Employment Insecurity, Incumbent Partisanship, and Voting Behavior in Comparative Perspective

ONLINE APPENDIX

Descriptive Statistics

Table A: Descriptive Statistics for Vote Choice Analyses

Variable	Operationalization	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Respondent-level						
Inc. Vote	Voted for incumbent (%)	28299	0.00	1.00	0.36	0.48
Opp. Vote	Voted for opposition (%)	28299	0.00	1.00	0.48	0.50
Abstained	Abstained (%)	28299	0.00	1.00	0.16	0.37
Age	Age in years	28299	-26.87	43.67	0.29	11.44
Female?	Gender indicator	28299	-0.59	0.68	-0.02	0.50
Education	Education in years	28299	-4.98	3.82	0.06	1.57
Income	Income quintile of household	28299	-2.92	2.26	0.05	1.29
Left-Right Ideology	11-point scale	28299	-6.13	6.17	-0.02	2.21
Union Member?	Union indicator	28299	-0.88	0.92	0.01	0.42
Unemployed?	Unemployed indicator	28299	-0.30	1.00	-0.01	0.24
OUR	Occupational unemployment rate (OUR) (Rehm, 2009, 2011).	28299	-18.15	24.18	-0.08	4.29
OUR Δ	Change in OUR from previous year	28299	-4.86	5.18	0.00	0.77
Country/Election-level						
Unemp. Rate	National unemployment rate (World Bank, 2012).	43	2.30	22.00	7.50	4.20
GDP Growth	Economic growth (Heston, Summers, and Aten, 2012).	43	-0.07	0.08	0.02	0.03
Inc. Partisanship	Partisanship (family) of incumbent government (Left $\Uparrow$)	43	0.00	1.00	0.53	0.36
Inc. Last Vote	Vote share of current incumbent government in last election	43	0.27	0.82	0.48	0.13
Last Turnout	Turnout in last election	43	0.41	0.91	0.69	0.13
Clarity of Responsibility	Powell and Whitten Clarity of Responsibility Index (Hobolt, Tilley, and Banducci, 2013). We conferred with Keefer (2012) and Norwegian Social Science Data Services (2015) to resolve missing values.	43	0.25	1.00	0.55	0.21
NURR	Net unemployment replacement rate, simple average of NURR for singles and families (Scruggs, Jahn, and Kuitto, 2014). We conferred with OECD (2015) to resolve missing values.	43	-0.36	0.22	-0.01	0.16
Inc. Left-Right Ideology	Partisanship (left-right ideology) of incumbent government (Left $\Uparrow$)	43	0.00	1.00	0.49	0.38

Note: Unless otherwise noted, all data come from CSES (2003; 2007; 2013; 2014). Independent variables at the respondent-level are group-mean centered. The countries (and the year of the election) included in the main analysis are the following: Austria (2008, 2013), Belgium (1999), Croatia (2007), Czech Republic (2002, 2006, 2010), Denmark (2007), Finland (2003, 2007), Germany (1998, 2002, 2005, 2009), Great Britain (1997, 2005), Greece (2009), Hungary (1998, 2002), Ireland (2002, 2007), Iceland (2003, 2007, 2009), Netherlands (2010), Norway (1997, 2001, 2009), Poland (2001, 2005, 2007), Portugal (2002, 2005, 2009), Romania (2004), Slovenia (2004), Spain (1996, 2000, 2004), Sweden (2006), and Switzerland (1999, 2003, 2007).

Table B: Descriptive Statistics for Table 2

Variable	Operationalization	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Respondent-level						
Subj. Econ. Insecurity	"Using this card, please tell me how likely it is that during the next 12 months you will be unemployed and looking for work for at least four consecutive weeks?" (4-point scale)	13909	1.00	5.00	1.94	0.94
Unempl. Perceptions	"Of every 100 people of working age in [country] how many would you say are unemployed and looking for work?" (11-point scale)	13909	1.00	11.00	4.36	2.81
Acc. Perceptions	Reversed absolute difference between above variable and actual unemployment rate. Unemployment data from World Bank (2012). Higher values mean more accuracy.	13909	0.00	10.00	2.40	2.51
Age	Age in years	13909	15.00	123.00	42.27	12.13
Female?	Gender indicator	13909	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.50
Education	Education in years	13909	0.00	36.00	13.73	3.72
Income	Income decile of household	13909	1.00	10.00	6.50	2.52
Left-Right Ideology	11-point scale	13909	0.00	10.00	5.14	2.10
Union Member?	Union indicator	13909	0.00	1.00	0.49	0.50
Political Interest	Unemployed indicator	13909	3.00	14.00	8.67	2.20
OUR	Occupational unemployment rate (OUR) (Rehm, 2009, 2011).	13909	0.52	31.00	7.18	5.23
OUR Δ	Change in OUR from previous year (Rehm, 2009, 2011).	13909	-4.37	12.51	0.84	2.03
Country/Election-level						
Unemp. Rate	National unemployment rate (World Bank, 2012).	13909	2.60	11.30	6.07	2.17
GDP Growth	Economic growth (Heston, Summers, and Aten, 2012).	13909	-0.04	0.07	0.01	0.02

Note: Unless otherwise noted, all data come from ESS 2008.

Table 1 Full Results

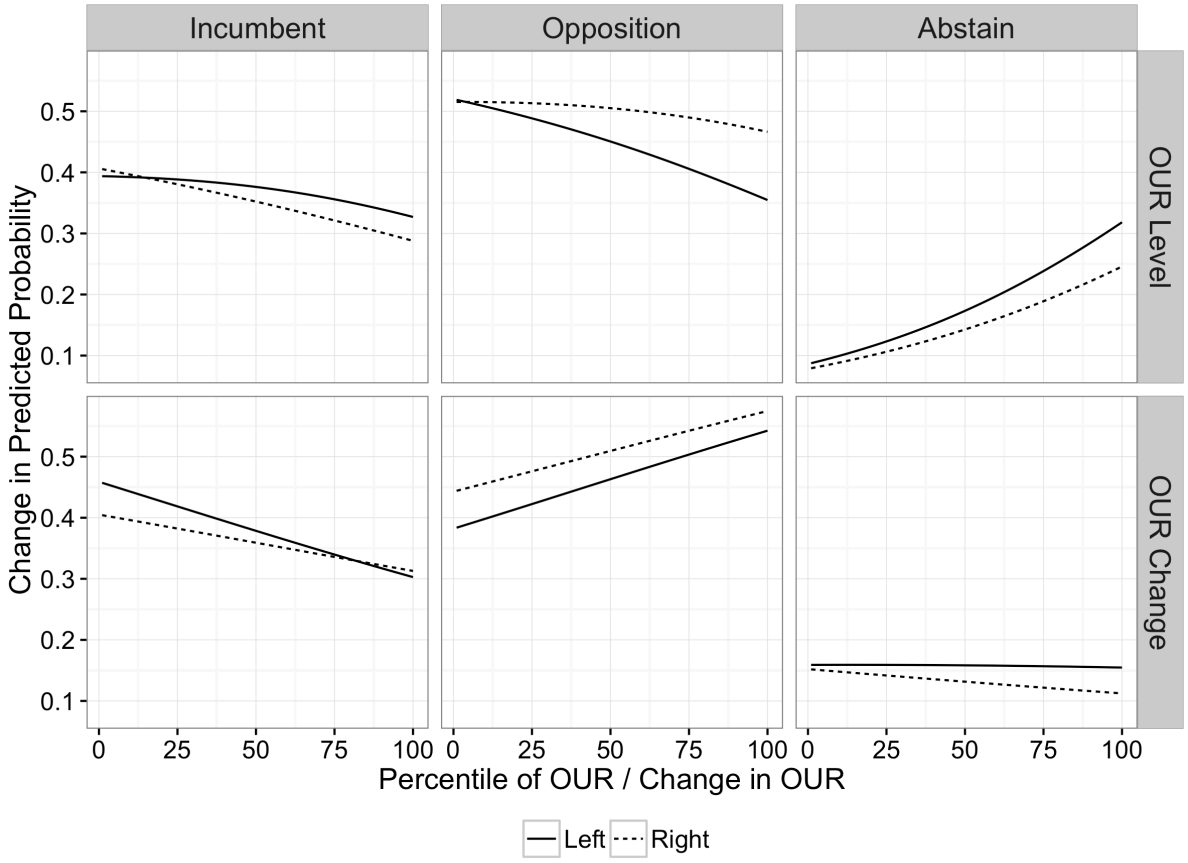
Table C: Hierarchical Multinomial Regression Models of Voting Behavior

Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Opposition Vote results		
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}		
Intercept	0.34 (0.09)*	0.34 (0.09)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.25 (0.10)*	0.24 (0.10)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.02 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)
Inc. Partisanship		-0.15 (0.09)
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	-0.46 (0.09)*	-0.49 (0.08)*
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}		
OUR Level	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship		-0.04 (0.01)*
OUR Δ	0.04 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship		0.02 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}		
Age	-0.08 (0.01)*	-0.08 (0.01)*
Age^2	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Female?	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.06 (0.02)*	0.06 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.06 (0.02)*	-0.06 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Union Member?	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed?	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Abstain results		
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}		
Intercept	-1.00 (0.12)*	-1.01 (0.12)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.38 (0.12)*	0.38 (0.12)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.05 (0.12)	0.07 (0.12)
Inc. Partisanship		0.12 (0.12)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.68 (0.10)*	-0.70 (0.10)*
OUR Equations β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}		
OUR Level	0.14 (0.02)*	0.15 (0.02)*
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship		0.00 (0.02)
OUR Δ	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship		0.03 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}		
Age	-0.47 (0.02)*	-0.47 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.04 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*
Female?	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Education	-0.24 (0.02)*	-0.24 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.23 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.02)*
Union Member?	-0.16 (0.02)*	-0.16 (0.02)*
Unemployed?	0.08 (0.02)*	0.08 (0.02)*
Variance Components		
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.58 (0.29)*	0.56 (0.28)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	0.74 (0.37)*	0.75 (0.37)*
Correlation, ρ	0.55 (0.12)*	0.62 (0.10)*

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=28,299 (respondents); J=43 (country-elections). Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0.

Figure 3 in Main Paper — Absolute Probabilities

Figure A: Effect of Government Partisanship on Voting Behavior Under High or Rising Occupational Unemployment



Note: The figure is based on results from model 2 in table 1 in the main paper. Each subfigure shows the effects of OUR (Level or Change) on voting behavior under left-wing incumbent governments, on the one hand, and right-wing incumbent governments, on the other hand. All other variables are held at their mean.

Robustness Checks

Table D: Model 1 with Level 1 Interactions

Variable	Model D.1	Model D.2	Model D.3
Opposition Vote results			
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}			
Intercept	0.20 (0.17)	0.35 (0.20)	-0.22 (0.37)
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.46 (0.38)
Economic Growth (%)	0.48 (0.36)	0.14 (0.52)	-3.10 (2.24)
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	0.05 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.23)	-3.26 (2.18)
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}			
OUR Level	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
OUR Level × Household Income	0.00 (0.02)		
OUR Level × Education		-0.01 (0.02)	
OUR Level × Left-Right Ideology			0.00 (0.02)
OUR Δ	0.03 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*
OUR Δ × Household Income	0.03 (0.02)		
OUR Δ × Education		0.01 (0.01)	
OUR Δ × Left-Right Ideology			-0.02 (0.01)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}			
Age	-0.08 (0.01)*	-0.08 (0.01)*	-0.08 (0.01)*
Age^2	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Female?	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.06 (0.02)*	0.06 (0.02)*	0.06 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.06 (0.02)*	-0.06 (0.02)*	-0.06 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Union Member?	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed?	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Abstain results			
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}			
Intercept	-1.12 (0.22)*	-0.96 (0.23)*	-3.52 (11.12)
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.01 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.14)	0.31 (0.74)
Economic Growth (%)	0.65 (0.45)	-0.23 (0.56)	1.05 (4.27)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.22 (0.20)	0.11 (0.20)	3.18 (15.11)
OUR Equations, β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}			
OUR Level	0.15 (0.02)*	0.14 (0.02)*	0.15 (0.02)*
OUR Level × Household Income	0.01 (0.02)		
OUR Level × Education		0.02 (0.02)	
OUR Level × Left-Right Ideology			-0.01 (0.02)
OUR Δ	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
OUR Δ × Household Income	0.07 (0.02)*		
OUR Δ × Education		-0.02 (0.02)	
OUR Δ × Left-Right Ideology			-0.03 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}			
Age	-0.47 (0.02)*	-0.47 (0.02)*	-0.47 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.04 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*
Female?	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Education	-0.24 (0.02)*	-0.24 (0.02)*	-0.24 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.23 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.02)*
Union Member?	-0.16 (0.02)*	-0.16 (0.02)*	-0.16 (0.02)*
Unemployed?	0.08 (0.02)*	0.08 (0.02)*	0.08 (0.02)*
Variance Components			
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.87 (0.43)*	0.87 (0.43)*	0.84 (0.42)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	1.13 (0.55)*	1.15 (0.57)*	1.12 (0.55)*
Correlation, ρ	0.45 (0.13)*	0.46 (0.13)*	0.43 (0.13)*

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=28,299 (respondents); J=43 (country-elections). Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0.

Table E: Model 1 with Level 2 Slope Interactions

Variable	Model E.1	Model E.2
Opposition Vote results		
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}		
Intercept	0.34 (0.09)*	0.34 (0.09)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.25 (0.10)*	0.25 (0.10)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.02 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	-0.46 (0.09)*	-0.46 (0.09)*
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}		
OUR Level	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
OUR Level $\times$ Unemployment Rate (%)	0.01 (0.01)	
OUR Level $\times$ Economic Growth (%)		-0.03 (0.02)
OUR Δ	0.04 (0.02)*	0.02 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Unemployment Rate (%)	-0.02 (0.02)	
OUR Δ $\times$ Economic Growth (%)		0.01 (0.01)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}		
Age	-0.08 (0.01)*	-0.08 (0.01)*
Age^2	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Female?	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.05 (0.02)*	0.06 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.06 (0.02)*	-0.06 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Union Member?	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed?	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Abstain results		
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}		
Intercept	-1.01 (0.12)*	-1.00 (0.12)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.39 (0.12)*	0.38 (0.12)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.05 (0.12)	0.06 (0.12)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.68 (0.10)*	-0.68 (0.10)*
OUR Equations, β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}		
OUR Level	0.19 (0.03)*	0.15 (0.02)*
OUR Level $\times$ Unemployment Rate (%)	-0.04 (0.02)*	
OUR Level $\times$ Economic Growth (%)		-0.09 (0.03)*
OUR Δ	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Unemployment Rate (%)	0.02 (0.02)	
OUR Δ $\times$ Economic Growth (%)		0.00 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}		
Age	-0.47 (0.02)*	-0.47 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.04 (0.02)*	0.05 (0.02)*
Female?	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Education	-0.24 (0.02)*	-0.24 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.22 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.02)*
Union Member?	-0.16 (0.02)*	-0.16 (0.02)*
Unemployed?	0.08 (0.02)*	0.08 (0.02)*
Variance Components		
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.58 (0.29)*	0.58 (0.29)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	0.74 (0.37)*	0.74 (0.37)*
Correlation, ρ	0.54 (0.12)*	0.55 (0.12)*

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=28,299 (respondents); J=43 (country-elections). Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0.

Table F: Model 1 with Additional Level 2 Control Variables

Variable	Model F.1	Model F.2
Opposition Vote results		
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}		
Intercept	0.34 (0.09)*	0.34 (0.09)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.25 (0.10)*	0.23 (0.09)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.09)
Clarity of Responsibility	-0.03 (0.10)	
NURR (%)		-0.22 (0.10)*
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	-0.46 (0.09)*	-0.42 (0.09)*
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}		
OUR Level	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
OUR Level $\times$ Clarity of Responsibility	0.01 (0.02)	
OUR Level $\times$ NURR (%)		0.01 (0.02)
OUR Δ	0.03 (0.02)*	0.03 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Clarity of Responsibility	-0.02 (0.01)	
OUR Δ $\times$ NURR (%)		0.00 (0.01)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}		
Age	-0.08 (0.01)*	-0.08 (0.01)*
Age^2	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Female?	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.06 (0.02)*	0.05 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.06 (0.02)*	-0.06 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Union Member?	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed?	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Abstain results		
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}		
Intercept	-1.01 (0.12)*	-1.01 (0.12)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.38 (0.12)*	0.34 (0.12)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.04 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.13)
Clarity of Responsibility	-0.04 (0.12)	
NURR (%)		-0.19 (0.13)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.68 (0.10)*	-0.69 (0.10)*
OUR Equations, β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}		
OUR Level	0.15 (0.02)*	0.17 (0.02)*
OUR Level $\times$ Clarity of Responsibility	0.02 (0.02)	
OUR Level $\times$ NURR (%)		0.05 (0.02)*
OUR Δ	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Clarity of Responsibility	-0.03 (0.02)	
OUR Δ $\times$ NURR (%)		0.00 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}		
Age	-0.47 (0.02)*	-0.47 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.04 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*
Female?	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Education	-0.24 (0.02)*	-0.24 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.23 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.02)*
Union Member?	-0.16 (0.02)*	-0.16 (0.02)*
Unemployed?	0.07 (0.02)*	0.08 (0.02)*
Variance Components		
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.59 (0.30)*	0.55 (0.28)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	0.75 (0.38)*	0.74 (0.37)*
Correlation, ρ	0.55 (0.12)*	0.53 (0.12)*

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=28,299 (respondents); J=43 (country-elections). Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0.

Table G: Model 2 with Alternative Incumbent Operationalization

Variable	Model G.1	Model G.2
Opposition Vote results		
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}		
Intercept	0.35 (0.09)*	0.35 (0.09)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.24 (0.09)*	0.26 (0.09)*
Economic Growth (%)	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)
Inc. Party Family	-0.15 (0.09)	
Inc. Left-Right Ideology		-0.16 (0.09)
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	-0.49 (0.08)*	-0.47 (0.08)*
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}		
OUR Level	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
OUR Level × Inc. Party Family	-0.04 (0.01)*	
OUR Level × Inc. Left-Right Ideology		-0.03 (0.02)
OUR Δ	0.04 (0.02)*	0.03 (0.02)
OUR Δ × Inc. Inc. Party Family	0.02 (0.02)	
OUR Δ × Inc. Left-Right Ideology		0.03 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}		
Age	-0.08 (0.01)*	-0.08 (0.01)*
Age^2	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Female?	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.06 (0.02)*	0.06 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.06 (0.02)*	-0.06 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Union Member?	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed?	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Abstain results		
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}		
Intercept	-1.01 (0.12)*	-1.01 (0.12)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.38 (0.12)*	0.36 (0.12)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.07 (0.12)	0.07 (0.12)
Inc. Party Family	0.12 (0.12)	
Inc. Left-Right Ideology		0.16 (0.12)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.70 (0.10)*	-0.75 (0.10)*
OUR Equations, β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}		
OUR Level	0.15 (0.02)*	0.15 (0.02)*
OUR Level × Inc. Party Family	0.00 (0.02)	
OUR Level × Inc. Left-Right Ideology		0.03 (0.02)
OUR Δ	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
OUR Δ × Inc. Party Family	0.03 (0.02)	
OUR Δ × Inc. Left-Right Ideology		0.05 (0.02)*
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}		
Age	-0.47 (0.02)*	-0.47 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.04 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.02)*
Female?	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Education	-0.24 (0.02)*	-0.24 (0.02)*
Household Income	-0.23 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.02)*
Union Member?	-0.16 (0.02)*	-0.16 (0.02)*
Unemployed?	0.08 (0.02)*	0.08 (0.02)*
Variance Components		
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.56 (0.28)*	0.56 (0.28)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	0.75 (0.37)*	0.74 (0.37)*
Correlation, ρ	0.62 (0.10)*	0.65 (0.10)*

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=28,299 (respondents); J=43 (country-elections). Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0. The alternative measure is identical to the main measure, except we score each party's partisanship based on their placement on the left-right party ideology scale, as determined by country experts. We reverse the scale and divide by 10, so that it runs from 0 to 1, with 1 signifying an extreme left party. The partisanship of the incumbent government was then calculated as the weighted (by cabinet seats) average of the score for each party holding a cabinet seat in government. The final scale ranges continuously from 0 (all cabinet seats held by extreme right-wing parties) to 1 (all cabinet seats held by extreme left-wing parties).

Table H: Model 2 with sample split into East and West Europe

Variable	Model H.1 (East)	Model H.2 (West)
Opposition Vote results		
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}		
Intercept	0.84 (0.23)*	0.18 (0.08)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.80 (0.28)*	0.00 (0.09)
Economic Growth (%)	-0.05 (0.27)	-0.02 (0.09)
Inc. Partisanship	-0.07 (0.26)	-0.16 (0.09)
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	-0.25 (0.22)	-0.58 (0.09)*
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}		
OUR Level	-0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.02)
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	0.01 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.01)*
OUR Δ	0.08 (0.05)	0.03 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	-0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}		
Age	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)
Female?	-0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)
Education	-0.01 (0.04)	0.06 (0.02)*
Household Income	0.05 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	0.13 (0.04)*	-0.03 (0.02)
Union Member?	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed?	-0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)
Abstain results		
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}		
Intercept	-0.03 (0.22)	-1.36 (0.13)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.99 (0.37)*	0.12 (0.13)
Economic Growth (%)	-0.27 (0.30)	0.06 (0.13)
Inc. Partisanship	0.33 (0.29)	0.08 (0.13)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.26 (0.37)	-0.60 (0.12)*
OUR Equations, β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}		
OUR Level	0.10 (0.06)	0.18 (0.03)*
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	-0.04 (0.06)	0.04 (0.02)
OUR Δ	0.02 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	0.08 (0.07)	0.00 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}		
Age	-0.33 (0.04)*	-0.50 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.02)
Female?	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)
Education	-0.34 (0.05)*	-0.22 (0.03)*
Household Income	-0.15 (0.05)*	-0.23 (0.02)*
Left-Right Ideology	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.02)
Union Member?	-0.21 (0.05)*	-0.15 (0.02)*
Unemployed?	0.03 (0.05)	0.09 (0.02)*
Variance Components		
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.75 (0.63)*	0.44 (0.24)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	0.69 (0.58)*	0.69 (0.38)*
Correlation, ρ	0.45 (0.27)	0.40 (0.17)*

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=5,134 (respondents), J=11 (country-elections) for model H.1; N=23,165, J=32 for model H.2. Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0.

Table I: Model 2 with sample split into Pre and Post 2008

Variable	Model I.1 (Pre)	Model I.2 (Post)
Opposition Vote results		
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}		
Intercept	0.39 (0.10)*	0.18 (0.22)
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.24 (0.12)*	0.20 (0.28)
Economic Growth (%)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.11 (0.29)
Inc. Partisanship	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.19 (0.26)
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	-0.57 (0.10)*	-0.22 (0.25)
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}		
OUR Level	0.05 (0.02)*	-0.10 (0.05)*
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	-0.05 (0.02)*	-0.09 (0.05)
OUR Δ	0.06 (0.02)*	0.02 (0.04)
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	0.03 (0.02)	0.05 (0.05)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}		
Age	-0.07 (0.02)*	-0.09 (0.03)*
Age^2	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)
Female?	0.03 (0.02)*	-0.07 (0.03)*
Education	0.09 (0.02)*	-0.09 (0.03)*
Household Income	-0.06 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.03)
Left-Right Ideology	-0.07 (0.02)*	0.27 (0.03)*
Union Member?	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.03)
Unemployed?	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)
Abstain results		
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}		
Intercept	-0.93 (0.14)*	-1.36 (0.24)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.41 (0.15)*	-0.40 (0.69)
Economic Growth (%)	0.06 (0.14)	-0.44 (0.59)
Inc. Partisanship	0.15 (0.15)	-0.35 (0.44)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.72 (0.12)*	-1.16 (0.61)
OUR Equations, β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}		
OUR Level	0.17 (0.02)*	0.14 (0.06)*
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	0.00 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.07)
OUR Δ	0.02 (0.02)	-0.12 (0.07)
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.07)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}		
Age	-0.49 (0.02)*	-0.33 (0.05)*
Age^2	0.02 (0.02)	0.16 (0.05)*
Female?	0.00 (0.02)	-0.14 (0.05)*
Education	-0.22 (0.03)*	-0.33 (0.06)*
Household Income	-0.23 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.05)*
Left-Right Ideology	-0.08 (0.02)*	0.04 (0.05)
Union Member?	-0.15 (0.02)*	-0.23 (0.05)*
Unemployed?	0.06 (0.02)*	0.14 (0.04)*
Variance Components		
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.61 (0.33)*	0.62 (0.72)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	0.82 (0.44)*	0.66 (0.70)*
Correlation, ρ	0.59 (0.12)*	0.02 (0.42)

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=23,220 (respondents), J=35 (country-elections) for model I.1; N=5,079, J=8 for model I.2. Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0.

Table J: Model 2 with Limited Level 1 Control Variables

Variable	Model J.1
Opposition Vote results	
Intercept Equation, β_{2s0}	
Intercept	0.29 (0.09)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.21 (0.10)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.05 (0.09)
Inc. Last Vote Share (%)	-0.44 (0.08)*
OUR Equations, β_{2s1} **and** β_{2s2}	
OUR Level	0.01 (0.01)
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	-0.06 (0.01)*
OUR Δ	0.03 (0.01)*
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	0.00 (0.01)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{2Z}	
Age	-0.07 (0.01)*
Age^2	0.00 (0.01)
Female?	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.05 (0.01)*
Unemployed?	0.02 (0.01)
Abstain results	
Intercept Equation, β_{3s0}	
Intercept	-0.87 (0.12)*
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.30 (0.12)*
Economic Growth (%)	0.10 (0.12)
Last Turnout (%)	-0.76 (0.10)*
OUR Equations β_{3s1} **and** β_{3s2}	
OUR Level	0.10 (0.02)*
OUR Level $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	-0.05 (0.02)*
OUR Δ	0.00 (0.02)
OUR Δ $\times$ Inc. Partisanship	0.01 (0.02)
Unmodeled coefficients, β_{3Z}	
Age	-0.50 (0.02)*
Age^2	0.08 (0.02)*
Female?	0.02 (0.02)
Education	-0.33 (0.02)*
Unemployed?	0.13 (0.01)*
Variance Components	
Opposition Vote, ω_{11}	0.61 (0.30)*
Abstain, ω_{22}	0.78 (0.37)*
Correlation, ρ	0.60 (0.10)*

Note: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations (in parentheses) shown, based on 40,000 MCMC samples. N=38,559 (respondents); J=43 (country-elections). Voting for an incumbent party is the baseline outcome. An * signifies that the 95% HDI does not include 0.

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