.006 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.070 | 0 |
| DE | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| DK | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| EE | -0.021 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.073 | 0 |
| ES | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.074 | 0 |
| FI | -0.021 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| FR | -0.022 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.071 | 0 |
| GB | -0.023 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| HR | -0.022 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.071 | 0 |
| HU | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| IE | -0.022 | 0 | -0.009 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.068 | 0 |
| IS | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| IT | -0.022 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.073 | 0 |
| LT | -0.022 | 0 | -0.009 | 0 | -0.014 | 0 | -0.068 | 0 |
| LV | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| NL | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.072 | 0 |
| NO | -0.023 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.073 | 0 |
| PL | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.073 | 0 |
| SE | -0.023 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.074 | 0 |
| SI | -0.022 | 0 | -0.008 | 0 | -0.015 | 0 | -0.071 | 0 |
| SK | -0.022 | 0 | -0.007 | 0 | -0.016 | 0 | -0.071 | 0 |

Table S8: Jackknife Estimate and Significance Level – Left vs. Mainstream

| Country excluded | Activity beta | p | Frequency beta | p | Quality beta | p | Group beta | p |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Full Model | 0.003 | n.s | -0.009 | 0 | 0.000 | n.s. | -0.016 | 0.000 |
| DE | 0.005 | 0.004 | -0.009 | 0 | 0.000 | n.s. | -0.017 | 0.000 |
| ES | 0.001 | n.s | -0.008 | 0 | 0.001 | n.s. | -0.015 | 0.000 |
| FR | 0.003 | n.s | -0.010 | 0 | 0.000 | n.s. | -0.019 | 0.000 |
| GB | 0.002 | n.s | -0.011 | 0 | 0.000 | n.s. | -0.017 | 0.000 |
| IE | 0.001 | n.s | -0.008 | 0 | 0.001 | n.s. | -0.008 | 0.009 |
| NL | 0.003 | 0.043 | -0.009 | 0 | 0.002 | n.s. | -0.017 | 0.000 |
| SI | 0.002 | n.s | -0.008 | 0 | -0.001 | n.s. | -0.016 | 0.000 |

Table S9: Jackknife Estimate and Significance Level - Right vs. Mainstream

| Country excluded | Activity beta | p | Frequency beta | p | Quality beta | p | Group beta | p |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Full Model | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0.007 |
| AT | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.009 | -0.001 | n.s. |
| BE | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.007 | 0.005 |
| BG | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0.008 |
| CH | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.006 | -0.004 | 0.000 | -0.004 | n.s. |
| CZ | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0.012 |
| DE | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | n.s. |
| DK | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.005 | 0.027 |
| EE | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.007 | 0.002 |
| ES | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.003 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.006 | 0.007 |
| FI | -0.005 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.007 | 0.002 |
| FR | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.005 | 0.019 |
| GB | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0.009 |
| HR | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.003 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.005 | 0.015 |
| HU | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.005 | 0.000 | -0.007 | 0.001 |
| IT | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.003 | -0.004 | 0.000 | -0.006 | 0.01 |
| LT | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.005 | 0.018 |
| NL | -0.006 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.006 | -0.004 | n.s. |
| NO | -0.006 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.003 | 0.005 | -0.005 | 0.024 |
| PL | -0.006 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.012 | -0.004 | 0.000 | -0.014 | 0 |
| SE | -0.006 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0.011 |
| SI | -0.007 | 0 | -0.003 | 0.008 | -0.004 | 0.002 | -0.007 | 0.001 |
| SK | -0.007 | 0 | -0.004 | 0.003 | -0.004 | 0.001 | -0.006 | 0.005 |