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The Rise and Fall of Social Democracy, $1918-2017^*$

Giacomo Benedetto[†] Simon Hix[‡] Nicola Mastrorocco[§]

April 9, 2020

Abstract

We describe the electoral history of one of Europe's most successful party families over the past 100 years in 31 countries. With a unique and newly collected dataset of national election results, and a large number of economic and social variables measured for each country-election observation, we find that two main factors drive the electoral performance of social democratic parties: public sector spending, and the size of the manufacturing sector. Our findings suggest that most of the fall in support for social democratic parties in recent years is correlated with a decline in the number of industrial workers as well as a reduction in the propensity of social democratic parties' core supporters (industrial workers and public sector employees) to vote for them.

Forthcoming, American Political Science Review

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1 Introduction

There is a large body of research on the rise of populist parties (e.g. Colantone and Stanig 2018; Dinas et al. 2019; Guiso et al. 2019; Kriesi et al. 2012; Kaltwasser et al. 2017; Eatwell and Goodwin 2018). Less attention has been paid to a corollary of this trend: the electoral decline of the centre left. Across Europe, social democratic parties that once commanded over 40 percent of votes have collapsed to the low twenties, teens, or lower. We do three things to investigate these patterns. First, we describe the variations in support for social democratis over the last century in 31 countries. Second, we undertake a time-series cross-sectional analysis to identify some of the correlates of the electoral fortunes of social democrats. Third, we supplement this aggregate-level analysis by looking at individual-level support for social democratic parties between 2002 and 2016.

Our aim is not to provide a causal explanation of the rise and fall of social democracy. By introducing a new dataset of elections for 31 countries over 100 years, we provide descriptive evidence of a time-consistent relationship between two main factors, public sector spending and industrial production, and votes for social democratic parties. Our findings suggest that most of the fall in support for social democrats is correlated with a decline in the number of industrial workers as well as a reduction in the propensity of these parties' core supporters (industrial workers and public sector employees) to vote for them.

2 Evolution of Social Democracy

There has been extensive work on the evolution of social democratic parties. For example, scholars have looked at their formation (e.g. Sassoon 1996; Bartolini 2000), the strategic challenge of appealing to the middle class while maintaining working class support (e.g. Przeworski and Sprague 1986), the rise of a social dimension cross-cutting the traditional left-right (e.g. Kitschelt 1990), how electoral systems shape their behaviour (e.g. Iversen and

Soskice 2006), and globalization (e.g. Garrett 1998; Boix 1985). We include all the factors discussed in this literature and we complement them with a wide range of other variables, such as public spending, welfare spending, employment in industry, and electoral turnout.

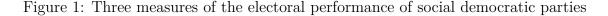
We analyze all democratic elections in Europe over 100 years, starting from 1918. Many European countries extended suffrage at the end of WWI. We define democratic elections as all elections that were held in a year when a country had either a Polity score or a 'Political Competition' score greater than 5.¹ We count countries that had populations larger than 500,000 in 2017 and who had democratic elections for at least one 20-year period. These criteria produce 579 elections in 31 countries, as Table 1 shows.

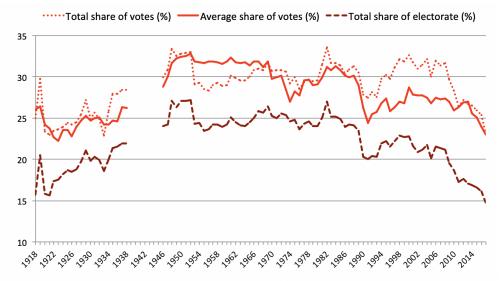
		Number	Number of
Country	Years counted as democratic	of years	elections
Albania	1992-2017	26	8
Austria	1918-32, 1945-2017	88	27
Belgium	1918-38, 1944-2017	95	29
Bulgaria	1918-23, 1990-2017	35	12
Croatia	1991-2017	27	8
Cyprus	1970-2017	48	10
Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic	1918-38, 1945-46, 1990-92, 1993-2017	51	14
Denmark	1918-39, 1943-2017	97	38
Estonia	1918-33, 1991-2017	43	13
Finland	1918-39, 1944-2017	96	29
France	1918-39, 1945-2017	95	25
Germany	1919-32, 1949-2017	83	28
Greece	1920-36, 1944-48, 1974-2017	64	24
Hungary	1920-43, 1990-2017	52	12
Ireland	1921-2017	97	30
Italy	1918-21, 1946-2017	76	20
Latvia	1920-33, 1990-2017	42	13
Lithuania	1991-2017	27	7
Luxembourg	1918-39, 1945-2017	95	20
Macedonia	1991-2017	27	8
Netherlands	1918-39, 1945-2017	95	28
Norway	1918-39, 1945-2017	95	26
Poland	1918-30, 1990-2017	41	12
Portugal	1975-2017	43	15
Romania	1925-38, 1990-2017	42	14
Slovakia	1993-2017	25	7
Slovenia	1991-2017	27	7
Spain	1977-2017	41	13
Sweden	1918-2017	100	29
Switzerland	1918-2017	100	26
United Kingdom	1918-2017	100	27
Total			579

Table 1: Democratic elections in Europe, 1918 - 2017

¹See http://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html.

Which parties do we count as social democratic? Usually, only one party was a member of the Socialist International or Party of European Socialists at a particular time. For the cases where several parties were members of these organizations, we combined the vote-shares for these parties – see Appendix Table A1. Parties with different ideological origins at different stages have been described as social democratic, such as the Italian Communist Party (PCI) since the late 1960s. We run two robustness tests to address this issue. First, we estimate the models with the vote-share of all left parties as the dependent variable (social democratic, communist, and green). Second, because of the particular case of Italy, we estimate the models counting the PCI rather than the PSI as the social democratic party in Italy from 1968 onwards, since after that year the PCI became more moderate, the PSI remained in government with the centre right, and the PCI was the main opposition. We put together the data on vote shares from Nohlen and Stoever (2010), and cross-checked the data with national electoral commissions where possible.





Note: Total share of votes = total votes for social democratic parties in a year in the 31 countries divided by total votes cast in all elections. Total share of the electorate = total votes for social democratic parties in a year in the 31 countries divided by total eligible voters in an election. Average share of votes = average share of votes for social democratic parties in a year in each of the 31 countries.

Figure 1 exemplifies the breadth of this dataset and shows three measures of social democratic parties' electoral performance. Measured by the average vote share (percent) across our countries in a given year, support for social democrats peaked in the 1950s. Measured by the total share of votes across Europe, support for these parties peaked in the late 1990s, because of the high performance of social democrats in several larger countries (Germany, UK, and Italy). Measured by the total share of the electorate, support for social democrats declined in the late 1980s and fell precipitously in the 2000s (Figures A1-A2).

One issue is that social democracy has meant different things in different periods. The main stages of the evolution of social democracy can be summarized as three 'waves'. Figure 2 shows the periodization of these waves. Here, we coded each party by looking at their positions in manifestos (for the post-1945 period), as well as historical descriptions (for the pre-1945 period) (Jacobs 1989; von Beyme 1985; Sassoon 1996; Bartolini 2000). The first wave, of a parliamentary road to socialism, started after the WWI, when most social democratic parties broke from revolutionary politics and aimed to achieve socialism via a parliamentary route, sometimes blending parliamentary and revolutionary objectives. With the rise of industrial society, many expected these parties to win electoral majorities (cf. Przeworski and Sprague 1986). Indeed, social democrats won over 30 percent of the vote in some of the first elections after WWI (in Germany and Austria). In the mid-1920s, the Swedish and Austrian parties exceeded 40 percent, while the Belgian party reached 39 percent. The 1920s and 1930s also saw brief periods in government for social democrats in Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, the UK, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, most often in coalition or tolerated by other parties. When in government, social democrat-led reforms included maximum working hours, paid annual leave, collective bargaining, and pensions systems. But, in this period, not all workers supported socialist parties, as some supported Catholic or communist parties. Meanwhile, the social democrat electorate also included agricultural workers and some middle class supporters (Neisse 1930; Lipset 1983). These early successes ended with the Great Depression. Democracy collapsed in most of central and eastern Europe while support for social democrats fell in western Europe. There were some exceptions, as social democrats achieved 38 percent in the UK, over 40 percent in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland, and a historic peak of 29 percent in Switzerland.

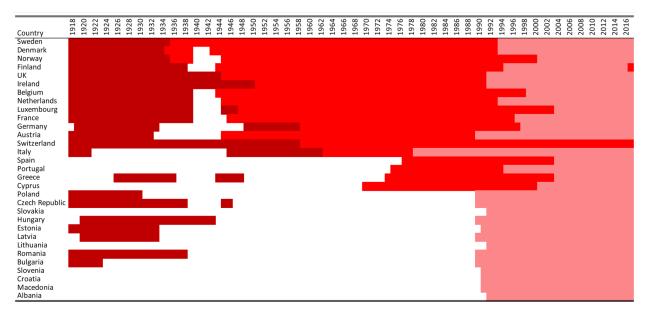


Figure 2: Three waves of social democracy

Note: Dark red = Wave 1: parliamentary road to socialism party Red = Wave 2: cross-class catch-all party Pink = Wave 3: third way/neue mitte

The second wave of social democracy involved the transformation of the parties into mainstream electoral machines. After WWII, most social democratic parties attempted to reach beyond their traditional working class base (e.g. Kirchheimer 1966), accepting that social democrat voting industrial workers were unlikely to generate a majority (Sassoon 1996, p.42). This new strategy started in Scandinavia in the 1930s, then spread to social democratic parties in the UK, France, Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands in the 1940s, and to Germany, Italy and Switzerland in the 1950s. These 'catch-all' parties downgraded class-based politics, in favour of policies that appealed to public sector employees, urban professionals, and agricultural labour. Many social democrats focused on establishing a social market (an objective shared with Christian democrats), building a welfare state, nationalizing natural monopolies, macroeconomic demand management, and in later yearsliberal social policies on divorce and gender equality. Universal welfare policies also shifted the preferences of sections of the middle class as well as centre right parties (e.g. Gingrich and Häusermann 2015). These shifts enabled social democrats to form governments with liberals and Christian democrats, and in the immediate post-war years social democrats were in government almost everywhere and in single-party governments in the UK, Sweden, and Norway. Most social democratic parties saw their support peak in the 1960s and 1970s, although whether this success was a result of societal changes or moderating party positions cannot be identified with our data.

Following the 1970s oil crisis, changes in global trade patterns and rising unemployment and inflation, market liberalization, and monetarist economics gained momentum, while green movements also squeezed support. European integration, globalization, and the collapse of communism facilitated a renewal of social democracy (e.g. Garrett 1998; Boix 1985). A third wave of social democracy emerged around the idea of a *third way* or *new middle* (neue mitte), which emphasized regulating markets, supply-side economic management, balanced budgets, and social liberalism and environmentalism (e.g. Giddens 1998). By 1998, social democrats were back in office in every western European country except Spain, Norway, and Ireland; governing alone in the UK, Portugal, Sweden, and Greece, leading coalitions in Germany, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, and France, and serving in *grand coalitions* with the centre right in Austria, Belgium, Finland, and Switzerland. Also, in central and eastern Europe, former communist leaders used third way social democracy to distance themselves from the past, and emerged as electoral winners except in Estonia, Latvia, Slovenia, and Slovakia.

But, starting in the early 2000s, social democrat support collapsed almost everywhere.

Between 2000 and 2017 most social democratic parties secured their lowest levels of support since 1918, or 1945 for the post-war democracies, or 1989 for the new democracies in central and eastern Europe.²

This suggests that different factors shaped the success of social democratic parties in different periods. In the interwar period, the parties emerged from industrial labour, became more moderate in the postwar period as they expanded support to public sector workers, then adapted their positions following globalization in the 1970s, and faced new challenges following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the Great Recession in the 2000s. To investigate this story we look at each of these periods in turn. Empirically, this periodization also fits the availability of data for some key variables. For the interwar period, we found data on manufacturing and public spending, but data on party positions are not available until after WWII, while data on employment in industry and globalization only start in the 1970s. In the empirical analysis we test that our results are not driven by the choice of our periodization, by estimating the models starting 5 years before and after our cutoff years.

3 Correlates of Electoral Support for Social Democratic Parties

To understand what factors correlate with these cross-country and cross-time variations we collected a wide range of institutional, economic, social, and political variables. The Appendix contains a full list of variables.

We estimate two different types of time-series cross-sectional models:

$$V_{it} = \alpha + \beta W_{it} + \phi X_{it} + \gamma_i + \theta_t + \epsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

 $^{^2{\}rm Few}$ countries bucked this trend. This was the case in Albania, Croatia, Denmark, Portugal, Romania, Spain, and the UK.

$$\Delta V_{it} = \alpha + \beta \Delta W_{it} + \phi \Delta X_{it} + \gamma_i + \theta_t + \epsilon_{it} \tag{2}$$

Model 1 uncovers long-term changes in the levels of support for social democratic parties, while model 2 (a first-differences model) examines short-term changes, between elections. In the equations, V is a social democratic party percent vote share in country *i* at time (election) t; α is a constant; W is a vector of independent variables; X is a vector of control variables; γ are country fixed-effects; θ are decade fixed-effects and country-specific time trends; β , and ϕ are the parameters to be estimated; and ϵ is the error term. We estimate both types of models with ordinary least squares. This historical longitudinal cross-sectional analysis allows us to tackle such a large and important question. However, it poses a trade-off. Although conditional on a large set of controls and fixed-effects our exercise remains descriptive as this type of time series analysis poses several empirical challenges such as omitted variable bias, unit roots, and time trends interferences. We address some of these issues later.

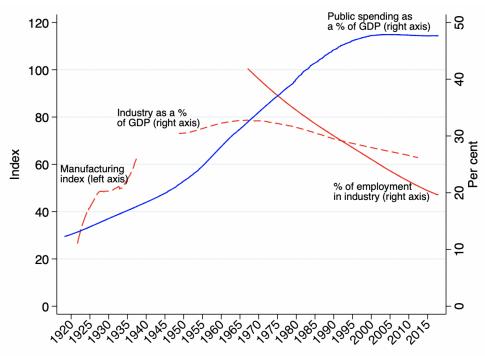


Figure 3: Public spending and industrial production in Western Europe

Note: For 18 western European countries, the graph plots measures of public spending as a percent of GDP and our three measures of industry: the manufacturing index, for 1918-1939 (from League of Nations trade data, measuring the volume of trade in manufactured goods relative to 1953); industry as a percent of GDP, for 1950-2017 (share of industrial output as a percent of GDP at constant 2005 prices); and percent of total employment in industry, for 1970-2017. The lines are plotted by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing.

As a start, Figure 3 plots two main independent variables (for 18 western European democracies): public spending as a percent of GDP, and several measures of the size of industry/manufacturing. Public spending increased steadily from the 1920s to the 2000s, consistent with Wagner's (1890) law on developed economies that embark on social progress.³ Industrial production rose until the 1970s and then declined dramatically, as a result of structural changes, globalization and technology.

To investigate these relationships further, Table 2 presents the correlates of social democratic party vote shares between 1918 and 1939 for the 16 countries who held democratic elections in this period and with the limited set of available variables. Trade in manufactured

³Peacock and Wiseman (1961) find consistent growth in public expenditure when Labour held office.

	Analysis of levels					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Public spending (% of GDP)	-0.101	-0.0236	-0.184	0.129	-0.00593	0.109
r ublic spoliding (/0 of GDT)	(0.157)	(0.140)	(0.443)	(0.337)	(0.433)	(0.368)
District magnitude (log)	-2.344	-3.327	3.597*	6.259***	3.731	5.130*
(8)	(5.917)	(7.156)	(1.727)	(1.583)	(2.299)	(2.411)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-1.108	-1.955	0.238	-0.199	0.355	0.0831
	(2.035)	(2.049)	(2.311)	(2.034)	(1.975)	(1.897)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	0.535	0.529	1.424	2.556*	0.360	1.294
1 0 0 ()	(3.818)	(2.706)	(1.512)	(1.334)	(1.904)	(1.811)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-0.462	-2.097	-8.349***	-8.993***	-9.563***	-9.544***
1 0 0 (0)	(3.600)	(2.596)	(2.382)	(2.030)	(2.229)	(2.084)
Turnout	0.273^{*}	0.194	0.198	0.0348	0.0291	-0.00804
	(0.141)	(0.164)	(0.185)	(0.159)	(0.212)	(0.200)
Manufacturing index	< / /			()	0.260^{**}	0.181
5					(0.0925)	(0.171)
Observations	77	77	49	49	49	49
R-squared	0.234	0.329	0.277	0.428	0.454	0.482
Number of countries	16	16	11	11	11	11
			Analysis d	of differences		
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Public spending (% of GDP)	-0.0487	-0.0589	0.0642	0.0940	0.448	0.431
Tublic spending (/0 of GDT)	(0.144)	(0.149)	(0.171)	(0.175)	(0.534)	(0.476)
District magnitude (log)	-2.339	-0.918	-3.679	0.435	5.751	6.450
Bistrict magnitude (16g)	(9.189)	(7.545)	(8.628)	(5.080)	(4.596)	(5.372)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-1.987***	-1.869**	-2.017**	-1.532	-2.381**	-2.049**
se party in get t (single party)	(0.661)	(0.730)	(0.748)	(0.876)	(0.804)	(0.812)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-0.853	-0.316	-1.604	-0.461	-1.576	0.302
SE party in gov t (countrol 1 m)	(1.531)	(2.159)	(1.909)	(3.097)	(1.618)	(2.868)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-2.447^{*}	-2.848**	-8.183*	-11.32	-7.460	-6.974
se party in get t (countrien junier)	(1.178)	(1.075)	(4.466)	(7.528)	(4.717)	(4.475)
Turnout	-0.125	-0.128	-0.139	-0.179	-0.318	-0.336
lunout	(0.312)	(0.307)	(0.470)	(0.477)	(0.384)	(0.415)
Manufacturing index	(0.012)	(0.001)	(01110)	(01111)	0.0307	-0.0251
indiana					(0.118)	(0.140)
Observations	61	61	38	38	38	38
R-squared	0.063	0.077	0.107	0.163	0.214	0.247
Number of countries	15	15	10	10	10	10
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 2: Correlates of social democracy party vote shares, 1918-1939

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1 to 6 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 7 to 12 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). From Model 3, the sample composed by the sub-set of countries for which the manufacturing index is available. Manufacturing Index available for: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and United Kingdom.

goods in this early period is strongly correlated with votes for social democratic parties. We do not find evidence that public spending was related to support for social democrats in this period. Together, these findings are consistent with the description of wave 1 social democratic parties, who based their support on industrial labour. Third, when these parties made it into government, they generally lost support, whether as a single party of government or as a senior or junior coalition partner. This result is consistent for all the periods we look at.

		s of levels	*	of differences
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.157^{**} (0.0577)	0.193^{***} (0.0586)	0.168^{**} (0.0725)	0.163^{**} (0.0729)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.172^{**} (0.0812)	0.170^{*} (0.0839)	0.148^{**} (0.0684)	0.150^{**} (0.0687)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.00290 (0.0358)	-0.00343 (0.0346)	-0.0357 (0.0299)	-0.0357 (0.0297)
District magnitude (log)	0.574	0.787	0.948	0.912
	(1.292)	(1.308)	(1.596)	(1.581)
District mag.*SD left-right position	-0.0576^{*} (0.0298)	-0.0552^{*} (0.0316)	-0.0614^{**} (0.0265)	-0.0619^{**} (0.0266)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	$1.335 \\ (1.256)$	$1.097 \\ (1.230)$	-3.175^{***} (0.957)	-3.187^{***} (0.962)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	0.976 (1.327)	0.634 (1.285)	-2.507^{**} (0.963)	-2.506^{**} (0.966)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-2.849^{***} (0.912)	-3.056^{***} (0.925)	-2.461^{***} (0.721)	-2.451^{***} (0.721)
Turnout	-0.0839 (0.106)	-0.0861 (0.101)	0.300^{**} (0.130)	0.299^{**} (0.129)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	381	381	353	353
R-squared	0.162	0.176	0.169	0.170
Number of countries	31	31	31	31

Table 3: Correlates of social democracy party vote shares, 1945-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1 and 2 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 3 and 4 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). Controls: GDP per capita (log), GDP growth, EU member, Eurozone member, presidential system. Full results in Appendix Table A3.

Table 3 presents the correlates of social democratic party vote shares between 1945 and 2017. Because of data availability we add several economic control variables as well as some key political variables, in particular the left-right locations of social democratic and centre right parties (from party manifestos), as well as the interaction of left-right party positions

and the electoral system. We include the policy positions of centre right parties as these were the main competitors for social democratic parties in most countries. We accept that the positions of other parties are also relevant, particularly for the decline of social democratic parties in more recent periods.

Several results are worth highlighting. First, public spending after 1945 is positively related to support for social democratic parties, and this result holds both for the long-term trends as well as for short-term (between election) changes. The effect is sizeable too: a one standard deviation increase in public spending is associated with an increase of about 1.5% in vote share for social democratic parties. What we do not know from this result, though, is whether more public spending leads to more support for social democrats or whether a larger public sector means more workers with an interest in voting social democrat.⁴

Second, regarding party positions, we find evidence that social democratic parties gained votes when they moved to the centre (closer to the median voter) and lost votes when they moved to the left. We do not find an effect of the left-right position of the main centre right competitor on social democratic support. We replicated this analysis breaking the left-right down into separate economic and social dimensions – see Appendix Table A6 – and we found that social democratic parties won more votes when they were more free market on the economic dimension but more conservative on the social dimension. These results challenge some existing research, for example, that there is little evidence of the link between parties' positions and their electoral performance (e.g. Adams 2012), and Kitschelt's (1990) contention that social democrats should gain support as they become left-libertarian. However, further investigation reveals that this result on the social dimension is mainly driven by parties in Eastern Europe (after 1989), where several parties, in Romania and Slovakia for example, became socially conservative from the early 2000s and gained votes at the expense of more liberal-cosmopolitan parties. In contrast, there is little evidence

⁴We know that public spending can also rise when social democrats are not in office (Borooah 1987).

in western Europe of a connection between social democratic parties' positions on a social dimension and their electoral performance.

We also find that the electoral effect of social democratic parties' positions is magnified by the electoral system. We find an interaction between the electoral system and the left-right position of a party, such that the larger the district magnitude, the lower the support for a social democratic party as the party moves rightwards. Intuitively, this is consistent with existing theory (e.g. Przeworski and Sprague 1986; Iversen and Soskice 2006), which highlights the threat of being outflanked by more left-wing parties in countries with proportional electoral systems. So, in higher district magnitude (proportional) electoral systems, social democratic parties lost support as they become more centrist whereas in lower magnitude (majoritarian) systems, they gained support as they moved towards the median voter.

Table 4 presents the results for the era of globalization, after 1975. Data availability enables us to add a number of new control variables. In particular, we include a globalization index, which combined 43 economic, social, and political variables, such as net and total trade volume, net immigration and total foreign born population, technological integration, and so on (Dreher 2006; Gygli et al. 2019). We also now include welfare spending as a percent of GDP. This allows us to look at public spending on redistribution as opposed to total public spending, which also includes public employment. As before, we find a statistically significant correlation between public spending and social democratic support. In addition, we find that the magnitude of the relationship between public spending on welfare and social democratic support is over twice the size of the magnitude of the relationship between total public spending and social democratic vote shares. This suggests that social democrats benefitted both from more public sector employment and greater wealth redistribution.

Another key result is the relationship between employment in industry and support for social democrats. Again, the results lend support for the proposition that industrial workers have been their core supporters, and hence that the decline in industry since the 1970s is

	Analysis of levels				Analysis of differences			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.249^{*} (0.129)		0.222^{*} (0.122)		0.229^{**} (0.110)		$0.206 \\ (0.125)$	
Welfare spending ($\%$ of GDP)		0.509^{**} (0.243)		0.532^{**} (0.239)		0.839^{**} (0.318)		0.864^{**} (0.327)
Employment in industry $(\%)$	0.981^{***} (0.277)	0.970^{**} (0.348)	0.866^{***} (0.274)	0.862^{**} (0.324)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.147 \\ (0.327) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.224 \\ (0.334) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.167 \\ (0.330) \end{array}$	$0.207 \\ (0.323)$
Globalization index	$\begin{array}{c} 0.027 \\ (0.350) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.251 \\ (0.451) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.036 \\ (0.345) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.226 \\ (0.428) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.210 \\ (0.473) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.411 \\ (0.365) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.179 \\ (0.477) \end{array}$	$0.431 \\ (0.378)$
Social Dem. left-right position	0.102^{**} (0.048)	$0.046 \\ (0.034)$	0.100^{**} (0.048)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.049 \\ (0.035) \end{array}$	$0.029 \\ (0.038)$	$0.040 \\ (0.026)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.032 \\ (0.039) \end{array}$	$0.040 \\ (0.026)$
Centre Right left-right position	-0.006 (0.051)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.062 \\ (0.053) \end{array}$	-0.008 (0.051)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.049 \\ (0.055) \end{array}$	-0.051 (0.043)	-0.024 (0.036)	-0.050 (0.042)	-0.024 (0.037)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-0.347 (1.451)	-0.148 (1.826)	-0.598 (1.431)	-0.524 (1.806)	-3.523^{**} (1.393)	-3.908^{**} (1.428)	-3.456^{**} (1.397)	-3.954^{**} (1.407)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-0.936 (1.435)	-1.002 (1.304)	-0.791 (1.460)	-1.001 (1.302)	-3.651^{***} (1.093)	-4.516^{***} (1.007)	-3.583^{***} (1.110)	-4.579^{**} (1.027)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-3.214^{**} (1.348)	-4.703^{***} (1.314)	-3.233^{**} (1.348)	-5.031^{***} (1.303)	-3.705^{***} (1.028)	-5.843^{***} (1.152)	-3.714^{***} (1.029)	-5.837^{**} (1.157)
Turnout	$0.121 \\ (0.148)$	0.072 (0.157)	$0.100 \\ (0.139)$	0.038 (0.142)	0.313^{*} (0.171)	-0.003 (0.208)	0.309^{*} (0.167)	-0.000 (0.207)
Controls	Yes	Yes						
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes						
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes						
Country-year time trends	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	244	193	244	193	227	171	227	171
R-squared	0.223	0.308	0.240	0.335	0.234	0.343	0.239	0.344
Number of countries	27	22	27	22	27	22	27	22

Table 4: Correlates of social democratic votes in the era of globalization, 1975-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1 to 4 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 5 to 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). Controls: union density, district magnitude, employment in agriculture, women in work, urban population, life expectancy, population (log), population aged 65 and over, population aged 0 to 14, percent in higher education. Full results in Appendix Table A4.

one of the key reasons for the long-term decline in their support. We find little evidence that short-term changes in industrial employment affects social democratic support. We also do not find a relationship between globalization and support for social democrats. But, we do find a negative relationship between union density and social democratic support, which runs counter to some existing views about the power of unions and support for wealth redistribution (e.g. Crouch 2017).

Table 5 shows the results for 1989 to 2017, for the post-Cold War period (1989-2017) and the post-Great Recession period (2000-17). Again, the public spending variables are signifi-

		Post-Cold War (1989-2017)				Post-Great Recession (2000-2017) is of levels				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		
Public spending (% of GDP)	$0.269 \\ (0.166)$		0.223 (0.153)		0.818^{**} (0.304)		0.792^{**} (0.293)			
Welfare spending ($\%$ of GDP)		0.815^{**} (0.385)		0.750^{**} (0.353)		1.900^{***} (0.574)		1.873^{**} (0.493)		
Employment in industry (%)	0.628^{*} (0.338)	1.265^{**} (0.462)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.462 \\ (0.375) \end{array}$	1.019^{**} (0.488)	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.632 \\ (0.761) \end{array} $	1.949^{*} (1.001)	$0.578 \\ (0.756)$	1.785^{*} (1.022)		
Globalization index	0.373 (0.424)	$0.534 \\ (0.475)$	$0.438 \\ (0.423)$	$0.711 \\ (0.441)$	0.983^{**} (0.366)	1.118^{*} (0.623)	1.106^{**} (0.424)	1.493^{*} (0.753)		
Social Democrat left-right position	0.135^{*} (0.072)	$0.054 \\ (0.053)$	0.139^{*} (0.070)	0.059 (0.050)	$0.029 \\ (0.061)$	$0.114 \\ (0.097)$	$0.035 \\ (0.064)$	0.133 (0.100)		
Centre Right left-right position	$0.008 \\ (0.052)$	$0.069 \\ (0.056)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.009 \\ (0.052) \end{array}$	$0.060 \\ (0.060)$	-0.137^{*} (0.067)	-0.006 (0.066)	-0.143^{**} (0.064)	-0.038 (0.068)		
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-2.967 (2.005)	-2.371 (2.145)	-3.211 (2.078)	-3.010 (2.501)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.359 \\ (3.413) \end{array}$	-1.581 (4.283)	$0.153 \\ (3.410)$	-2.269 (4.348)		
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-0.368 (1.444)	$0.307 \\ (1.034)$	-0.492 (1.432)	0.033 (1.088)	-1.725 (1.557)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.334 \\ (1.482) \end{array}$	-1.776 (1.548)	-0.103 (1.509)		
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-3.425* (1.923)	-4.609^{**} (1.709)	-3.497^{*} (1.971)	-4.983^{**} (1.873)	-4.571^{**} (1.767)	-3.409 (2.103)	-4.757^{**} (1.797)	-4.184^{*} (2.328)		
Turnout	$\begin{array}{c} 0.116 \\ (0.172) \end{array}$	-0.088 (0.191)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.112 \\ (0.172) \end{array}$	-0.092 (0.190)	-0.007 (0.245)	-0.346 (0.265)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.011 \\ (0.234) \end{array}$	-0.287 (0.239)		
Observations R-squared Number of countries	$\begin{array}{r}180\\0.204\\27\end{array}$	$ \begin{array}{r} 141 \\ 0.323 \\ 22 \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} 180 \\ 0.209 \\ 27 \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} 141 \\ 0.341 \\ 22 \end{array} $	$\begin{array}{r}107\\0.502\\27\end{array}$	84 0.534 22	$ \begin{array}{r} 107 \\ 0.505 \\ 27 \end{array} $	84 0.548 22		
	(9)	(10)	(11)	Analysis of (12)	differences (13)	(14)	(15)	(16)		
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.281^{*} (0.139)		0.267^{*} (0.142)		0.646^{**} (0.312)		0.644^{**} (0.313)			
Welfare spending ($\%$ of GDP)	()	0.893^{**} (0.392)	× ,	0.918^{**} (0.382)		1.497^{**} (0.690)		1.615^{*} (0.668		
Employment in industry (%)	-0.206 (0.345)	0.573 (0.398)	-0.207 (0.343)	0.588 (0.408)	0.354 (0.515)	0.652 (0.725)	0.340 (0.566)	$0.565 \\ (0.704)$		
Globalization index	-0.035 (0.556)	$0.300 \\ (0.464)$	-0.031 (0.556)	0.283 (0.460)	0.423 (0.487)	$0.281 \\ (0.716)$	$0.434 \\ (0.475)$	$0.568 \\ (0.723)$		
Social Democrat left-right position	0.024 (0.055)	$0.019 \\ (0.047)$	$0.028 \\ (0.056)$	0.017 (0.047)	-0.037 (0.046)	-0.007 (0.080)	-0.038 (0.045)	-0.008 (0.077)		
Centre Right left-right position	-0.054 (0.048)	$0.000 \\ (0.048)$	-0.055 (0.048)	0.001 (0.048)	-0.155^{***} (0.048)	-0.073 (0.107)	-0.155^{***} (0.048)	-0.076 (0.113)		
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-4.958^{***} (1.705)	-4.183^{**} (1.996)	-5.046^{***} (1.698)	-4.099* (2.016)	-1.011 (2.040)	-4.025 (2.907)	-1.018 (2.065)	-4.292 (2.825)		
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-4.042^{***} (1.177)	-3.780^{***} (1.320)	-4.053^{***} (1.175)	-3.793^{***} (1.327)	-3.515^{*} (1.829)	-2.334 (2.037)	-3.511^{*} (1.838)	-2.597 (2.042)		
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-4.516^{***} (1.258)	-5.468^{***} (1.430)	-4.545^{***} (1.243)	-5.470^{***} (1.453)	-4.281^{*} (2.151)	-4.740^{*} (2.690)	-4.282^{*} (2.162)	-4.725 (2.671		
_	0.312 (0.210)	-0.014 (0.228)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.314 \ (0.211) \end{array}$	-0.015 (0.228)	$0.094 \\ (0.246)$	-0.085 (0.348)	$0.096 \\ (0.243)$	-0.034 (0.331		
Turnout	()				105	84	107	84		
Turnout Observations R-squared Number of countries		$ \begin{array}{r} 136 \\ 0.333 \\ 22 \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} 170 \\ 0.271 \\ 27 \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} 136 \\ 0.334 \\ 22 \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} 107 \\ 0.452 \\ 27 \end{array} $	0.403 22	0.452 27	0.415 22		

Table 5: Correlates of social democratic votes after the Cold War and the Great Recession

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Columns 1 to 8 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Columns 9 to 16 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). Controls: employment in agriculture, district magnitude, women in work, urban population, population (log), population aged 65 and over, population aged 0 to 14, union density, percent in higher education. Full results in Appendix Table A5.

cant, although this time only the welfare spending variable is significant in all specifications. In addition, employment in industry is only significant for 1989-2000, not for 2000-2017. This suggests that after the 2008 financial crises, industrial workers had not only declined in numbers, but were now less likely to support social democrats.

Robustness tests: We undertake three robustness tests. First, to test whether our results depend on our definition of *social democratic parties*, we estimate the models with three alternative dependent variables: (1) our social democratic vote share variable, but counting the Italian Communist Party (PCI) as the social democratic party in Italy from 1968 onwards (instead of the PSI); (2) total left vote share, of all votes for social democrats, radical left, and other left parties; and (3) centre right vote share, of votes for the mainstream centre right parties in each country. The results (in Appendix Tables A8 and A9) reveal that the existing correlation between public spending and social democratic votes is even stronger for the 1945-2017 period when counting the PCI rather than PSI. We also find that the key relationships we uncover only hold consistently for social democratic parties but not for all votes for left parties. Similarly, employment in industry is unrelated to support for the centre right in the 1945-2017 period, but not in the 1975-2017 period. In short, only support for social democratic parties seems closely linked to the size of the manufacturing and public sectors.

Second, to explore the heterogeneity of the effect, we break down the analysis by region. Figure A3 in the Appendix shows the pattern of support for social democratic parties in North-Western Europe, Scandinavia, Southern Europe, and Eastern Europe. These figures show heterogeneity across and within regions, although North Western Europe, Scandinavia and Southern Europe all show a clear 'rise and fall' pattern. We also estimate the models separately for the 18 Western European and 13 Eastern European cases (in Table A10 in the Appendix), and for Southern Europe, Scandinavia, and the rest of Western Europe (in Table A11). The effect of public spending holds for Western Europe and Southern Europe, but when broken down to the smaller number of cases (in A11), the lack of power reduces the significance.

Third, given our attempt to trace the arc of social democracy over a century, issues of periodizations are crucial. To test whether our results are driven by our choice of periods, we undertake a sensitivity analysis by randomising when we stop and start the periods we analyze: so, starting in 1950 rather than 1945, in 1970 or 1980 rather than 1975, and in 1985, 1995 or 2005 instead of 2000 or 1989 or 2000. The results of this analysis (in Appendix A12, A13, and A14) suggest that our choice of periods in the main analysis has no effect on our main results.

4 Who Votes for Social Democratic Parties?

The results from this aggregate analysis can only be suggestive of particular relationships between individual voters and social democratic parties. For the most recent period, though, we can see whether the aggregate patterns can be observed at the individual-level, using the European Social Survey (ESS). The eight ESS waves, from 2002 to 2016, cover the period of the Great Recession (2007-10), the refugee crisis (2015-16), and the decline in support for social democratic parties. Fourteen countries in our aggregate data are included in all ESS waves: Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and United Kingdom.

Following the aggregate results, we focus on the propensity of someone in a manual job in industry (manufacturing, construction, or extraction) or who was a public sector employee (health and social care, education, or public administration and defence) to vote for a social democratic party. To investigate whether social democratic parties are attracting new professionals, as Kitschelt (1990) and others have suggested, we also include a measure of whether someone is a socio-cultural professional (legal services, the media, the creative industries, and universities) (Oesch 2006). We estimate a linear probability model for each wave separately, with country-fixed effects, and we control for a person's gender, whether they live in a city or town, and their age.

The results are summarized in the bottom panel of Figure 4 (see Appendix Table A15). The top panel shows the average percent of employment in manufacturing and the public sector in the 14 countries at the time of each ESS wave, using Eurostat data. Together, these data reveal a particular perspective on the decline of the social democratic electoral coalition. First, while employment in the public sector has remained stable, employment in industry declined by almost 20 percent in just 12 years (from 24.4 to 21.1 percent of the workforce). Second, there has been a decline in support for social democratic parties amongst industrial workers and public sector employees, although public sector employees remain more likely to vote social democrat than industrial workers. In addition, support for social democrats amongst socio-cultural professionals has remained stable. This coheres with Abou-Chadi and Wagner (2019), that social democrats can lose votes if their policies are opposed by (public sector) trade unions, as well as Piketty's (2018) view that social democrats now mainly rely on the support of 'Brahmins', who in our measures are public sector employees and socio-cultural professionals.

In short, in the most recent period, social democratic parties have been hit by a triple effect: 1) there has been a decline in the size of one of the main groups that have traditionally supported social democrats (industrial workers); 2) there has been a decline in the propensity of their core supporters (industrial workers and public sector employees) to vote for them; and 3) these losses have not been compensated by gains in support amongst the newer professional classes.

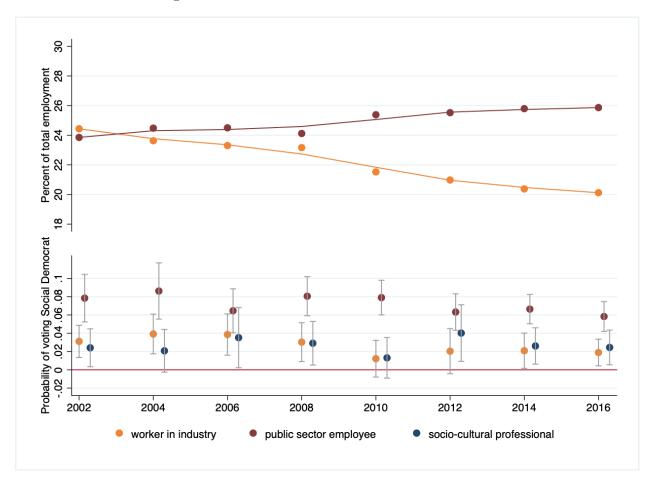


Figure 4: Industrial workers, public sector employees, and socio cultural professionals, and social democratic voting

Note: The bottom panel shows the effect of being an industrial worker (extraction, manufacturing, or construction), a public sector employee, or a socio-cultural professional on voting for a social democratic party. The data are from 8 waves of the European Social Survey (ESS) for 14 countries: Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and United Kingdom. The models are estimated with country fixed-effects and several socio-demographic control variables. The full results are in Appendix Table A14. The top panel shows the percent of total employment in manufacturing and the public sector in these same 14 countries, from Eurostat (http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu), using the same measures for manufacturing and public sector employment as in the ESS.

5 Conclusion

The story of the electoral performance of social democracy over the past century is the story of the rise and fall of a particular electoral coalition. Social democratic parties emerged after 1918 to represent the industrial working class. The primary goal of these parties was to win an electoral majority and to transform capitalism. This strategy was limited by the size of this social group, and the fact that not all workers supported socialism. Only after social democratic parties moderated their policies (moved closer to the median voter), could the electoral coalition be broadened. By adding another group (public sector workers) to the coalition, social democratic parties started to win between one-third and a half of all votes in many countries. This new coalition established social democrats as one of the main electoral forces in European politics since 1945, on the back of growing public sector employment. From the 1950s to the 1990s social democracy sought to manage or moderate capitalism mainly via increasing public spending. Yet, this coalition unravelled in the 2000s. Globalization and technological change meant that one pillar of this coalition, industrial workers, was now a relatively small group in most countries. Also, as social democratic parties tried to appeal to younger, urban professionals, many industrial workers increasingly supported other parties (such as the populist right or radical left). This left social democrats relying increasingly on public sector employees. But, with the growing constraints on public spending after the Great Recession, this was no-longer a winning strategy. Can social democratic parties build a new electoral coalition? We leave this to others to answer, and hope our results and our dataset encourage new research in this area.

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6 Appendix 1: Description of the Variables

Centre Right economic left-right position: Economic left-right location of the main centre right competitor party in the year of the election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b (https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu).

Centre Right left-right position: Left-right location of the main centre right competitor party in the year of the election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

Centre Right social liberal-authority position: Social left-right location of the main centre right competitor party in the year of the election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

Centre Right vote share: Vote share of the centre right (conservative and Christian democratic) party/parties (percent) in the election. Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions. We allocated parties to party families via their European and international party memberships and existing categorizations, in particular Von Beyme (1985), Jacobs (1989), and Hix and Lord (1997).

District magnitude (log): Natural log of the electoral system median district magnitude in the year of the election. Source: Boix (1999), Carey and Hix (2011), the Constituency-Level Election Archive (CLEA) (http://www.electiondataarchive.org), and estimated from the size of the legislature. **Employment in agriculture (percent):** Employment in agriculture (as a percent of total employment) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.AGR.EMPL.ZS

(http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators).

Employment in industry (percent): Employment in industry (as a percent of total employment) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.IND.EMPL.ZS.

EU member: Country is a member of the ECSC, EEC, or EU in the year of the election. Source: European Union (https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history_en).

Eurozone member: Country is a member of the Eurozone in the EU in the year of the election. Source: European Union (https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history en).

GDP growth: Annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the year of the election. Source: Maddison Project data

(http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm). Corrected to remove extreme outliers (less than -25 or greater than 25). Missing data entered from closest source, such as Penn World Tables (http://cid.econ.ucdavis.edu/pwt.html) or World Bank Development Indicator, or closest year in Maddison Project data.

GDP per capita (log): Natural log of GDP per capita in the year of the election. Source: Maddison Project Data (1990 Int. GK dollars). Missing data entered from closest source, such as Penn World Tables, or World Bank Development Indicator, or closest year in Maddison Project data.

Globalization index: KOG Globalization index (https://www.kof.ethz.ch/en/ forecasts-and-indicators/indicators/kof-globalisation-index.html). Source: Gygli et al. (2019).

Higher education: Gross enrollment ratio, tertiary, both sexes (percent) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SE.TER.ENRR.

Inflation: Consumer price inflation (annual percent) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG.

Life expectancy: Life expectancy at birth, total (years) in the year of election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.DYN.LE00.IN.

Manufacturing index: Index of manufacturing production (1953=100), which measures the volume of trade in manufactured goods in a country relative to 1953. Source: UN International Trade Statistics, 1900-1960.

Population: Natural log of total population in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.TOTL.

Population aged 0 to 14: Population aged 0 to 14 (percent of the total) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.0014.TO.ZS.

Population aged 65 and over: Population aged 65 and older (percent of the total) in

the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.65UP.TO.ZS.

Population growth: Population growth (annual percent change) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.POP.GROW.

Post-tax inequality (GINI): Post-tax and spending income inequality in the year of the election, as measured by GINI coefficient. Source: Standardized World Income Inequality Database, version 5.1 (http://fsolt.org/swiid).

Public spending (percent of GDP): Government expenditure in the year of the election (as a percent of GDP). Source: combined from general government final consumption expenditure in the year of the election (as a percent of GDP) from the World Bank Development Indicator (GC.XPN.TOTL.GD.ZS) and government expenditure in the year of the election (as a percent of GDP) from Our World in Data (https://ourworldindata.org/public-spending).

SD economic left-right position: Economic left-right location of social democratic party in an election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

SD party in gov't (coalition-junior): coded 1 if (at the time of the election) the social democratic party is in a coalition government, but does not hold the Prime Minister position. Source:Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus other available sources.

SD party in gov't (coalition-PM): coded 1 if (at the time of the election) the social democratic party is in a coalition government, and also holds the Prime Minister position.

Source:Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus other available sources.

SD party in gov't (single-party): coded 1 if (at the time of the election) the social democratic party is in government, and is the only party in the government. Source:Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus other available sources.

SD social liberal-authority position: Social left-right location of the social democratic party in an election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

(Semi) Presidential system: Presidential, semi-presidential, or power-sharing regime in the year of the election. Source: Robert Elgie (http://www.semi(Semi)Presidentialism.com/?p=1053).

Share of industry in GDP: Share of the industrial sector in gross domestic product, measured in constant 2011 international-dollars. Source: Timmer et al. (2015).

Social Democrat left-right position: Left-right location of the social democratic party in an election, as measured by party manifesto coding. Source: Comparative Manifestos Project data, release 2016b.

Social Democratic party electorate share: Share of total electorate (percent) won by the social democratic party in the election. Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

Social Democratic party vote share: Share of votes (percent) won by the social

democratic party in the election. Source:Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

Total left vote share: Vote share of the social democrats and the radical/ other left party/parties (percent) in the election. Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

Turnout: Turnout (percent) in the election. Source: Nohlen and Stoever (2010), plus national election commissions.

Unemployment: Unemployment in the year of the election, as a percent of the total labour force (modelled International Labor Organization (ILO) estimate. Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS.

Union density: Trade union density (measured as the percent of total wage earners who are trade union members) in the year of the election. Source: ICTWSS: Database on Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts in 51 countries between 1960 and 2014 (http://www.uva-aias.net/en/ictwss).

Urban population: Urban population (as a percent of total population) in the year of the election. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS.

Women in work: Labour force participation rate, female (as a percent of the female population aged 15 or older), national estimate. Source: World Bank Development indicator, SL.TLF.CACT.FE.NE.ZS.

Years of democracy: Number of years of continuous democracy in the year of the election (POLITY≥7), counted from year of first election, and then starting again at 1 following a period of a non-democracy. Source: Polity IV project (http://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html).

Youth unemployment: Youth unemployment in the year of the election, as a percent of the labour force aged 15 to 24 (modelled ILO estimate). Source: World Bank Development Indicator, SL.UEM.1524.ZS.

7 Appendix 2: Supplementary Figures and Tables



Figure A1: Vote shares of social democratic parties in Western Europe

Note: The lines are estimated by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing.

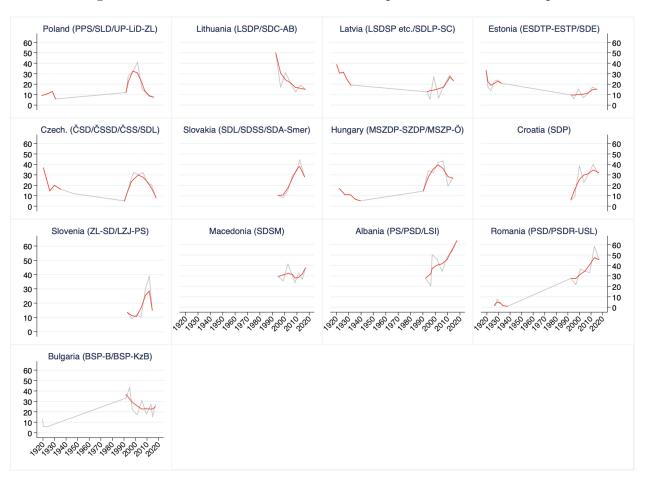


Figure A2: Vote shares of social democratic parties in Eastern Europe

Note: The lines are estimated by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing.



Figure A3: Vote shares of social democratic parties in 4 regions

Note: The lines are estimated by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing. North Western Europe: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom. Scandinavia: Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden. Southern Europe: Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain. Eastern Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia.

Table A2: Cases of social democratic parties

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IblyFdPFronte del Popol (PCI-451)Pequide's frontIblyUlivo /PoiDemoration del visito / Demoratio del visito / Demoratio del visito / Demoratio All visito / Demoratio All visito / Demoratio All visito / Demoratio All visito / Demoratio Pary / Univo / Parito Scalal Demoratic Worker / ParyIabriaUlivo / PoiSakasa Iabria/ Addinika Tatsiminecha/ Tatsis Aslangas parijaHarmory for labria / Alational Farony Party (of Russion minority)IabriaSi/FSakasa Iabria/ Addinika Tatsisminecha/ Tatsis Aslangas parijaSocial Democratic Worker' ParyIabriaSi/FSocialdemokratis visitabal Scalidemokratiska parijaSocial Democratic Worker' ParyIabriaSi/FSocialdemokratiska Parija Scalidemokratiska ParijaSocial Democratic Worker' ParyIabriaSi/FSocialdemokratiska Parija Scalidemokratiska ParijaSocial Democratic Worker' ParyIabriaSi/FSocialdemokratiska Parija Scalidemokratiska ParijaSocial Democratic Varifa ParyIabriaSi/FSocialdemokratiska Parija Scalidemokratiska ParijaSocial Democratic Varifa ParyIabriaSi/FSocialdemokratiska Parija ScalidemokratiskaSocial Democratic Varifa VisitanaiIabriaSi/FParis Socialis Parifa ScalidemokratiskaSocial Parifa ScalidemokratiskaIabriaSi/FParis Socialis Parifa ScalidemokratiskaSocial Parifa ScalidemokratiskaIabriaSi/FParifa ScalidemokratiskaSocial ParifaIabriaSi/FParifa ScalidemokratiskaSocial ParifaIabriaSi/FParifa ScalidemokratiskaSocial Parifa <t< td=""><td>1918-2017</td></t<>	1918-2017
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IblyPol/PoS/0Porto Demonstic della Sinitar Demonstic di SinitarDemonstic Party of the Left / Demonstis PartyIblyUKVPUKVPINUP Partio Demonstic AntyDemonstic Nary of the Left / Demonstic PartyIatviaUSSPIatvia Social Semonstic Nary SinitaryIatvia Social Demonstic VentyPartyIatviaSDF / SDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocial Demonstic Venty Party (flassian minor)IatviaSDF / SDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocial Demonstic Venty Party (flassian minor)IatviaSDF / SDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocial Demonstic Venty Party (flassian minor)IatviaSDF / SDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocial Demonstic Venty Party (flassian)IatviaSDF / SDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocial Demonstic Venty Party (flassian)IatvianiSDF / SDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocialemonstic Venty Party Of LatvianiaNetherindicSDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocialemonstic Venty Party Of LatvianiaNetherindicSDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocialemonstic Venty Party SinitaryNetherindicSDFSocialemonstic Nary SinitarySocialemonstic Venty Party SinitaryNorwyNorwyNorwySocialemonstic Nary Sinitary <td>1948-1952</td>	1948-1952
LabiaLSDSPJubigs Social demokritiskä Strahisheku ParijaLaina Social Democratic Worker's ParityLabiaSDS / Social Labina's Addimisena Tutsisminekui/ Taktas SaparajaHommory for Labia's Altonian Hammory Parity of Jussian minorityLabiaSDS /Social Bemocratic Salian Hammory Parity of Jussian MinorityLabiaSD /Social Bemocratis ka Labiajas saparajaSocial Democratic Varity - Namory	1967-2005
LabiaLSDSPJubigs Social demokritiskä Strahisheku ParijaLaina Social Democratic Worker's ParityLabiaSDS / Social Labina's Addimisena Tutsisminekui/ Taktas SaparajaHommory for Labia's Altonian Hammory Parity of Jussian minorityLabiaSDS /Social Bemocratic Salian Hammory Parity of Jussian MinorityLabiaSD /Social Bemocratis ka Labiajas saparajaSocial Democratic Varity - Namory	2006-2017
IatviaSIAT / SSakana taxiamineda/ ratusismiceda/ ratus sakanas partijaHamony for Latvia National Hamony Party (d Russan minority)IatviaSOS POSocialdemocrita vinoris Associal Democratic Vinoris Associal D	1920-2017
LatviaSDC / SDSocial democritis varius avenina / Social democritis variusSocial Democratic Vinion / Social Democratic PartyLatviaSDSocial democritis varia variaSocial Democratic VariaLatviaSC / SDPSSaskapas Centra / Social Memocritis VariaSocial Democratic VariaLittuaniaLSDPLittuos demokrating VariaSocial Democratic Labour Party of UthuaniaLittuaniaSDC // BDLittuos demokrating VariaSocial Democratic Labour Party of UthuaniaLittuaniaSDC // BDSocial Democratic VariaSocial Democratic Labour Party of UthuaniaLutemotorigPS / SDPSocial Democratic VariaSocial Democratic VariaMacedoniaSDC // BDSocial Democratic VariaSocial Democratic VariaNoreadoniaSDSSocial Democratic VariaSocial Democratic VariaNetherlandsSDPSocial Democratic VariaSocial Democratic VariaNorwayDNADetonske Arbeider PartiSocial Democratic VariaPolandSDSocial Democratic VariaDemocratic Labour PartyPolandLibour DemokraticLabour PartyPolandLibour Demokratic Party VariaDemocratic Labour PartyPolandLibour DemokraticLabour PartyPolandSDSocial DemokraticLabour PartyPolandLibour Demokratic Demokratic Labour PartyLabour Demokratic Labour PartyPolandLibour Demokratic Demokratic Labour PartyLabour Demokratic Labour PartyPolandLibour Demokratic Social Demokratic Social Bernokratic Social Be	1990-1994
LaiviaSDLPSocializencorita kiakia kiakia ja sparijaSocial Democratic Welfane PartyLativaSC SDPSSokanas Centr / Socialidemokrati parijaHamony Centra / Social Pomocratic Catory "Hamony"LithuaniaLDPLetuxos socialidemokrati parijaDemocratic Latory of LithuaniaLithuaniaLDDASocial Democratic Marty of LithuaniaSocial Democratic Latory and StaziakiaLithuaniaLDDASocial Democratic Latory of LithuaniaSocial Democratic Latory of LithuaniaLithuaniaSDASocial Democratic Latory of LithuaniaSocial Democratic Latory of LithuaniaLithuaniaSDASocial Democratic Latory of LithuaniaSocial Democratic Latory of LithuaniaMacedonaSDASocial Pomocratic Staticy LithuaniaSocial Democratic LithuaniaMacedonaSDASocial Democratic Latory of MaxedonaSocial Democratic Latory of MaxedonaNorwayPAdAParty and Acheliders PartijSocial Democratic Latory of MaxedonaNorwayPartyPolania Social Staty Catory Demokraty CatoryBolomacratic Latory Social StatyPolandPAGPolanok Acheliders PartijLatory PartyLatory PartyPolandLDSocial Latory Demokraty CatoryBolomacratic Latory Social StatyPolandPartyPolanok Activati Social StatySocial Democratic Latory Social StatyPolandLDLatory Social Staty Catory DemokratySocial Democratic Latory Social StatyPolandLDLatory Social Staty Catory Social Staty Catory Social StatySocial Democratic Latory Social Staty Catory Soc	2002-2005
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LuembourgPS/ LSAPParti socialiste / Lêtrebuerger Sozialistes / AarbechterparteiSocialist Party / Luembourg Socialist Workers' PartyMacedoniaSDAPSociala Democratist Vanor And MacedoniaSocial Democratis Union of MacedoniaNetherlandsSDAPSociala Democratist Vanor RestSocial Democratis Union of MacedoniaNetherlandsPVAAPartij and e ArbeidLabour PartyNonwayDNAPatris Socialisty Partis Activeliers PartijDemocratis Union of MacedoniaPolandPSPolkes Partis Socialisty CaranPolish Socialist PartyPolandUPUnia PracyDemocratis Left AlliancePolandUPUnia PracyLabour UnionPolandUPUnia PracyLabour UnionPolandUPLevicai DemokratisLeft and DemocratisPolandUPLevicai DemokratisSocialist PartyPolandUPLevicai DemokratisSocialist PartyPolandUPLevicai DemokratisLeft and DemocratisPolandUPLevicai DemokratisSocialist Parties from RomaniaRomaniaPSPartideor Socialistic MacedoniaSocialist Parties from RomaniaRomaniaPSDPartideor Socialistic MacedoniaSocialist Parties from RomaniaRoma	1991-2003
MacedoniaSDSMSocijaldemokratski sojuz na MakedonijaSocial Democratic Union of MacedoniaNetherlandsSDAPSocial Democratic Vorkers' PartyNorkersiPvAAParliy and e Arbeiders PartjSocial Democratic Vorkers' PartyNorwayDNADet norske ArbeiderparteiLabour PartyPolandPSPPolake Parts Social StartyDemocratic Vorkers' PartyPolandSDDSojusz Lewicy DemokratycznejDemocratic Left AlliancePolandUPUnia ParayLabour UnionPolandUDLewica I DemokraciLeft and DemocratisPolandZLZjednocrona LewicaVortiel Aria do EmocratisPolandZLZjednocrona LewicaVortiel Aria do EmocratisPolandFSRFederaja Partideo SocialistaSocial Democratis CaratisRomaniaFSRFederaja Partideo Socialista din RomâniaEderation of Socialist Parties from RomaniaRomaniaFSNFortul Democrati Salvální NitonaleDemocratic National Salvation FrontRomaniaVSLUniunea Social LiberalăSocial Democratic PartyRomaniaSDLStrana demokraticki fariaceSocial Democratic PartySlovakiaSDLStrana demokraticki fariaceSocial Democratic PartySlovakiaSDSSocial Calinokanticki fariaceSocial Democratic Party of SlovakiaSlovakiaSDSSocial Demokraticki fariaceSocial Democratic Party of SlovakiaSlovakiaSDSSocial Demokraticki fariaceSocial Democratic Party of SlovakiaSl	2000-2003
NacedoniaSDSMSocial Democratic Voir Social Democratic Union of MacedoniaNetherlandsSDAPSocial Democratic Voir Social Democratic Voir Soc	1918-2017
NetherlandsSDAPSocial Democratis/Antive SpratingSocial Democratis/PartyNetherlandsVPAQPrity and Arbeider partiLabour PartyNorwayDNADet nose ArbeiderpartelLabour PartyPolandPPSPolak Partia SocialistycanaPolish Socialisty PartyPolandLDSoisus Lewicy Demokraty/zenejDemocratis LefA filancePolandUPUnie Versie Demokraty/zenejLabour VinioPolandLDVersie Demokraty/zenejLabour VinioPolandLDZednocona LewiaUnie Jednocona LewiaPolandZZednocona LewiaOnied LeftPolandPSPartideor Socialista din RomâniaSocialista PartyRomaniaPSMPartideor Socialista din RomâniaSocial Democratis Left ArbityRomaniaPSMPartidu Social Democrat Isal-Mini NationaleSocial Democratis PartyRomaniaUSLUnium Social Democratic PartySocial Democratic PartySlovakiaSocial Democratic Party of ShowakiaSocial Democratic PartySlovakiaSocial Comocratic Party of ShowakiaSocial Democratic Party of ShowakiaSlovakiaSocial Democratic Social Democratic Social	1990-2017
NorwayDNADef-orske ArbeiderpartelLabour PartyPolandPPSPolak a CojulistyczmaPolak Socialis PartyPolandLDSojusi Lewicy PomokratycznejComoratic Left Allance.PolandUPUnia PartyLabour UnioPolandUDUnie VariaLabour UnioPolandLDVerkia DemokratycznejLabour UnioPolandLDZelwica DemokratyLabour UnioPolandZLZjednocona LewicaUnited LeftPortugilPSPartideo Socialista din RomâniaSocialista Parties from RomaniaRomaniaPSDPartideo Socialista din RomâniaSocialista Parties from RomaniaRomaniaPSDPartidu Social DemocratSocial Democratic PartyRomaniaPSDPartidu Social Democrat RomâniaSocial Democratic PartyRomaniaUSLUniune Social LiberaliáSocial Democratic PartySlovakiaUSLUniune Social LiberaliáSocial Democratic PartySlovakiaSocial Aberal UnionSocial Democratic Party of StovakiaSlovakiaSocial Social Marcine Concratic Salatian Silatian NicholeSocial Democratic Party of StovakiaSlovakiaSocial Social Menoratic Astrational Social LiberaliáSocial Democratic Party of StovakiaSlovakiaSocial Aberantickia Strata Silatian NicholemokratoSocial Democratic Party of StovakiaSlovakiaSocial Democratic Party of StovakiaSocial Democratic Party of StovakiaSlovakiaSocial Social Silatian Social Silatian NicholemokratoSocial Democ	1918-1945
Poland PPS Polska Partia SocialistParty Polska Socialist Party Poland SLD Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej Democratic Left Aliance Poland UP Unia Pracy Labour Union Poland LD Lewica I Demokraci Labour Union Poland LD Lewica I Demokraci Left and Democrats Poland LD Lewica I Demokraci Lift and Democrats Poland LD Lewica I Demokraci Socialist Party Portugal PS Partido Socialista On Socialista Socialist Party Romania PSD Partido Socialista On Socialista Socialist Party Romania PSD Partido Socialista On Socialista Socialista Party Romania PSD Partido Social Democrat Bomocratic Party Romania PSD Partido Social Democrat Socialista Social Liberal Union Slovakia SOS Socialin demokratickia Strato Social Democratic Left Slovakia SOS Socialin demokratickia Strato Social Democratic Left Slovakia <t< td=""><td>1946-2017</td></t<>	1946-2017
Poland Slus Sajusz Lewicy Demokratycznej Democratic Left Alliance Poland UP Unia Praco Labour Unio Poland UP Unia Varoy Labour Unio Poland UP Unia Varoy Labour Unio Poland Zu Verkai Demokrai Laf and Democratis Portugal P.S Verkai Demokrai Social Democratis Romania PSN Fortugal Partidelor Socialist din România Social Democratis Partis from Romania Romania PSN Fortul Democratis Salváni Nitonale Democratis Katonia Salvatori Front Romania PSN Fortul Democratis Salváni Nitonale Social Democratis Party Romania PSN Fortul Democratis Salváni Nitonale Social Democratis Varion Salvatori Front Romania VSL Vitunea Social Liberal Tunion Social Democratis Varion Salvatori Front Slovakia SOS Social Democratis Varion Salvatori Front Social Democratis Varion Salvatori Front Slovakia SOS Social Democratis Varion Salvatori Front Social Democratis Varion Salvatori Front Slovakia Sos	1918-2017
Poland UP Unia Para Labour Union Poland LD Levica i Demokradi Left and Democratis Poland LD Zednoczona Lewica United Left Portugal PS Padrob Scolalista Socialist Parties from Romania Romania PSR Padrob Scolalista din România Ederation of Socialist Parties from Romania Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat Social Democratis Party Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat România Democratis National Savation Front Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat România Social Liberal Union Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat România Social Liberal Union Slovakia SDS Social Inderativa Y of the Democratic Party Slovakia SDS Social Inderativa Y of the Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SDS Socialnotemotratick at y of the Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SDS Socialnotemotratick at y of the Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SDS Socialnotemotratick at y of Slovakia Slovakia SD	1919-1928
Poland Lowica i Demokraci Lewica i Demokraci Lemica i Demokraci Poland ZL Zjednoczona Lewica United Left Poland ZL Zjednoczona Lewica Socialist Party Portugal PS Partido Socialista dim România Socialist Party Romania PSD Federatjo Partidel Portugaliste dim România Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Frontu Democrat al Salvárii Nationale Democratic National Salvation Front Romania PSD Partidu Social Democrat Român Romanian Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Partidu Democrat I Salvárii Nationale Romanian Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Partidu Democrat I Salvárii Nationale Romanian Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Partidu Bocial Democrat Român Romanian Social Democratic Party Slovakia SDL Stana demokratickej favice Party of the Democratic Left Slovakia SDS Social Demokratická strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SDA Sociándemokratická atematíva / Sociala Homeratory Social Democratic P	1990-2017
Poland Zl Zjednoczona Lewica United Left Portugal PS Pardido Socialista Socialist Parties from Romania Romania PSR Pederaja Partideor Socialiste din România Socialist Parties from Romania Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat Social Democratic Party Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat Social Democratic Party Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat Social Democratic Party Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat România Bornania Social Democratic Party Romania PSN Partidu Social Democrat România Social Democratic Party Slovakia SD Strana demokratickej Farice Party of the Democratic Party Slovakia SDS Sociándomenkratické fariance Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SDS Sociándomenkratické fariance Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SDA Sociándomenkratické atemativa Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovenia ZJ Soziándomenkratické atemativa Social Democracy Slovenia	1993-2006
Portugal Ps Partidas cocialista dim somalia Socialista Parties from Romania Romania PSD Partidulo Socialista dim România Federația Partiele Socialista dim România Romania PSD Partidul Social Internorat Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Partidul Social Democrat Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Partidul Social Democrat Romania Romania PSD Partidul Social Democrat Romanian Social Democratic Party Romania USL Uniunes Social Luberal Invion Social Luberal Union Slovakia SOS Social Ademokraticka Strata Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SOS Social Ademokraticka Strata Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SOS Socialina demokraticka Strata Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovenia SOS Socialina demokraticka itemativa Direction Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovenia Social Scalina demokraticy / Socialini demokrativi Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovenia Social Internativa Sloveneia Social D	2007-2010
Portugal Ps Partidas cocialista dim somalia Socialista Parties from Romania Romania PSD Partidulo Socialista dim România Federația Partiele Socialista dim România Romania PSD Partidul Social Internorat Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Partidul Social Democrat Social Democratic Party Romania PSD Partidul Social Democrat Romania Romania PSD Partidul Social Democrat Romanian Social Democratic Party Romania USL Uniunes Social Luberal Invion Social Luberal Union Slovakia SOS Social Ademokraticka Strata Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SOS Social Ademokraticka Strata Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia SOS Socialina demokraticka Strata Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovenia SOS Socialina demokraticka itemativa Direction Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovenia Social Scalina demokraticy / Socialini demokrativi Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovenia Social Internativa Sloveneia Social D	2015-2017
Romania PSD Partidul Social Democrat Social Democratic Party Romania FDSN Frontu Democrat I Salvárii Nationale Democratic Party Romania FDSN Profudu Social Democrat I Salvárii Nationale Democratic Vational Salvário Front Romania FDSN Profudu Social Democrat Romania Romania Social Democratic Party Romania USL Uniunes Social Luberal I Union Social Luberal Union Social Luberal Union Slovakia SDS Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska Social Democratic Latry of Slovakia Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska Slovakia SDS Sociálnodemokratická stranaťsva Social Democratic Vatry of Slovakia Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratická stranaťsva Social Democratic Vatry of Slovakia Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratická stranaťsva Social Democratic Vatry of Social Democratic Slovenia ZL/SD Združena Ista socialnih demokratov / Socialnih demokratov Social Democratic Slovenia ZL/SD Idata Zanazian Akovicé Dervitoria United List Zorazai Ankovicé Sutri Dervitor	1975-2017
Romania FDSM Frontul Democrat I Salvátil Nationale Democratic National Salvátion Front Romania PSDR Prádu cola i Democrat Román Romanian Social Democratic Party Romania DSL Uniunea Social Iberal Jálvátil Mationale Social Democratic Party Slovála SDL Strana demokratickej Favice Party of the Democratic Left Slovála SDL Strana demokratické strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Sloválai Slovála Sme-sociáln demokratická strana Slovenska Democratic Left Slovála Sme-sociáln demokratická strana Slovenska Sociál Democratic Party of Sloválai Slovála SDL Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Sloválai Slovála SDL Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Sloválai Sloveňa SDL Sociálnodemokratická alta socialnémokrator / Socialnémokrator Social Democratic Party of Slovála Democr	1926-1927
Romania FDSM Frontul Democrat I Salvátil Nationale Democratic National Salvátion Front Romania PSDR Prádu cola i Democrat Román Romanian Social Democratic Party Romania DSL Uniunea Social Iberal Jálvátil Mationale Social Democratic Party Slovála SDL Strana demokratickej Favice Party of the Democratic Left Slovála SDL Strana demokratické strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Sloválai Slovála Sme-sociáln demokratická strana Slovenska Democratic Left Slovála Sme-sociáln demokratická strana Slovenska Sociál Democratic Party of Sloválai Slovála SDL Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Sloválai Slovála SDL Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Sloválai Sloveňa SDL Sociálnodemokratická alta socialnémokrator / Socialnémokrator Social Democratic Party of Slovála Democr	1928-1948
Romania USL Uniunea Social Liberală Social Liberal Union Slovakia SDL Strana demokratickej Favie Party of the Democratic Left Slovakia SDS Sociálnodemokratické strana Slovenska Social Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia Sme Smer-sociálm demokratické atrana Slovenska Directorio Social Democraty Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratické atrana Slovenska Directorio Social Democraty Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratické atranativa Social Democraty Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratické atranativa Social Democraty Slovenia ZL/SD Združena lista socialní demokratory / Socialni demokratici United List of Social Democrats / Social Democrats Slovenia LZ/PS Lista Zorana Jankoviča – Pozitiva Slovenia Zorana Jankoviča – Pozitiva Slovenia	1992-2005
Romania USL Uniunea Social Liberal Iã Social Liberal Union Slovakia SDL Strana demokratickej favice Party of the Democratic Left Slovakia SDS Sociálnodemokratické strana Slovenska Social Democratic Left Slovakia Smer Smer-sociálna demokratické atrana Slovenska Direction Social Democratic Varia Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratické atrana Slovenska Direction Social Democratic Atranative Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratické atranativa Social Democratic Atranative Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratické atranativa Social Democratic Atranative Slovania L/L/S Zurizena lista socialni demokratov / Socialin demokratio United List of Social Democratic Atranative	1996-2011
Slovakia SDSS Sociálnodemokratická strana Slovenska Sociál Democratic Party of Slovakia Slovakia Smer Smer-sociálna demokracia Direction Sociál Democrato; Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratická atematíva Direction Sociál Democrato; Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratická atematíva Sociál Democrato; Slovenia ZI/SD Zdrzena lista socialnih demokratov/ Socialni demokrati Unitel List of Social Democrats; Slovenia LZ-PS Lista Zorana Jankovića – Pozitivna Slovenija Zoran Jankovića; Slovenia	2012-2017
Slovakia Smer Smer-sociálna demokracia Direction Social Democracy Slovakia SDA Sociálnodemokratická alternatíva Social Democracy Slovenia ZL/SD Združena lista socialní demokratov / Socialni demokratíva United List of Social Democrats / Social Democrats Slovenia ZL/PS Lista Zorana Jankovića – Pozitivna Slovenija Zoran Jankovića sltr – Positive Slovenia	1993-2005
Slowakia SDA Sociálnovemokratická alternatíva Social Democratic Alternativa Slovenia ZL/SD Združena lista socialní h demokratov / Socialní demokratí United List of Social Democratis / Social Democratis / Social Democratis Slovenia LZ/P5 Lista Zorana Jankoviča - Pozitivna Slovenija Zoran Jankoviča tist - Positive Slovenia	1993-2005
Slovenia ZL/SD Združena lista socialnih demokratov / Socialni demokrati United List of Social Democrats / So	2002-2017
Slovenia LZJ-PS Lista Zorana Jankovića – Pozitivna Slovenija Zoran Janković's List – Positive Slovenia	2002-2005
	1992-2017
	2011-2013
Slovenia ZL Združena levica United Left	2014-2017
Spain PSOE Partido Socialista Obrero Español Spanish Socialist Workers' Party	1977-2008
Spain PSC Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya Party of the Socialists of Catalunya	1977-2008
Sweden SAP Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti Social Democratic Workers' Party	1918-2017
Switzerland SPS/PSS Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz/Parti sozialiste suisse/Partito Sozialista Svizzero Sozial Democratic/Sozialist Party of Switzerland	1918-2017
United Kingdorn Lab Labour Party Labour Party	1918-2017

	Analysis of levels		Analysis o	f differences
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.157**	0.193***	0.168**	0.163**
	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.073)	(0.073)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.172**	0.170^{*}	0.148**	0.150**
	(0.081)	(0.084)	(0.068)	(0.069)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.003	-0.003	-0.036	-0.036
	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.030)	(0.030)
District Magnitude	0.574	0.787	0.948	0.912
	(1.292)	(1.308)	(1.596)	(1.581)
District mag.*SD left-right position	-0.058*	-0.055*	-0.061**	-0.062**
	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.027)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	1.335	1.097	-3.175***	-3.187***
	(1.256)	(1.230)	(0.957)	(0.962)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	0.976	0.634	-2.507**	-2.506**
	(1.327)	(1.285)	(0.963)	(0.966)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-2.849***	-3.056***	-2.461***	-2.451***
	(0.912)	(0.925)	(0.721)	(0.721)
Turnout	-0.084	-0.086	0.300**	0.299**
	(0.106)	(0.101)	(0.130)	(0.129)
GDP per capita (Madison)	3.577	5.310	2.008	2.447
	(2.877)	(3.238)	(2.969)	(2.910)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.097	-0.057	-0.166	-0.167
	(0.138)	(0.145)	(0.224)	(0.225)
EU member	-1.136	-0.385	-1.283	-1.052
	(2.055)	(2.055)	(1.476)	(1.572)
Eurozone member	2.646	2.848	-0.082	-0.021
	(2.182)	(2.112)	(1.335)	(1.307)
Presidential system	11.214**	10.644**	2.444	2.463
	(4.179)	(3.886)	(4.763)	(4.777)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	381	381	353	353
R-squared	0.162	0.176	0.169	0.170
Number of countries	31	31	31	31

Table A3: Correlates of social democratic party vote shares, 1945-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1 and 2 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 3 and 4 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). Standard

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm errors \ in \ parentheses.} \\ 38 \end{array}$

	Analysis of levels			Analysis of differences				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.249*	0.222*			0.229**	0.206		
	(0.129)	(0.122)			(0.110)	(0.125)		
Welfare spending (% GDP)			0.509**	0.532**			0.839**	0.864**
			(0.243)	(0.239)			(0.318)	(0.327)
Employment in industry (%)	0.981***	0.866***	0.970**	0.862**	0.147	0.167	0.224	0.207
	(0.277)	(0.274)	(0.348)	(0.324)	(0.327)	(0.330)	(0.334)	(0.323)
Globalization Index	0.027	0.036	0.251	0.226	0.210	0.179	0.411	0.431
	(0.350)	(0.345)	(0.451)	(0.428)	(0.473)	(0.477)	(0.365)	(0.378)
Social Democrat left-right position	0.102**	0.100**	0.046	0.049	0.029	0.032	0.040	0.040
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.006	-0.008	0.062	0.049	-0.051	-0.050	-0.024	-0.024
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.043)	(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.037)
SD party in gov't (single-party)	-0.347	-0.598	-0.148	-0.524	-3.523**	-3.456**	-3.908**	-3.954*
	(1.451)	(1.431)	(1.826)	(1.806)	(1.393)	(1.397)	(1.428)	(1.407)
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-0.936	-0.791	-1.002	-1.001	-3.651***	-3.583***	-4.516***	-4.579**
	(1.435)	(1.460)	(1.304)	(1.302)	(1.093)	(1.110)	(1.007)	(1.027)
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-3.214**	-3.233**	-4.703***	-5.031***	-3.705***	-3.714***	-5.843***	-5.837**
	(1.348)	(1.348)	(1.314)	(1.303)	(1.028)	(1.029)	(1.152)	(1.157)
Turnout	0.121	0.100	0.072	0.038	0.313*	0.309*	-0.003	-0.000
luniout	(0.148)	(0.139)	(0.157)	(0.142)	(0.171)	(0.167)	(0.208)	(0.207)
Union density	-0.197	-0.184	-0.457**	-0.442**	-0.113	-0.106	-0.454*	-0.456*
Union density	(0.133)	(0.132)			(0.147)			
			(0.191)	(0.182)	. ,	(0.144)	(0.241)	(0.245)
Higher education	-0.057	-0.017	-0.052	0.014	-0.040	-0.039	-0.177	-0.175
if. Encoder and	(0.074) 2.500^{***}	(0.079) 2.769^{***}	(0.088)	(0.097)	(0.129)	(0.126)	(0.131)	(0.131)
Life Expectancy			0.850	1.573**	1.916	1.827	-1.289	-1.310
	(0.707)	(0.714)	(0.639)	(0.585)	(1.241)	(1.221)	(1.575)	(1.570)
District magnitude (%)	2.033*	1.922*	1.835**	1.667***	1.071	1.053	1.247	1.233
	(1.166)	(1.051)	(0.667)	(0.583)	(1.270)	(1.219)	(0.851)	(0.836)
Employment in agriculture	0.490*	0.394	0.543	0.479	0.116	0.135	-1.072**	-1.102*
	(0.272)	(0.259)	(0.583)	(0.516)	(0.306)	(0.315)	(0.461)	(0.481)
Women in work	0.072	0.087	-0.035	-0.010	-0.062	-0.078	-0.218	-0.214
	(0.161)	(0.155)	(0.138)	(0.131)	(0.168)	(0.172)	(0.217)	(0.223)
Urban population	-0.070	-0.030	-0.220	-0.125	-0.324	-0.336	-0.623	-0.624
	(0.228)	(0.231)	(0.256)	(0.248)	(0.608)	(0.615)	(0.459)	(0.449)
Population (log)	-5.476	-6.076	16.241	11.144	-36.827	-45.650	-10.967	-6.510
	(12.266)	(11.672)	(17.767)	(15.900)	(46.721)	(47.695)	(47.187)	(48.821)
Population aged 65 and over	0.261	0.398	0.939	0.999	-1.306	-1.330	-1.197	-1.210
	(0.955)	(0.953)	(0.923)	(0.908)	(0.793)	(0.836)	(0.971)	(0.982)
Population aged 0 to 14	-0.018	-0.060	0.380	0.285	1.499	1.575	1.605	1.529
	(0.537)	(0.554)	(0.560)	(0.629)	(1.047)	(1.070)	(1.056)	(1.103)
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	244	244	193	193	227	227	171	171
R-squared	0.223	0.240	0.308	0.335	0.234	0.239	0.343	0.344
Number of countries	27	27	22	22	27	27	22	22

Table A4: Correlates of Social Democratic votes in the era of globalization, 1975-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1, 2, 3, and 4 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 5, 6, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences).

Table A5:	Correlates of	Social 1	Democratic	votes in	the era	of	globalization,	1989-2017

(1)	(0)					Analysis of differences			
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		
0.269	0.223			0.281*	0.267*				
(0.166)	(0.153)			(0.139)	(0.142)				
		0.815^{**}	0.750^{**}			0.893**	0.918^{*}		
		(0.385)	(0.353)			(0.392)	(0.382		
0.628*	0.462	1.265^{**}	1.019**	-0.206	-0.207	0.573	0.588		
(0.338)	(0.375)	(0.462)	(0.488)	(0.345)	(0.343)	(0.398)	(0.408		
0.373	0.438	0.534	0.711	-0.035	-0.031	0.300	0.283		
(0.424)	(0.423)	(0.475)	(0.441)	(0.556)	(0.556)	(0.464)	(0.460		
0.135^{*}	0.139*	0.054	0.059	0.024	0.028	0.019	0.017		
(0.072)	(0.070)	(0.053)	(0.050)	(0.055)	(0.056)	(0.047)	(0.047)		
0.008	0.009	0.069	0.060	-0.054	-0.055	0.000	0.001		
(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.056)	(0.060)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)		
-2.967	-3.211	-2.371	-3.010	-4.958***	-5.046***	-4.183**	-4.099		
(2.005)	(2.078)	(2.145)	(2.501)	(1.705)	(1.698)	(1.996)	(2.016		
-0.368	-0.492	0.307	0.033	-4.042***	-4.053***	-3.780***	-3.793*		
(1.444)	(1.432)	(1.034)	(1.088)	(1.177)	(1.175)	(1.320)	(1.327		
-3.425*	-3.497*	-4.609**	-4.983**	-4.516***	-4.545***	-5.468***	-5.470*		
(1.923)	(1.971)	(1.709)	(1.873)	(1.258)	(1.243)	(1.430)	(1.453)		
0.116	0.112	-0.088	-0.092	0.312	0.314	-0.014	-0.01		
(0.172)	(0.172)	(0.191)	(0.190)	(0.210)	(0.211)	(0.228)	(0.228		
-0.156	-0.143	-0.662*	-0.669*	-0.028	-0.025	-0.236	-0.20		
(0.160)	(0.155)	(0.348)	(0.336)	(0.174)	(0.172)	(0.452)	(0.492)		
							-0.10		
							(0.153		
3.193**	3.037**	2.501***	2.341***	2.119	2.101	1.774***	1.764*		
(1.387)	(1.314)	(0.703)	(0.687)	(1.690)	(1.653)	(0.623)	(0.626		
				0.106			-0.91		
							(0.740		
							0.018		
							(0.355		
							-1.17		
							(1.402		
							-14.72		
							(52.23		
			. ,		. ,		-1.80		
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							(1.301		
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							Yes		
							Yes		
							136		
							0.334 22		
_	(0.338) 0.373 (0.424) 0.135^* (0.072) 0.008 (0.052) -2.967 (2.005) -0.368 (1.444) -3.425^* (1.923) 0.116 (0.172) -0.156 (0.160) 0.011 (0.087)	(0.338) (0.375) 0.373 0.438 (0.424) (0.423) 0.135* 0.139* (0.072) (0.070) 0.008 0.009 (0.52) (0.52) -2.967 -3.211 (2.005) (2.078) -0.368 -0.492 (1.444) (1.432) -3.425* -3.497* (1.923) (1.971) 0.116 0.112 (0.172) (0.172) -0.156 -0.143 (0.160) (0.155) 0.011 0.039 (0.87) (0.094) 3.193** 3.037** (1.387) (1.314) 0.443 0.347 (0.263) (0.244) 0.075 0.096 (0.213) (0.222) -0.407 -0.292 (0.316) (0.352) 0.091 1.331 (16.104) (16.198) 0.112 0.365	(0.385) 0.628* 0.462 1.265** (0.338) (0.375) (0.462) 0.373 0.438 0.534 (0.424) (0.423) (0.475) 0.135* 0.139* 0.054 (0.072) (0.070) (0.053) 0.008 0.009 0.069 (0.52) (0.052) (0.056) -2.967 -3.211 -2.371 (2.005) (2.078) (2.145) -0.368 -0.492 0.307 (1.444) (1.432) (1.034) -3.425* -3.497* -4.609** (1.923) (1.971) (1.709) 0.116 0.112 -0.088 (0.172) (0.172) (0.191) -0.165 -0.143 -0.662* (0.160) (0.155) (0.348) 0.011 0.039 -0.105 (0.6037) (0.094) (0.128) 3.193** 3.037** 2.501*** (1.387) (1.314)	(0.385)(0.353)0.628*0.4621.265**1.019**(0.338)(0.375)(0.462)(0.488)0.3730.4380.5340.711(0.424)(0.423)(0.475)(0.441)0.135*0.139*0.0540.059(0.072)(0.070)(0.053)(0.050)0.0080.0090.0690.060(0.52)(0.052)(0.056)(0.060)-2.967-3.211-2.371-3.010(2.005)(2.078)(2.145)(2.501)-0.368-0.4920.3070.033(1.444)(1.432)(1.034)(1.088)-3.425*-3.497*-4.609**-4.983**(1.923)(1.971)(1.709)(1.873)0.1160.112-0.088-0.092(0.172)(0.172)(0.191)(0.190)-0.156-0.143-0.662*-0.669*(0.160)(0.155)(0.348)(0.336)0.0110.039-0.105-0.065(0.87)(0.094)(0.128)(0.141)3.193**3.037**2.501***2.341***(1.387)(1.314)(0.703)(0.687)0.4330.3470.3710.251(0.263)(0.244)(0.849)(0.743)0.7550.096-0.269-0.220(0.213)(0.222)(0.189)(0.198)-0.407-0.292-0.452-0.251(0.316)(0.352)(0.419)(1.434)0.976	(0.385)(0.353)(0.462)(0.488)-0.206(0.338)0.0375)(0.462)(0.488)(0.345)(0.373)0.4380.5340.711-0.035(0.424)(0.423)(0.475)(0.411)(0.556)(0.135*0.139*0.0540.0590.024(0.070)(0.053)(0.050)(0.055)0.0080.0090.0690.060-0.054(0.052)(0.052)(0.056)(0.060)(0.048)-2.967-3.211-2.371-3.010-4.958***(2.005)(2.078)(2.145)(2.501)(1.705)-0.368-0.4920.3070.033-4.042***(1.444)(1.432)(1.034)(1.088)(1.177)-3.425*-3.497*-4.609**-4.983**-4.516***(1.923)(1.971)(1.709)(1.873)(1.258)0.1160.112-0.088-0.0920.312(0.172)(0.191)(0.190)(0.210)-0.156-0.143-0.662*-0.669*-0.228(0.607)(0.94)(0.128)(0.141)(0.139)3.193**3.037**2.501***2.341***2.119(1.387)(1.314)(0.703)(0.687)(1.690)0.4430.3470.3710.2510.106(0.263)(0.244)(0.849)(0.743)(0.297)0.0750.096-0.269-0.220-0.566(0.213)(0.222)(0.189)(0.181)(1.303	(0.385)(0.353)0.628*0.4621.265**1.019**-0.206-0.207(0.338)(0.375)(0.462)(0.488)(0.345)(0.343)0.3730.4380.5340.711-0.035-0.031(0.424)(0.423)(0.475)(0.41)(0.556)(0.556)0.135*0.139*0.0540.0590.0240.028(0.072)(0.070)(0.053)(0.050)(0.055)(0.056)0.0080.0090.060-0.054-0.054(0.552)(0.052)(0.056)(0.600)(0.48)-2.967-3.211-2.371-3.010-4.95***(2.005)(2.078)(2.145)(2.501)(1.755)-3.458-0.4920.3070.033-4.42***(1.444)(1.432)(1.034)(1.088)(1.177)-3.455*-3.497*-4.609**-4.983**-4.516***(1.923)(1.971)(1.709)(1.873)(1.258)(1.142)(0.191)(0.190)(0.211)-0.156-0.143-0.662*-0.669*-0.028(0.172)(0.171)(0.172)(0.172)0.0110.039-0.165-0.0650.0230.1610.139-0.662*-0.669*-0.280.173(0.944)(0.138)(0.174)(0.173)0.1140.139(0.163)(0.687)(1.690)0.153(0.348)(0.141)(0.139)(0.38)3.193**3.037**	(0.385) (0.353) (0.362) (0.375) (0.462) (0.483) (0.345) (0.343) (0.375) (0.338) (0.375) (0.462) (0.483) (0.345) (0.343) (0.398) 0.373 0.438 0.534 0.711 -0.035 -0.031 0.300 (0.424) (0.423) (0.475) (0.441) (0.556) (0.566) (0.464) (0.072) (0.070) (0.053) (0.059) (0.052) (0.070) (0.053) (0.050) (0.054) (0.048) (0.052) (0.052) (0.050) (0.060) (0.483) (0.483) (0.484) (2.073) (2.145) (2.501) (1.705) (1.698) (1.996) -0.368 -0.492 0.307 0.33 -4.042^{+2**} -4.54^{+2**} -5.46^{+2**} (1.444) (1.432) (1.044) (1.888) (1.177) (1.175) (1.370) -3.425^* -3.497^* -4.609^* -4.93^** -4.51^{+2**} -5.46^{+2**} (1.923) (1.971) (1.790) (1.733) (1.243) (1.430) 0.116 0.112 -0.088 -0.028 -0.025 -0.336 (0.160) (0.173) (0.174) (0.172) (0.214) (0.174) (0.172) (0.171) (0.163) (0.214) (0.174) (0.172) (0.163) (0.128) (0.141) (0.139) (0.124) (0.128) (0.164) (0.371) $($		

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1, 2, 3, and 4 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, Models 5, 6, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences) Standard errors in parentheses.

		Analysis of levels			Analysis of differences			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Public Spending (% of GDP)	0.818**	0.792**			0.646**	0.644**		
	(0.304)	(0.293)			(0.312)	(0.313)		
Welfare spending (% GDP)			1.900***	1.873***			1.497**	1.615^{*}
			(0.574)	(0.493)			(0.690)	(0.668)
Employment in industry (%)	0.632	0.578	1.949*	1.785^{*}	0.354	0.340	0.652	0.565
	(0.761)	(0.756)	(1.001)	(1.022)	(0.515)	(0.566)	(0.725)	(0.704
Globalization Index	0.983**	1.106**	1.118*	1.493*	0.423	0.434	0.281	0.568
	(0.366)	(0.424)	(0.623)	(0.753)	(0.487)	(0.475)	(0.716)	(0.723
Social Democrat left-right position	0.029	0.035	0.114	0.133	-0.037	-0.038	-0.007	-0.008
	(0.061)	(0.064)	(0.097)	(0.100)	(0.046)	(0.045)	(0.080)	(0.077)
Centre Right left-right position	-0.137*	-0.143**	-0.006	-0.038	-0.155***	-0.155***	-0.073	-0.076
	(0.067)	(0.064)	(0.066)	(0.068)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.107)	(0.113
SD party in gov't (single-party)	0.359	0.153	-1.581	-2.269	-1.011	-1.018	-4.025	-4.292
	(3.413)	(3.410)	(4.283)	(4.348)	(2.040)	(2.065)	(2.907)	(2.825
SD party in gov't (coalition-PM)	-1.725	-1.776	0.334	-0.103	-3.515*	-3.511*	-2.334	-2.597
D party in gov ((coantion 1 in)	(1.557)	(1.548)	(1.482)	(1.509)	(1.829)	(1.838)	(2.037)	(2.042
SD party in gov't (coalition-junior)	-4.571**	-4.757**	-3.409	-4.184*	-4.281*	-4.282*	-4.740*	-4.725
55 party in gov ((countien Jamer)	(1.767)	(1.797)	(2.103)	(2.328)	(2.151)	(2.162)	(2.690)	(2.671
Furnout	-0.007	0.011	-0.346	-0.287	0.094	0.096	-0.085	-0.03
lurnout	(0.245)	(0.234)	(0.265)	(0.239)	(0.246)	(0.243)	(0.348)	(0.331
Union density	-1.403***	-1.406***	-1.662***	-1.682***	-0.603*	-0.607*	-0.305	-0.28
Union density								
T. J J / .	(0.324)	(0.318)	(0.471)	(0.439)	(0.326)	(0.338)	(0.658)	(0.664
Higher education	-0.132	-0.129	-0.192	-0.198	-0.153	-0.153	-0.154	-0.11
	(0.154)	(0.156)	(0.175)	(0.177)	(0.153)	(0.156)	(0.188)	(0.187
District magnitude (%)	6.667***	6.795***	5.831***	6.178***	8.456***	8.463***	7.998***	8.005*
	(0.696)	(0.658)	(0.858)	(1.010)	(0.856)	(0.869)	(2.681)	(2.794)
Employment in agriculture	0.153	0.075	-0.282	-0.529	0.518	0.516	-1.062	-1.08
	(0.519)	(0.555)	(1.308)	(1.339)	(0.572)	(0.575)	(1.381)	(1.378)
Women in work	0.262	-0.202	-0.571	-0.432	-0.168	-0.166	-0.025	0.154
	(0.450)	(0.494)	(0.473)	(0.484)	(0.607)	(0.611)	(0.834)	(0.883)
Urban population	0.452	0.660	-0.069	0.333	-2.729	-2.727	-5.336***	-5.408*
	(0.861)	(0.888)	(1.135)	(1.140)	(2.544)	(2.555)	(1.876)	(1.799)
Population (log)	-15.089	-13.923	69.958	76.205*	12.364	12.418	33.798	33.82
	(20.793)	(20.159)	(41.905)	(43.486)	(65.421)	(65.911)	(75.560)	(81.84
Population aged 65 and over	-1.185	-0.683	0.048	1.235	-0.970	-0.981	-0.229	-0.49
	(1.364)	(1.956)	(1.417)	(1.895)	(1.871)	(1.854)	(2.403)	(2.282)
Population aged 0 to 14	6.257***	6.341***	6.919***	6.809***	2.697	2.669	3.208	2.828
	(1.321)	(1.364)	(1.683)	(1.582)	(2.041)	(2.030)	(2.306)	(2.093
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	107	107	84	84	107	107	84	84
R-squared	0.502	0.505	0.534	0.548	0.452	0.452	0.403	0.415
Number of countries	27	27	22	22	27	27	22	22

Table A6: Correlates of Social Democratic votes in the era of globalization, 2000-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1, 2, 3, and 4 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties. Models 5, 6, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences) Standard errors in parentheses.

	Aggregate Sample	Non East Europe	East Europe
	(1)	(2)	(3)
SD economic left-right position	0.170**	0.0747	0.554**
	(0.0712)	(0.0471)	(0.220)
SD $social$ left-right position	0.156^{**}	0.0829	0.549^{***}
	(0.0702)	(0.0562)	(0.161)
Centre Right $economic$ left-right position	0.0233	0.0494	-0.122
	(0.0448)	(0.0451)	(0.0993)
Centre Right $social$ left-right position	-0.0312	-0.0726*	0.0960
	(0.0482)	(0.0376)	(0.118)
Control Variables	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	386	298	88
R-squared	0.171	0.249	0.457
Number of countries	31	18	13

Table A7: SD Economic and Social Left Right position over the period 1945 to 2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. All models estimate effects on the overall

level of support for social democratic parties. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A8: Robustness tests: social democratic party vote share vs. social democratic, including the Italian Communist party, vote share vs. total left vote share and vs. centre right vote share as dependent variables, 1945-2017

	(1)		(2)	(4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Soc. Dem. vote share	SD with Communist Party	Total Left vote share	C. Right vote share
Public Spending (% GDP)	0.192***	0.207***	0.0843	0.143
	(0.0594)	(0.0602)	(0.0725)	(0.0888)
District Magnitude (log)	2.612	3.444***	2.714**	0.787
	(1.652)	(1.250)	(1.072)	(1.110)
Turnout	-0.172	-0.162	-0.131	0.0868
	(0.107)	(0.104)	(0.122)	(0.144)
GDP per capita (Madison)	6.958**	7.822**	6.560	0.752
	(2.928)	(2.883)	(4.066)	(5.049)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.0666	-0.0453	-0.152	0.187
	(0.159)	(0.157)	(0.177)	(0.160)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	409	409	409	409
R-squared	0.159	0.188	0.088	0.167
Number of countries	31	31	31	31

Note: Column 1 exhibits estimates for Soc. Dem as in Table 3; Column 2, includes the Italian Communist Party; Column 3 focuses on total left and Column 4 total right. All models are conditional on country Fes, Decade Fes and, progressively,
 Country Year Time Trends. Standard errors in parentheses. Controls include regime types, european membership and parties left and right social and economic position.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Soc. Dem. vote share	SD with Communist Party	Total Left vote share	C. Right vote share
Public Spending (% GDP)	0.753***	0.737***	0.140	0.202
	(0.260)	(0.250)	(0.352)	(0.271)
District Magnitude (log)	0.655^{**}	0.546^{*}	-0.114	0.385
	(0.313)	(0.293)	(0.301)	(0.336)
Turnout	0.164	0.373	0.198	0.104
	(0.400)	(0.346)	(0.410)	(0.476)
GDP per capita (Madison)	0.156	0.126	0.115	-0.0295
	(0.118)	(0.114)	(0.152)	(0.155)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.380**	-0.391**	-0.212	-0.285
	(0.177)	(0.180)	(0.172)	(0.288)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade Fes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	209	209	209	209
R-squared	0.317	0.337	0.160	0.294
Number of countries	22	22	22	22

Table A9: Robustness tests: social democratic party vote share vs. total left vote share and vs. centre right vote share as dependent variables, 1975-2017

Note: Column 1 exhibits estimates for Soc. Dem as in Table 3; Column 2, includes the Italian Communist Party; Column 3 focuses on total left and Column 4 total right. All models are conditional on country Fes, Decade Fes and, progressively,
 Country Year Time Trends. Standard errors in parentheses. Controls include regime types, european membership and parties left and right social and economic position.

	Western Europe		Eastern	Europe
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public spending (% ofGDP)	0.0954*	0.131**	1.167***	1.343**
	(0.0505)	(0.0548)	(0.370)	(0.457)
District magnitude (log)	-0.706	-0.534	3.809	3.134
	(0.737)	(0.744)	(4.305)	(4.198)
District mag.*SD left-right position	-0.00435	-0.00235	0.0338	0.029
	(0.0075)	(0.0075)	(0.035)	(0.037)
Social democratic party in government	0.572	0.323	-2.536	-2.277
	(0.900)	(0.805)	(1.609)	(1.682)
Turnout	-0.0093	-0.0084	-0.189	-0.113
	(0.117)	(0.105)	(0.169)	(0.202)
GDP per capita (Madison)	2.878	4.506	8.073	3.267
	(2.984)	(3.729)	(4.855)	(6.089)
GDP growth (Madison)	-0.130	-0.0744	-0.321	-0.379
	(0.121)	(0.142)	(0.358)	(0.349)
Eu member	-1.079	-0.405	-5.546	-7.264
	(2.487)	(2.500)	(4.046)	(4.923)
Presidential system	11.51***	10.96***	4.657	5.523
	(1.656)	(1.631)	(7.391)	(8.090)
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year effects	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	294	294	87	87
R-squared	0.135	0.150	0.242	0.248
Number of countries	18	18	13	13

Table A10: Heterogeneity Analysis, 1945-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Columns 1 and 2 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties in Western Europe. Western Europe includes Southern European and Scandinavian countries. Columns 3 and 4 estimate the overall level of support for SD parties in Eastern Europe. Standard errors in parentheses.

	Western Europe	Souther	n Europe	Scandinavia
	-		-	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.119	-0.612**	-0.328	0.0284
	(0.112)	(0.149)	(0.293)	(0.114)
District magnitude (log)	-1.776	-0.239	1.826	2.587
	(1.538)	(0.563)	(1.041)	(3.912)
District mag.*SD left-right position	0.0125	0.0614	0.0450	-0.000531
	(0.0138)	(0.0310)	(0.0336)	(0.00912)
Social democratic party in government	-1.233	0.0705	-0.0491	0.423
	(0.841)	(1.523)	(1.690)	(0.424)
Turnout	0.0753	0.549*	0.585	-0.241
	(0.154)	(0.252)	(0.299)	(0.149)
GDP per capita (Madison)	12.03**	-9.341	-5.258	0.246
	(4.172)	(12.41)	(16.83)	(3.709)
GDP growth (Madison)	0.0536	-1.125**	-0.842*	0.221
	(0.141)	(0.257)	(0.356)	(0.147)
Eu member	-4.317**	11.71^{*}	15.38**	-1.589
	(1.699)	(4.672)	(4.439)	(3.641)
Observations	155	59	59	80
R-squared	0.480	0.576	0.548	0.639
Number of countries	9	5	5	4
Country fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table A11: Heterogeneity Analysis within Western Europe, 1945-2017

Note: Columns 1 exhibits estimates on the overall level of support for social democratic parties in Western Europe. Column 2 and 3 focus on Southern Europe. Column 2 studies the effect on SD parties, Column 3 includes the Italian Communist Party. Column 4 focuses on Scandinavian countries. All estimates are conditional on country fixed effects, decade fixed effects and, progressively, country year specific time trends. Standard errors in parentheses.

	Post-1950		
	Analysis of levels	Analysis of differences	
	(1)	(2)	
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.197**	0.148**	
	(0.079)	(0.066)	
Social Democrat left-right position	0.158	0.134**	
	(0.097)	(0.059)	
Centre Right left-right position	-0.012	-0.034	
	(0.040)	(0.028)	
District magnitude (log)	0.139	0.970	
	(1.537)	(1.455)	
District mag.*SD left-right position	-0.046	-0.056**	
	(0.035)	(0.025)	
Social democratic party in government	1.250	-6.392***	
	(1.175)	(1.308)	
Turnout (%)	-0.123	0.287**	
	(0.107)	(0.122)	
Controls	Yes	Yes	
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	
Observations	381	353	
R-squared	0.176	0.170	
Number of countries	31	31	

Table A12: Randomization, 1950-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Column 1 estimates effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, whereas Column 2 estimates changes in support between elections (first differences). The estimates replicate Table 3, but with a different time period, from 1950 onwards. Standard errors in parentheses. Results not shown for the constant and the control variables: GDP per capita (log), GDP growth, EU member, Eurozone member, presidential

system.

		Pos	st-1970		Post-1980				
	Analysis of levels		Analysis of differences		Analysis of levels		Analysis of differences		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.205^{*} (0.105)		0.225^{*} (0.112)		$0.110 \\ (0.121)$		$0.200 \\ (0.146)$		
Welfare spending (% of GDP)		0.613^{**} (0.238)		0.794^{**} (0.362)		0.675^{**} (0.241)		0.794^{**} (0.362)	
Employment in industry $(\%)$	0.841^{***} (0.241)	0.810^{**} (0.307)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.201 \\ (0.338) \end{array}$	$0.267 \\ (0.388)$	0.766^{**} (0.345)	0.939^{**} (0.355)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.152 \\ (0.390) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.267 \\ (0.388) \end{array}$	
Globalization index	$\begin{array}{c} 0.030 \\ (0.327) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.211 \\ (0.437) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.261 \\ (0.488) \end{array}$	$0.455 \\ (0.426)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.093 \\ (0.362) \end{array}$	$0.263 \\ (0.447)$	$0.297 \\ (0.496)$	$0.455 \\ (0.426)$	
Social Democrat left-right position	$0.078 \\ (0.048)$	$0.048 \\ (0.035)$	$0.008 \\ (0.036)$	0.018 (0.030)	0.105^{**} (0.050)	$0.049 \\ (0.040)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.019 \\ (0.038) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.018 \\ (0.030) \end{array}$	
Centre Right left-right position	$0.002 \\ (0.048)$	$0.053 \\ (0.055)$	-0.052 (0.042)	-0.023 (0.043)	$0.002 \\ (0.055)$	$0.050 \\ (0.056)$	-0.054 (0.043)	-0.023 (0.043)	
Social dem. party in government	-1.675 (1.040)	-2.748^{**} (1.280)	-3.475^{**} (1.307)	-3.293^{**} (1.523)	-3.071^{**} (1.109)	-3.163^{**} (1.350)	-3.960^{**} (1.557)	-3.293^{**} (1.523)	
Turnout (%)	0.110 (0.136)	0.039 (0.144)	0.350^{**} (0.160)	$0.202 \\ (0.210)$	0.041 (0.146)	-0.008 (0.168)	0.363^{**} (0.172)	$0.202 \\ (0.210)$	
Union Density	-0.192 (0.116)	-0.463^{**} (0.191)	-0.120 (0.144)	-0.436 (0.292)	-0.183 (0.140)	-0.517^{**} (0.214)	-0.125 (0.161)	-0.436 (0.292)	
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Country fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Decade fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Country-year time trends	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Observations	244	193	244	193	227	171	227	171	
R-squared	0.223	0.308	0.240	0.335	0.234	0.343	0.239	0.344	
Number of countries	27	22	27	22	27	22	27	22	

Table A13: Randomization, 1970-2017 and 1980-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Columns 1, 2, 5, and 6 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, whereas Columns 3, 4, 7, and 8 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). Estimates replicate Table 4, but with a different time period. Precisely, Columns 1 to 4 perform the analysis from 1970 onwards, whereas Columns 5 to 8 do so from 1980 onwards. Standard errors in parentheses. Results not shown for the constant, and the control variables: employment in agriculture, women in work, urban population, life expectancy, population (log), population aged 65 and over, population aged 0 to 14, percent in higher education.

	Post-1985		Post-1995		Post-2005	
	(1)	(2)	Analysi (3)	s of levels (4)	(5)	(6)
		(=)		(1)		(0)
Public spending (% of GDP)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.223 \\ (0.151) \end{array}$		0.505^{**} (0.209)		0.746^{*} (0.396)	
Public spending on social welfare ($\%$ of GDP)		0.905^{***} (0.239)		1.032^{**} (0.381)		0.843 (0.786)
Employment in industry (%)	0.627^{*} (0.354)	1.007^{**} (0.447)	0.547 (0.548)	1.033 (0.630)	$0.428 \\ (1.549)$	1.507 (1.862)
Globalization index	0.248 (0.410)	$0.475 \\ (0.421)$	0.930^{***} (0.212)	0.984^{**} (0.473)	-0.608 (0.994)	-2.814 (2.442)
Social Democrat left-right position	$0.112 \\ (0.068)$	0.033 (0.050)	0.116^{*} (0.062)	0.128^{*} (0.062)	$0.052 \\ (0.066)$	0.007 (0.104)
Centre Right left-right position	0.007 (0.057)	$0.075 \\ (0.054)$	-0.123^{**} (0.051)	0.007 (0.068)	-0.186^{***} (0.048)	0.021 (0.132)
Social democratic party in government	-2.833^{*} (1.424)	-3.292^{*} (1.615)	-2.289* (1.322)	-2.743 (1.752)	-2.714 (2.694)	0.260 (2.781)
Turnout (%)	0.083 (0.166)	-0.073 (0.167)	-0.004 (0.179)	-0.147 (0.219)	$0.171 \\ (0.206)$	0.650 (0.532)
Observations R-squared Number of countries	$201 \\ 0.171 \\ 27$	$162 \\ 0.340 \\ 22$	$ \begin{array}{r} 141 \\ 0.496 \\ 27 \end{array} $	$\begin{array}{c} 111\\ 0.471\\ 22 \end{array}$	$73 \\ 0.474 \\ 27$	$58 \\ 0.504 \\ 22$
	(7)	(8)	Analysis a (9)	of differences (10)	(11)	(12)
Public spending (% of GDP)	0.297^{*} (0.156)		0.661^{**} (0.250)		0.484 (0.439)	
Public spending on social welfare ($\%$ of GDP)	(01100)	0.873^{**} (0.399)	(0.200)	1.756^{***} (0.528)	(0.100)	-0.269 (1.036
Employment in industry (%)	-0.104 (0.363)	$0.666 \\ (0.467)$	0.289 (0.452)	1.084^{*} (0.536)	-0.992 (0.870)	-0.909 (1.354
Globalization index	0.073 (0.530)	$0.342 \\ (0.488)$	-0.270 (0.748)	$0.460 \\ (0.597)$	-0.095 (1.198)	-0.027 (1.373
Social Democrat left-right position	$0.006 \\ (0.047)$	$0.002 \\ (0.036)$	$0.006 \\ (0.066)$	-0.005 (0.055)	-0.086 (0.079)	$0.051 \\ (0.144)$
Centre Right left-right position	-0.058 (0.046)	-0.010 (0.041)	-0.110^{*} (0.054)	-0.016 (0.079)	-0.155^{*} (0.086)	-0.065 (0.170
Social democratic party in government	-4.432^{***} (1.590)	-3.420^{*} (1.807)	-3.559^{**} (1.404)	-4.119^{*} (2.214)	-9.589^{***} (2.559)	-8.585^{*} (2.724
Turnout (%)	0.349^{*} (0.189)	$0.164 \\ (0.221)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.295 \\ (0.221) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.065 \ (0.278) \end{array}$	$0.344 \\ (0.230)$	$0.067 \\ (0.375$
Observations	191	157	139	107	73	58
R-squared Number of countries	$0.207 \\ 27$	$0.206 \\ 22$	$0.258 \\ 27$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.337 \\ 22 \end{array}$	$0.573 \\ 27$	$0.560 \\ 22$
Rumber of countries						
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes Yes Yes	Yes Yes Yes	Yes Yes Yes	Yes Yes Yes	Yes Yes Yes	Yes Yes Yes

Table A14: Randomization, 1985-2017, 1995-2017, and 2005-2017

Note: Dependent variable: social democratic party vote share. Models 1 to 6 estimate effects on the overall level of support for social democratic parties, whereas models 7 to 12 estimate changes in support between elections (first differences). The estimates replicate Table 5, but with a different time period. Precisely, Columns 1, 2, 7, and 8 perform the analysis for a period just before the end of the Cold-War, whereas Columns 3, 4, 9, and 10 for a period just after the end of it. Columns 5, 6, 11, and 12 perform the analysis for a period just after the Great Recession. Standard errors in parentheses. Results not shown for the constant and the control variables: employment in agriculture, women in work, urban population, population (log), population aged 65 and over, population aged 0 to 14, union density, percent in higher education.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ESS Waves	1-2002	2-2004	3-2006	4-2008	5-2010	6-2012	7-2014	8-2016
Worker in industry	0.0311**	0.0392**	0.0386**	0.0303**	0.0122	0.0204	0.0209*	0.0189*
-	(0.0107)	(0.0132)	(0.0137)	(0.0129)	(0.0122)	(0.0150)	(0.0117)	(0.00885)
Public sector employee	0.0784^{***}	0.0862***	0.0646***	0.0805***	0.0790^{***}	0.0632***	0.0664***	0.0583***
	(0.0158)	(0.0187)	(0.0146)	(0.0130)	(0.0115)	(0.0121)	(0.00976)	(0.00992)
Socio- cultural professional	0.0241*	0.0208	0.0352	0.0291^{*}	0.0131	0.0402^{*}	0.0261**	0.0245^{*}
	(0.0126)	(0.0142)	(0.0200)	(0.0145)	(0.0135)	(0.0188)	(0.0121)	(0.0115)
Male	0.0108	0.00461	0.00101	-0.00188	0.00287	0.00502	0.00177	-0.00436
	(0.00640)	(0.00664)	(0.00732)	(0.00456)	(0.00671)	(0.00586)	(0.00429)	(0.00538)
Lived in a city	0.0205	0.0106	0.0415***	0.0214**	0.0350***	0.0264**	0.0231*	0.0359**
	(0.0117)	(0.00644)	(0.0117)	(0.00982)	(0.00893)	(0.00933)	(0.0113)	(0.0124)
Lives in a town	0.0186^{*}	0.0236***	0.0292^{***}	0.0273***	0.0168	0.0144	0.0172^{***}	0.0120
	(0.00934)	(0.00764)	(0.00866)	(0.00581)	(0.00976)	(0.0105)	(0.00452)	(0.00833)
Age	0.00260^{***}	0.00255^{***}	0.00220***	0.00269^{***}	0.00247^{***}	0.00266^{***}	0.00258^{***}	0.00252^{***}
	(0.000289)	(0.000374)	(0.000238)	(0.000294)	(0.000212)	(0.000273)	(0.000250)	(0.000287)
Observations	28,686	27,843	28,603	29,049	27,428	28,921	26,947	24,668
R-squared	0.018	0.018	0.016	0.021	0.020	0.022	0.023	0.023
Number of countries	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	14

Table A15: Individual-level correlates of voting or a social democratic party

Note: Dependent variable: vote for a social democratic party. Estimation: Linear probability model with country fixed-effects. Baselines: female, lives in a rural area, other professional and socio-economic status. Data from the 8 waves of the European Social Survey. Countries included: Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and United Kingdom. Standard errors in parentheses.