

Appendix

A. Supplementary Materials

1. Examples for measurements

Figure 8 presents an exemplary ideological distribution of parties within one context. In Greece, because we take the average and not Euclidean distance between parties, the closest competitor to Golden Dawn is the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). This is the biggest ideological gap to the closest competitor that was recorded in our dataset.

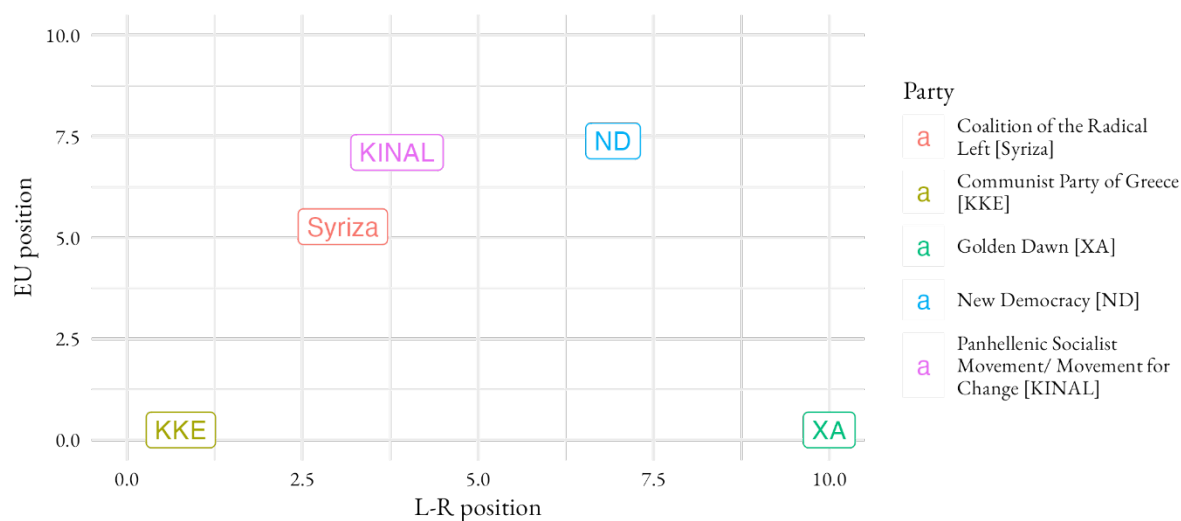


Figure 1. Example of ideological distances between parties for Greece.

2. Sample cuts

Table 2 presents the changes in the analysis dataset across steps in the data manipulation and sample cuts. The party- and system-level analyses are run on an aggregate version of the EPEES_19 dataset. Accordingly, for these analyses sample is equal to the third row below.

Table 1. Sample Cuts

Step	Countries	Parties	Indiv.	Dyads	Comment
Original EPEES_19	28	191	-	-	
Only parties in the EPEES_19 for which respondents were asked a PTV	28	182	-	-	dropped parties: STAN [CZ], Folkebevægelsen mod EU (N) [DK], Alternativet (Å) [DK], Junts per Catalunya (JxC) [ES], Partido Nacionalista Vasco (EAJ-PNV) [ES], Christian Democrats (KD) [FI], Party for the Animals (PvdD) [NL], Liberty (KORWiN) [PL], Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) [UK], Change UK - The Independent Group [UK], Plaid Cymru (PC) [UK], Sinn Féin [UK]
Only parties that were coded by at least three experts	27	175	-	-	kicked out Luxembourg ⇒ 7 parties!
Original EES	28	-	26,538	-	
Stacked EES as dyads with valid PTVs	29	208	26,169	186,653	Belgium is split into two regions
reduced to parties covered in EPEES_19	28	175	25,665	161,281	
Drop outliers	28	175	25,665	161,281	no changes
Drop rows with missing values	28	175	19,214	116,333	
Drop respondents with less than two PTVs	28	175	18,790	115,661	

3. Nesting Structure

Figure 9 presents the nesting-structure of the analysis dataset after being stacked at the party-level. Respondent-party dyads are cross-nested in individuals and parties, which both in turn are nested in countries.

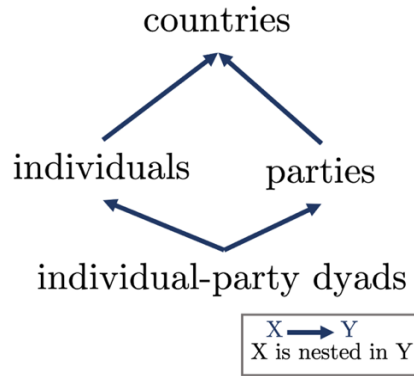


Figure 2 Nesting-structure of the data

4. Variance Decomposition

Table 3 displays the variance decomposition of the null-model with random intercepts at the Individual, party und system-level.

Table 2 Variance decomposition from intercept model across levels of aggregation.

Levels of aggregation	Observations	Variance	Proportion of overall variance
Elections	28.00	0.09	0.76%
Parties	175.00	0.66	5.80%
Respondents	18,790.00	0.80	6.98%
Party-Respondent Dyads	115,661.00	9.89	86.45%

5. Deviations from the pre-registration

Our final manuscript deviates from its online pre-registration (https://aspre-dicted.org/GLM_G3C) in three substantial points. Firstly, we originally planned to also test the moderating role of a voter’s social identity sortedness into the party of the sponsor on the effect

of negativity and incivility on political support for the sponsor. With the given spatial constraints, we decided to drop this hypothesis in favor of a more in-depth investigation of the remaining study components. Secondly, we preregistered a hypothesis on the difference in effects between negativity and incivility. We decided against testing whether the differences in the effects across dimensions were significant, as our expectation to find differences was limited and the necessary three or four-way interactions would have increased the study's complexity and limited our space for a full investigation of the alternatives hypothesis. We still give space to the discussion of the differences across dimensions in our theory, results, and discussion section. Finally, we preregistered to operationalize the availability of alternatives at the individual level as the degree to which a voter is relatively closer (further away) to (from) the sponsor than to (from) their most preferred party. Instead, we decided for a simpler and more robust operationalization simply indicating whether a voter has an at least equally attractive electoral alternative available to them. We did so as this operationalization seemed closer to the conceptual idea of alternatives and less likely to be confounded by the ideological polarization of political parties in each system or the ideological position of voters in that system.

B. Robustness checks

The tables for the full models underlying the following graphs can be found in appendix section c.

1. The individual-level

Adjusted measures

Figure 10 shows how the average marginal effects of the ideological distance adjusted measure of campaign negativity and incivility (Walter & van der Eijk, 2019a) on the PTV for the sponsor differs across the availability of electoral alternatives. Again, the interaction effect of alternatives is significant with voters giving lower scores to negatively / uncivil campaigning parties when they have at least equally attractive alternatives available to them.

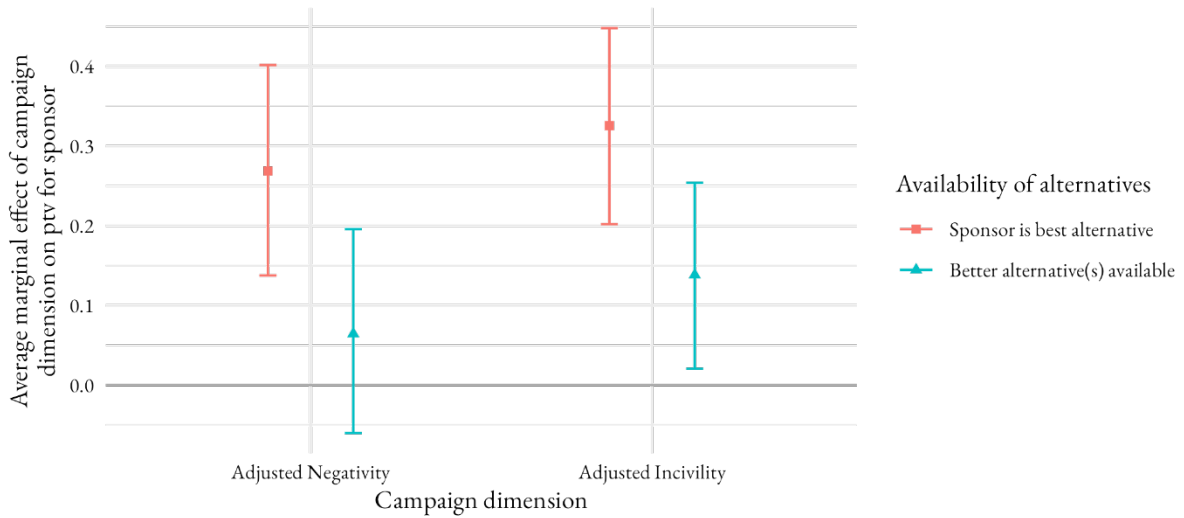


Figure 3 Robustness check of individual-level moderation with *adjusted negativity* and *incivility* measure.

2. The Party-level

The following presents all robustness checks at the party-level. Firstly, Figure 11 presents the interaction effects of models with the adjusted measures of negativity and incivility and then, Figure 12 presents the coefficient changes for a model that takes the actual vote-shares during the 2019 EP elections as the dependent variable. All models show negative, non-significant interaction effects. Implying a slight trend towards negativity being associated with slightly lower political support when the distance to the closest competitor is greater (not smaller as in H₃). Given the insignificance of the interaction terms, we will not add additional interpretations to the following graphs.

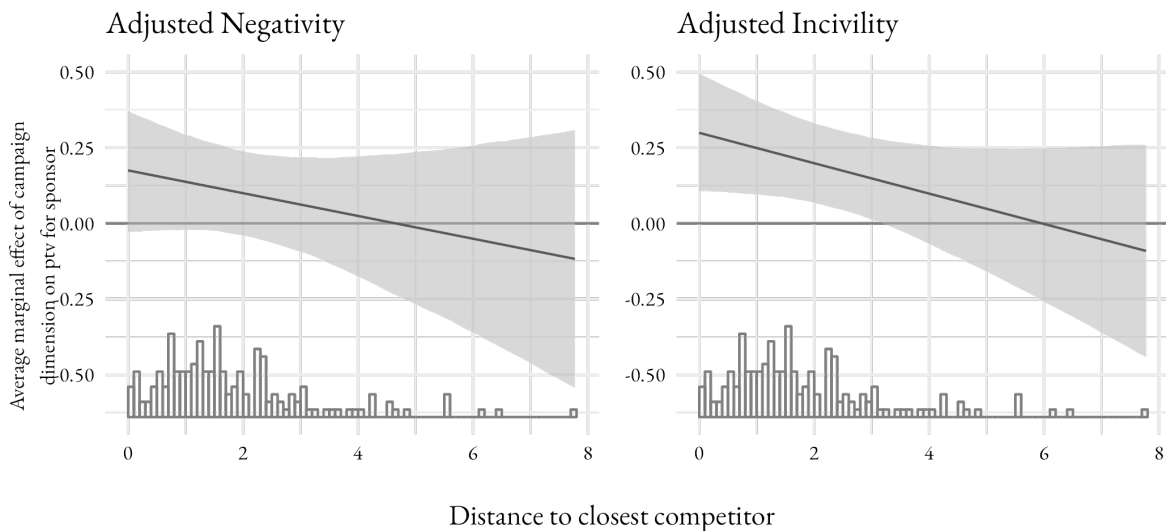


Figure 4. Average marginal effect of the adjusted measures of negativity and incivility by the distance to the closest competitor.

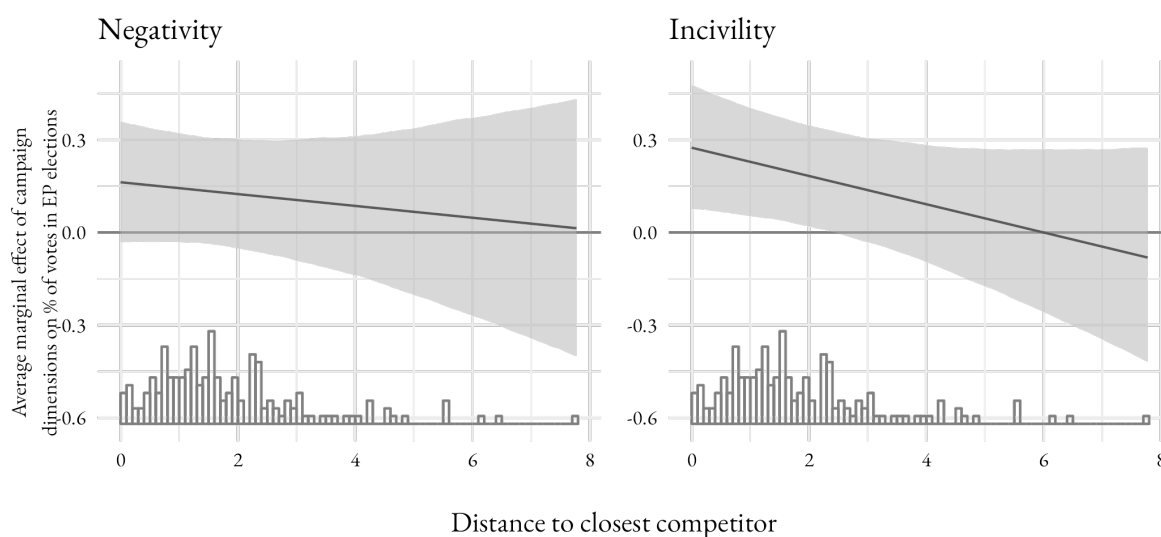


Figure 5. Average marginal effects of negativity and incivility on parties' vote share in the EP 2019 elections conditioned on the distance to the closest competitor.

3. The System-Level

The first plot shows the random slopes of negativity and incivility by electoral context based on (Figure 13) a model with all controls and (Figure 14) a model with all controls except for the party's position and extremity on the EU. The most notable difference to the main plot

for both is that the fixed effects of both dimensions render insignificant. Additionally, the direction of the effect changes depending on whether we control for Euroscepticism.

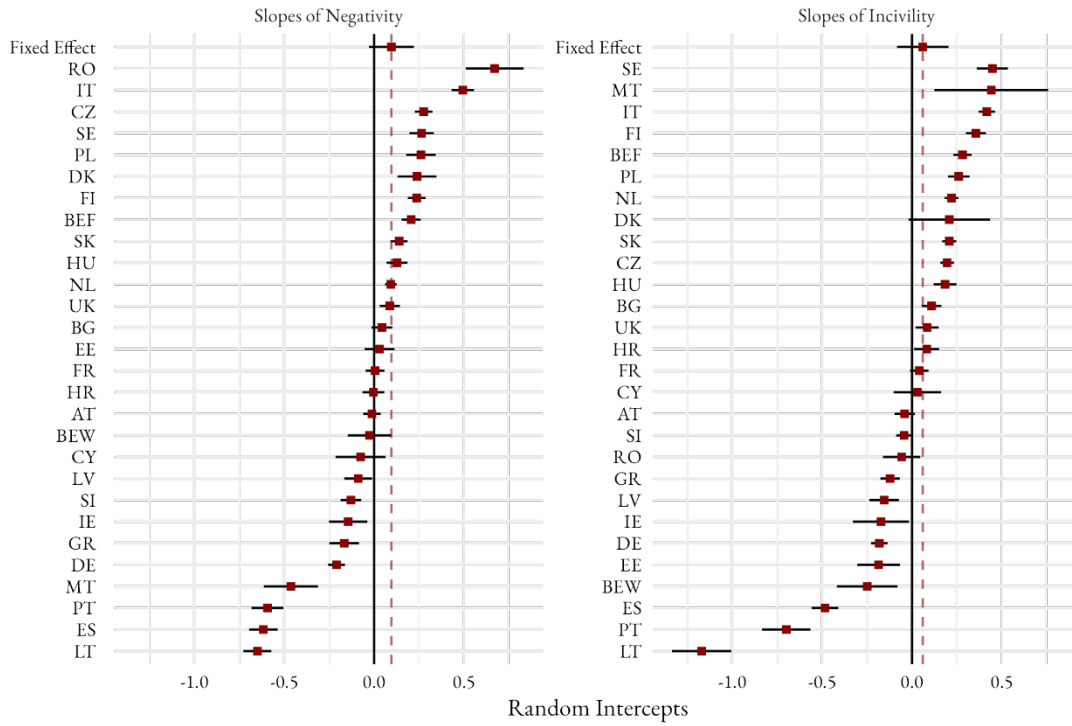


Figure 6. Random slopes the effect of negativity and incivility on PTV for the sponsor with all controls.

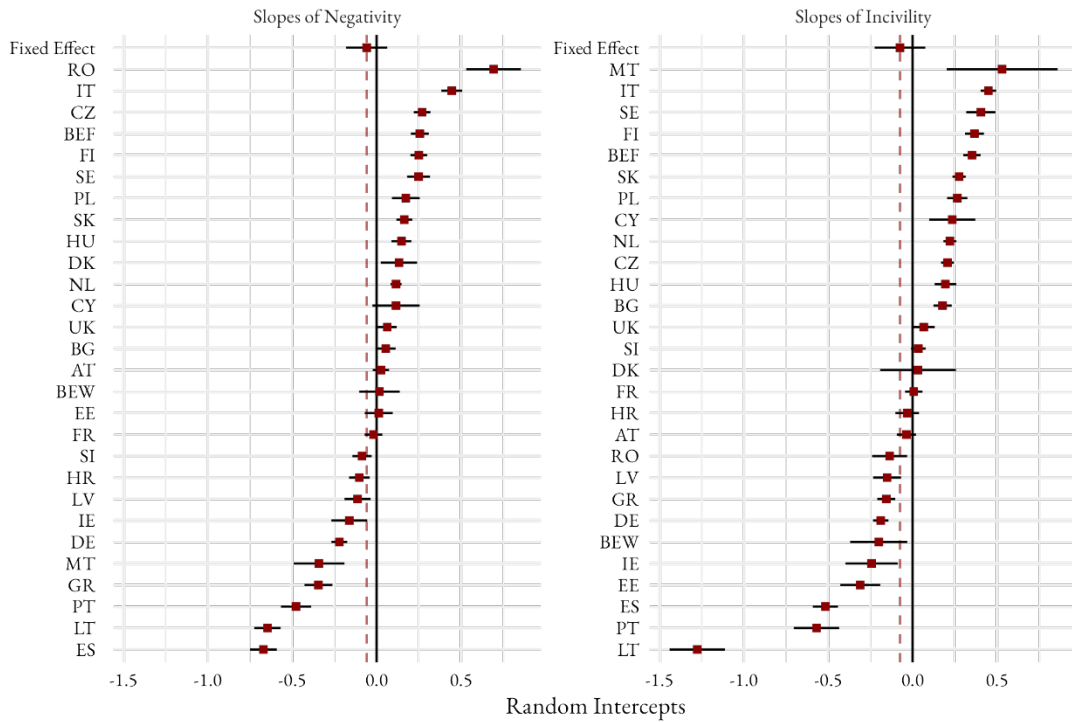


Figure 7. Random slopes of the effect of negativity and incivility on PTV for the sponsor, with all controls except EU position.

The next plots present the robustness checks for the system level hypothesis (H₂). Again, as with the main models in the text, none of the slopes are significant. Interestingly, by changing the dependent variable to the actual vote-share (Figure 16), the slope turns around for incivility, in line with our initial expectation.

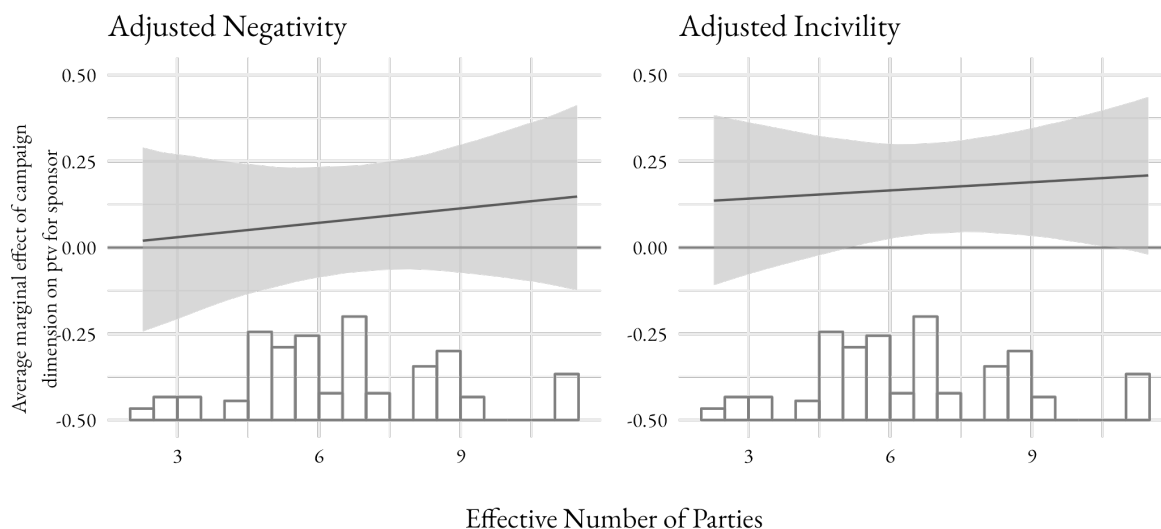


Figure 8. Average marginal effects of adjusted negativity and incivility conditioned on the effective number of parties.

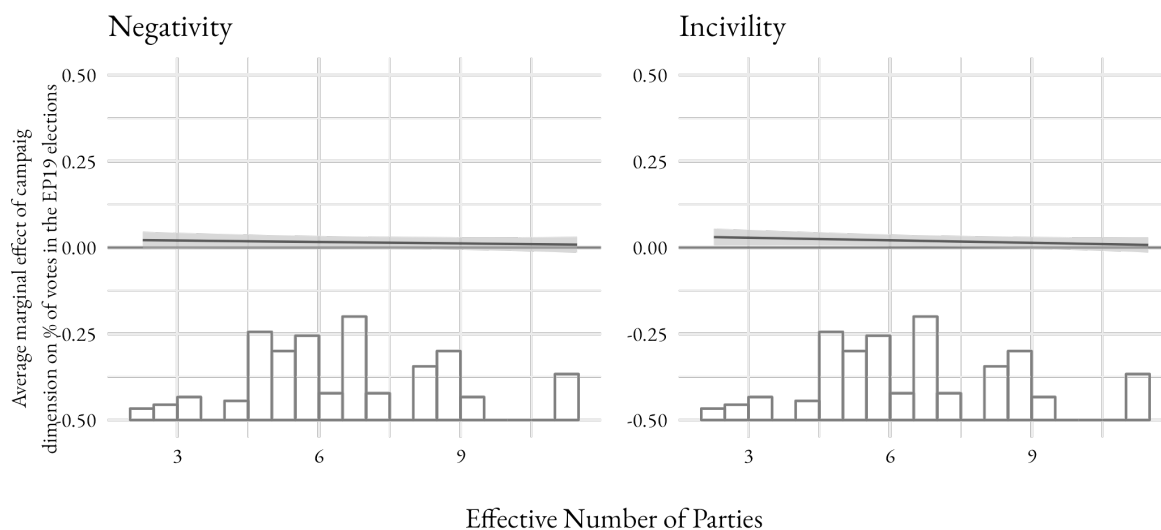


Figure 9. Effect of campaign negativity and incivility on parties' vote share in the EP 2019 elections, conditioned on the effective number of parties.

C. Regression Tables

The following three tables present the coefficients and confidence intervals for the models testing (Table 4) the main hypotheses across dimensions (incivility and negativity) and levels of aggregation, (Table 5) the additional analyses which add a three-way interaction (following the news and ideological distance to the sponsor of negativity) across dimensions, (Table 6) for the robustness checks with adjusted measures of negativity and incivility, and (Table 7) for robustness checks with vote-shares as dependent variables. The results are grouped by level of aggregation (Voters, Parties, System) and by dimension of the campaigning style variable (neg = Negativity, inc = Incivility).

1. Main models

Table 3. Detailed regression results for models related to the hypotheses.

		Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
Fixed effects	intercept	2.698*** [1.945, 3.451]	2.369*** [1.766, 2.972]	2.604*** [1.645, 3.563]	2.172*** [1.333, 3.010]	3.521*** [1.974, 5.068]	2.949*** [1.645, 4.254]
	Negativity [P]	0.048 [-0.087, 0.183]		0.112 [-0.056, 0.280]		-0.022 [-0.308, 0.263]	
	Incivility [P]		0.146* [0.019, 0.273]		0.250** [0.077, 0.423]		0.125 [-0.154, 0.404]
	Negativity * ENP [P]					0.017 [-0.017, 0.052]	
	Incivility * ENP [P]						0.010 [-0.023, 0.043]
	Negativity * Ideol. dist. to closest competitor[P]			-0.002 [-0.054, 0.050]			

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	Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
Incivility * Ideol. dist. to closest competitor[P]				-0.018 [-0.065, 0.028]		
Negativity * no better alternatives [D]	0.355*** [0.318, 0.391]					
Incivility * no better alternatives [D]		0.328*** [0.294, 0.363]				
No better alternatives [D]	1.533*** [1.334, 1.732]	2.033*** [1.878, 2.187]				
ideol. distance to closest competitor [P]			-0.033 [-0.392, 0.326]	0.041 [-0.232, 0.315]		
ENP [E]					-0.131 [-0.314, 0.051]	-0.083 [-0.230, 0.064]
gender (male, ref = female) [I]	-0.124*** [-0.168,-0.079]	-0.122*** [-0.167,-0.077]				
gender (other, ref = female) [I]	-0.870* [-1.668,-0.072]	-0.865* [-1.663,-0.066]				
birthyear [I]	0.250*** [0.226, 0.274]	0.250*** [0.226, 0.275]				
medium education (ref = lower) [I]	-0.041 [-0.153, 0.070]	-0.039 [-0.151, 0.072]				
high education (ref = lower) [I]	-0.019 [-0.131, 0.092]	-0.017 [-0.128, 0.094]				
political int. - lowest (ref. a little) [I]	-0.474*** [-0.570,-0.379]	-0.474*** [-0.570,-0.379]				
political int. - 2nd highest (ref. a little) [I]	0.109*** [0.055, 0.163]	0.109*** [0.055, 0.163]				
political int. - highest (ref. a little) [I]	0.090* [0.020, 0.161]	0.091* [0.020, 0.161]				
L-R position [I]	0.085*** [0.063, 0.107]	0.084*** [0.062, 0.106]				
L-R extremity [I]	-0.079*** [-0.102,-0.056]	-0.079*** [-0.102,-0.056]				

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	Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
EU position extremity [I]	-0.084*** [-0.107,-0.061]	-0.084*** [-0.107,-0.060]				
EU position [I]	0.337*** [0.313, 0.360]	0.336*** [0.313, 0.359]				
Negativity of closest competitor [P]	0.135 [-0.065, 0.334]		0.131 [-0.108, 0.370]		0.163 [-0.054, 0.380]	
Incivility of closest competitor [P]		0.070 [-0.126, 0.266]		0.025 [-0.220, 0.270]		0.094 [-0.121, 0.309]
L-R position [P]	-0.063 [-0.215, 0.089]	-0.078 [-0.226, 0.069]	-0.090 [-0.256, 0.076]	-0.095 [-0.258, 0.068]	-0.079 [-0.244, 0.086]	-0.104 [-0.263, 0.055]
L-R extremity [P]	0.020 [-0.171, 0.211]	0.026 [-0.162, 0.213]	0.065 [-0.149, 0.278]	0.064 [-0.148, 0.276]	0.031 [-0.177, 0.239]	0.046 [-0.161, 0.253]
EU position [P]	0.357** [0.111, 0.604]	0.452*** [0.224, 0.680]	0.411** [0.138, 0.684]	0.500*** [0.249, 0.751]	0.404** [0.137, 0.671]	0.500*** [0.251, 0.749]
EU position extremity [P]	0.060 [-0.064, 0.184]	0.023 [-0.102, 0.148]	0.065 [-0.074, 0.203]	0.024 [-0.113, 0.161]	0.046 [-0.088, 0.180]	0.007 [-0.130, 0.143]
incumbency [P]	0.164** [0.043, 0.285]	0.147* [0.034, 0.261]	0.200** [0.066, 0.333]	0.175** [0.051, 0.299]	0.205** [0.074, 0.335]	0.190** [0.066, 0.313]
Negativity of election [E]	-0.208+ [-0.428, 0.012]		-0.224+ [-0.459, 0.010]		-0.265* [-0.514,-0.016]	
Incivility of election [E]		-0.222+ [-0.455, 0.010]		-0.245+ [-0.496, 0.005]		-0.290* [-0.561,-0.018]
region North (ref = East) [E]	0.188 [-0.423, 0.799]	0.203 [-0.451, 0.857]	0.187 [-0.454, 0.827]	0.216 [-0.472, 0.904]	0.182 [-0.453, 0.817]	0.099 [-0.638, 0.837]
region South (ref = East) [E]	0.466* [0.015, 0.916]	0.404+ [-0.013, 0.822]	0.514* [0.041, 0.987]	0.472* [0.031, 0.913]	0.482+ [-0.024, 0.989]	0.345 [-0.143, 0.833]
region West (ref = East) [E]	0.675* [0.110, 1.240]	0.634* [0.048, 1.219]	0.661* [0.072, 1.250]	0.639* [0.025, 1.252]	0.636* [0.043, 1.229]	0.525 [-0.136, 1.186]
experts' L-R scale [E]	-0.089 [-0.287, 0.108]	-0.088 [-0.283, 0.107]	-0.030 [-0.236, 0.176]	-0.026 [-0.231, 0.178]	-0.019 [-0.233, 0.196]	-0.050 [-0.270, 0.170]
experts' perception of EU [E]	-0.225** [-0.390,-0.060]	-0.235** [-0.389,-0.080]	-0.189* [-0.363,-0.016]	-0.198* [-0.360,-0.035]	-0.123 [-0.315, 0.068]	-0.157+ [-0.341, 0.027]
experts' familiarity [E]	-0.008 [-0.158, 0.143]	-0.017 [-0.157, 0.122]	0.057 [-0.100, 0.214]	0.047 [-0.102, 0.195]	0.026 [-0.137, 0.188]	0.021 [-0.136, 0.178]

Going negative amidst better alternatives | **Fout!** Gebruik het tabblad Start om Heading 1 toe te passen op de tekst die u hier wilt weergeven.

	Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
experts' easiness [E]	-0.153 [-0.363, 0.056]	-0.165 [-0.364, 0.035]	-0.141 [-0.358, 0.076]	-0.144 [-0.353, 0.064]	-0.158 [-0.375, 0.060]	-0.184 [-0.411, 0.042]
experts' citizen [E]	0.003 [-0.126, 0.132]	-0.012 [-0.140, 0.116]	0.035 [-0.100, 0.170]	0.024 [-0.111, 0.158]	0.025 [-0.111, 0.161]	0.008 [-0.132, 0.149]
experts' % female [E]	0.121 [-0.050, 0.292]	0.110 [-0.051, 0.271]	0.097 [-0.080, 0.274]	0.086 [-0.082, 0.254]	0.081 [-0.099, 0.261]	0.095 [-0.081, 0.271]
System-level						
correlation (ran. intercepts and neg. slopes)					-1.000	
correlation (ran. intercepts and inc. slopes)						-1.000
variation of country-level random intercepts	0.127	0.080	0.090	0.000	0.280	0.097
variation of negativity slope (centry)					0.081	
variation of incivility slope (centry)						0.047
Party-level						
variation of party-level random intercepts	0.715	0.708				
Respondent-level						
variation of voter-level random intercepts	0.953	0.953				
Dyad (residual)						
variation of level 1 residual	2.978	2.978	0.786	0.776	0.764	0.767
N	115661	115661	175	175	175	175
R2 Marg.	0.106	0.107	0.258	0.281	0.276	0.282
AIC	590548.3	590563.0	502.4	497.2	505.1	502.4
BIC	590896.0	590910.7	572.0	566.8	581.0	578.3

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2. Third moderator models

Table 4. Detailed regression table with third moderators (ideological distance to sponsor and following the election).

		Voters by ideologigal dist. to sponsor (negativity)	Voters by ideologigal dist. to sponsor (incivility)	Voters by following the election (negativity)	Voters by following the election (incivility)
Fixed effects	intercept	6.439*** [5.651, 7.227]	6.045*** [5.412, 6.678]	3.182*** [2.324, 4.041]	3.722*** [3.037, 4.407]
	Negativity [P]	0.216** [0.075, 0.358]		0.412*** [0.257, 0.567]	
	Incivility [P]		0.375*** [0.242, 0.509]		0.394*** [0.247, 0.540]
	Negativity * better alternatives * ideol. distance to attacker[D]	0.018* [0.003, 0.033]			
	Incivility * better alternatives * ideol. distance to attacker[D]		0.020** [0.006, 0.034]		
	Negativity * better alternatives [D]	-0.125*** [-0.189,-0.060]		-0.293*** [-0.372,-0.214]	
	Incivility * better alternatives [D]		-0.150*** [-0.213,-0.086]		-0.197*** [-0.272,-0.121]
	Negativity * ideol. distance to attacker [D]	-0.031*** [-0.046,-0.016]			
	Incivility * ideol. distance to attacker [D]		-0.030*** [-0.045,-0.016]		
	Better alternatives * ideol. distance to attacker[D]	-0.342*** [-0.432,-0.252]	-0.326*** [-0.397,-0.254]		
	No better alternatives [D]	-1.030*** [-1.376,-0.683]	-1.088*** [-1.363,-0.813]	-1.246*** [-1.675,-0.817]	-1.955*** [-2.290,-1.621]
	Ideological distance to attacker [D]	-0.219*** [-0.308,-0.129]	-0.262*** [-0.333,-0.191]		

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	Voters by ideological dist. to sponsor (negativity)	Voters by ideological dist. to sponsor (incivility)	Voters by following the election (negativity)	Voters by following the election (incivility)
Negativity * following the elections * no better alternatives [D]			-0.009 [-0.022, 0.003]	
Incivility * following the elections * no better alternatives [D]				-0.022*** [-0.034,-0.010]
Negativity * following the elections [I]			-0.004 [-0.016, 0.008]	
Incivility * following the elections [I]				0.012* [0.000, 0.023]
following the elections * no better alternatives [D]			-0.059+ [-0.129, 0.010]	-0.020 [-0.074, 0.034]
following the elections [I]			0.226*** [0.159, 0.293]	0.156*** [0.104, 0.209]
gender (male, ref = female) [I]	-0.124*** [-0.169,-0.080]	-0.124*** [-0.169,-0.079]	-0.105*** [-0.149,-0.060]	-0.104*** [-0.148,-0.059]
gender (other, ref = female) [I]	-0.981* [-1.779,-0.184]	-0.975* [-1.773,-0.178]	-0.946* [-1.734,-0.158]	-0.930* [-1.718,-0.142]
birthyear [I]	0.262*** [0.238, 0.286]	0.262*** [0.238, 0.286]	0.269*** [0.245, 0.293]	0.269*** [0.245, 0.293]
medium education (ref = lower) [I]	-0.060 [-0.171, 0.052]	-0.059 [-0.170, 0.053]	-0.024 [-0.135, 0.086]	-0.022 [-0.133, 0.088]
high education (ref = lower) [I]	-0.052 [-0.162, 0.059]	-0.051 [-0.162, 0.059]	-0.003 [-0.113, 0.107]	-0.001 [-0.111, 0.109]
political int. - lowest (ref. a little) [I]	-0.441*** [-0.536,-0.346]	-0.441*** [-0.536,-0.346]	-0.304*** [-0.400,-0.209]	-0.303*** [-0.398,-0.208]
political int. - 2nd highest (ref. a little) [I]	0.088** [0.034, 0.142]	0.089** [0.035, 0.142]	-0.064* [-0.119,-0.008]	-0.063* [-0.119,-0.008]
political int. - highest (ref. a little) [I]	0.125*** [0.055, 0.195]	0.125*** [0.054, 0.195]	-0.253*** [-0.329,-0.177]	-0.255*** [-0.331,-0.179]
L-R position [I]	-0.094*** [-0.116,-0.071]	-0.094*** [-0.116,-0.071]	0.069*** [0.047, 0.091]	0.068*** [0.046, 0.090]
L-R extremity [I]	0.416*** [0.392, 0.440]	0.416*** [0.392, 0.440]	-0.091*** [-0.113,-0.068]	-0.091*** [-0.113,-0.068]

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	Voters by ideological dist. to sponsor (negativity)	Voters by ideological dist. to sponsor (incivility)	Voters by following the election (negativity)	Voters by following the election (incivility)
EU position extremity [I]	0.286*** [0.262, 0.310]	0.286*** [0.262, 0.311]	-0.083*** [-0.106,-0.060]	-0.082*** [-0.105,-0.059]
EU position [I]	0.222*** [0.196, 0.247]	0.216*** [0.191, 0.241]	0.309*** [0.286, 0.332]	0.309*** [0.286, 0.332]
Negativity of closest competitor [P]	0.020 [-0.169, 0.208]		0.127 [-0.073, 0.326]	
Incivility of closest competitor [P]		0.006 [-0.178, 0.190]		0.065 [-0.132, 0.261]
L-R position[P]	-0.063 [-0.206, 0.080]	-0.109 [-0.246, 0.029]	-0.061 [-0.213, 0.091]	-0.077 [-0.225, 0.070]
L-R extremity [P]	0.318*** [0.138, 0.498]	0.321*** [0.145, 0.497]	0.015 [-0.176, 0.206]	0.021 [-0.167, 0.209]
EU position [P]	-0.157 [-0.390, 0.076]	0.016 [-0.199, 0.231]	0.342** [0.096, 0.589]	0.439*** [0.210, 0.668]
EU position extremity[P]	0.263*** [0.146, 0.379]	0.211*** [0.094, 0.328]	0.060 [-0.064, 0.184]	0.022 [-0.103, 0.147]
incumbency [P]	0.149* [0.036, 0.263]	0.154** [0.048, 0.259]	0.164** [0.043, 0.285]	0.150** [0.036, 0.263]
Negativity of election [E]	-0.136 [-0.347, 0.075]		-0.221* [-0.442, 0.000]	
Incivility of election [E]		-0.189+ [-0.413, 0.035]		-0.232+ [-0.467, 0.002]
region North (ref = East) [E]	0.197 [-0.400, 0.793]	0.266 [-0.386, 0.917]	0.190 [-0.427, 0.806]	0.197 [-0.467, 0.862]
region South (ref = East) [E]	0.457* [0.019, 0.895]	0.399+ [-0.014, 0.812]	0.470* [0.016, 0.924]	0.406+ [-0.018, 0.829]
region West (ref = East) [E]	0.590* [0.040, 1.139]	0.617* [0.035, 1.198]	0.590* [0.021, 1.160]	0.538+ [-0.056, 1.133]
experts' L-R scale [E]	-0.107 [-0.299, 0.086]	-0.095 [-0.289, 0.099]	-0.088 [-0.287, 0.111]	-0.089 [-0.287, 0.109]
experts' perception of EU [E]	-0.165* [-0.325,-0.004]	-0.178* [-0.331,-0.025]	-0.224** [-0.390,-0.058]	-0.233** [-0.390,-0.076]
experts' familiarity [E]	-0.027 [-0.173, 0.119]	-0.047 [-0.186, 0.092]	-0.009 [-0.160, 0.143]	-0.023 [-0.165, 0.119]

Going negative amidst better alternatives | **Fout!** Gebruik het tabblad Start om Heading 1 toe te passen op de tekst die u hier wilt weergeven.

		Voters by ideological dist. to sponsor (negativity)	Voters by ideological dist. to sponsor (incivility)	Voters by following the election (negativity)	Voters by following the election (incivility)
	experts' easiness [E]	-0.120 [-0.324, 0.085]	-0.122 [-0.322, 0.077]	-0.181+ [-0.392, 0.030]	-0.195+ [-0.398, 0.008]
	experts' citizen [E]	0.020 [-0.106, 0.146]	0.003 [-0.126, 0.131]	0.005 [-0.126, 0.135]	-0.014 [-0.145, 0.117]
	experts' % female [E]	0.099 [-0.068, 0.265]	0.068 [-0.092, 0.228]	0.146+ [-0.026, 0.319]	0.134 [-0.030, 0.297]
System-level	variation of country-level random intercepts	0.145	0.130	0.135	0.098
Party-level	variation of party-level random intercepts	0.672	0.658	0.715	0.708
Respondent-level	variation of voter-level random intercepts	1.054	1.054	0.922	0.922
Dyad (residual)	variation of level 1 residual	2.746	2.746	2.975	2.976
	N	115661	115661	115661	115661
	R2 Marg.	0.212	0.213	0.112	0.113
	AIC	574774.1	574766.4	589950.0	589980.0
	BIC	575160.4	575152.7	590336.3	590366.3

Going negative amidst better alternatives | **Fout!** Gebruik het tabblad Start om Heading 1 toe te passen op de tekst die u hier wilt weergeven.

3. Robustness checks – adjusted measures

In the following models, all expert based judgements of incivility or negativity are adjusted to account for experts’ average ideological profile per country. This also goes for derivatives of these judgements like the negativity of the next closest competitor or the average negativity of the election.

Table 5. Detailed regression results of robustness check with adjusted negativity and incivility variables.

		Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
Fixed effects	intercept	2.938*** [2.636, 3.241]	2.934*** [2.624, 3.245]	3.125*** [2.771, 3.479]	3.091*** [2.722, 3.461]	3.270*** [2.652,3.888]	3.327*** [2.643, 4.011]
	Negativity (adj) [P]	0.063 [-0.065, 0.190]		0.176+ [-0.024, 0.375]		-0.012 [-0.379,0.356]	
	Incivility (adj) [P]		0.138* [0.019, 0.257]		0.299** [0.103, 0.496]		0.119 [-0.211, 0.448]
	Negativity (adj) * ENP [P]					0.014 [-0.034,0.062]	
	Incivility (adj) * ENP [P]						0.008 [-0.035, 0.051]
	Negativity (adj) * Ideol. dist. to closest competitor[P]			-0.037 [-0.107, 0.033]			
	Incivility (adj) * Ideol. dist. to closest competitor[P]				-0.050 [-0.112, 0.011]		
	Negativity (adj) * no better alternatives [D]	0.205*** [0.160, 0.250]					
	Incivility (adj) * no better alternatives [D]		0.187*** [0.145, 0.230]				

Going negative amidst better alternatives | **Fout!** Gebruik het tabblad Start om Heading 1 toe te passen op de tekst die u hier wilt weergeven.

	Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
No better alternatives [D]	3.341*** [3.275, 3.407]	3.337*** [3.271, 3.403]				
ideol. distance to closest competitor [P]			-0.025 [-0.147, 0.097]	-0.018 [-0.139, 0.103]		
ENP [E]					-0.025 [-0.101,0.052]	-0.030 [-0.109, 0.049]
gender (male, ref = female) [I]	-0.121*** [-0.166,-0.076]	-0.120*** [-0.165,-0.075]				
gender (other, ref = female) [I]	-0.863* [-1.660,-0.066]	-0.859* [-1.656,-0.062]				
birthyear [I]	0.251*** [0.227, 0.275]	0.251*** [0.227, 0.275]				
medium education (ref = lower) [I]	-0.042 [-0.153, 0.070]	-0.041 [-0.152, 0.071]				
high education (ref = lower) [I]	-0.021 [-0.132, 0.090]	-0.020 [-0.131, 0.091]				
political int. - lowest (ref. a little) [I]	-0.476*** [-0.571,-0.381]	-0.476*** [-0.571,-0.380]				
political int. - 2nd highest (ref. a little) [I]	0.109*** [0.055, 0.163]	0.109*** [0.055, 0.163]				
political int. - highest (ref. a little) [I]	0.091* [0.021, 0.161]	0.091* [0.021, 0.162]				
L-R position [I]	0.096*** [0.074, 0.118]	0.095*** [0.073, 0.117]				
L-R extremity [I]	-0.074*** [-0.097,-0.051]	-0.074*** [-0.097,-0.051]				
EU position extremity [I]	-0.084*** [-0.107,-0.060]	-0.084*** [-0.107,-0.060]				
EU position [I]	0.328*** [0.304, 0.351]	0.327*** [0.304, 0.351]				
Negativity (adj) of closest competitor [P]	0.074 [-0.121, 0.270]		0.074 [-0.143, 0.291]		0.074 [-0.143,0.292]	
Incivility (adj) of closest competitor [P]		-0.012 [-0.200, 0.177]		-0.032 [-0.248, 0.184]		0.000 [-0.207, 0.207]

Going negative amidst better alternatives | **Fout!** Gebruik het tabblad Start om Heading 1 toe te passen op de tekst die u hier wilt weergeven.

	Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
L-R position[P]	0.019 [-0.117, 0.154]	0.026 [-0.108, 0.160]	-0.011 [-0.163, 0.140]	0.020 [-0.127, 0.168]	0.028 [-0.121,0.177]	0.020 [-0.125, 0.166]
L-R extremity [P]	0.048 [-0.149, 0.245]	0.090 [-0.103, 0.284]	0.099 [-0.120, 0.318]	0.135 [-0.080, 0.349]	0.067 [-0.149,0.284]	0.120 [-0.092, 0.333]
EU position [P]	0.324** [0.101, 0.547]	0.393*** [0.186, 0.601]	0.351** [0.107, 0.596]	0.441*** [0.213, 0.670]	0.357** [0.115,0.599]	0.435*** [0.208, 0.663]
EU position extremity[P]	0.067 [-0.057, 0.190]	0.037 [-0.087, 0.160]	0.082 [-0.055, 0.219]	0.037 [-0.098, 0.172]	0.038 [-0.097,0.173]	0.025 [-0.110, 0.159]
incumbency [P]	0.165** [0.041, 0.289]	0.149* [0.034, 0.263]	0.205** [0.069, 0.341]	0.184** [0.059, 0.309]	0.196** [0.063,0.330]	0.188** [0.061, 0.314]
Negativity (adj) of election [E]	-0.176 [-0.425, 0.072]		-0.195 [-0.460, 0.069]		-0.216 [-0.502,0.071]	
Incivility (adj) of election [E]		-0.147 [-0.406, 0.113]		-0.191 [-0.474, 0.092]		-0.193 [-0.499, 0.113]
region North (ref = East) [E]	0.204 [-0.421, 0.829]	0.233 [-0.442, 0.908]	0.246 [-0.406, 0.897]	0.269 [-0.440, 0.978]	0.216 [-0.424,0.855]	0.170 [-0.582, 0.922]
region South (ref = East) [E]	0.450+ [-0.009, 0.909]	0.405+ [-0.025, 0.835]	0.548* [0.064, 1.032]	0.525* [0.067, 0.983]	0.500+ [-0.012,1.012]	0.371 [-0.136, 0.878]
region West (ref = East) [E]	0.683* [0.102, 1.263]	0.654* [0.057, 1.251]	0.727* [0.116, 1.338]	0.719* [0.088, 1.351]	0.629* [0.025,1.233]	0.589+ [-0.079, 1.256]
experts' L-R scale [E]	-0.084 [-0.284, 0.116]	-0.091 [-0.283, 0.100]	-0.016 [-0.225, 0.194]	-0.023 [-0.225, 0.180]	-0.020 [-0.233,0.192]	-0.049 [-0.262, 0.164]
experts' perception of EU [E]	-0.243** [-0.409,-0.078]	-0.251** [-0.407,-0.094]	-0.200* [-0.374,-0.026]	-0.214* [-0.379,-0.049]	-0.161+ [-0.349,0.026]	-0.197* [-0.379,-0.014]
experts' familiarity [E]	0.005 [-0.153, 0.162]	0.002 [-0.143, 0.147]	0.061 [-0.106, 0.228]	0.052 [-0.105, 0.208]	0.081 [-0.085,0.247]	0.054 [-0.105, 0.213]
experts' easiness [E]	-0.146 [-0.363, 0.071]	-0.160 [-0.364, 0.045]	-0.125 [-0.349, 0.099]	-0.134 [-0.348, 0.079]	-0.143 [-0.360,0.074]	-0.166 [-0.395, 0.063]
experts' citizen [E]	0.013 [-0.118, 0.144]	0.003 [-0.125, 0.131]	0.052 [-0.085, 0.188]	0.042 [-0.093, 0.177]	0.025 [-0.110,0.161]	0.023 [-0.117, 0.162]
experts' % female [E]	0.127 [-0.052, 0.306]	0.117 [-0.051, 0.285]	0.094 [-0.092, 0.280]	0.089 [-0.088, 0.265]	0.080 [-0.107,0.268]	0.105 [-0.079, 0.289]
System-level	correlation (ran. intercepts and neg. slopes)				1.000	

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	Voters (neg)	Voters (inc)	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
correlation (ran. intercepts and inc. slopes)						1.000
variation of country-level random intercepts	0.149	0.107	0.120	0.085	0.102	0.101
variation of negativity slope (cntry)					0.137	
variation of incivility slope (cntry)						0.055
Party-level variation of party-level random intercepts	0.714	0.708				
Respondent-level variation of voter-level random intercepts	0.946	0.946				
Dyad (residual) variation of level 1 residual	2.983	2.983	0.784	0.771	0.766	0.772
N	115661	115661	175	175	175	175
R2 Marg.	0.104	0.105	0.255	0.282	0.273	0.273
AIC	590828.9	590829.7	502.4	496.3	507.3	504.3
BIC	591176.6	591177.4	572.0	566.0	583.2	580.2

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4. Robustness checks – vote shares as dependent variables

Table 6. Detailed regression model for robustness check with vote-shares as dependent variable

		Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
Fixed effects	intercept	0.229 [-0.904,1.361]	-0.153 [-1.153,0.848]	0.071 [-0.106,0.249]	0.045 [-0.109,0.199]
	Negativity [P]	0.163 [-0.037,0.363]		0.025 [-0.007,0.056]	
	Incivility [P]		0.275** [0.070,0.480]		0.036* [0.004,0.067]
	Negativity * ENP [P]			-0.001 [-0.005,0.002]	
	Incivility * ENP [P]				-0.002 [-0.006,0.001]
	Negativity * Ideol. dist. to closest competitor[P]	-0.019 [-0.081,0.042]			
	Incivility * Ideol. dist. to closest competitor[P]		-0.046 [-0.101,0.010]		
	ideol. distance to closest competitor [P]	0.149 [-0.276,0.573]	0.230 [-0.094,0.554]		
	ENP [E]			-0.004 [-0.025,0.016]	-0.001 [-0.018,0.016]
	Negativity of closest competitor [P]	0.118 [-0.167,0.402]		0.015 [-0.010,0.040]	
	Incivility of closest competitor [P]		-0.098 [-0.388,0.192]		-0.005 [-0.029,0.020]
	L-R position[P]	0.007 [-0.189,0.203]	0.039 [-0.154,0.231]	-0.003 [-0.022,0.016]	0.000 [-0.019,0.019]
	L-R extremity [P]	0.133 [-0.121,0.386]	0.127 [-0.124,0.378]	0.012 [-0.012,0.036]	0.011 [-0.014,0.035]

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	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
EU position [P]	0.515** [0.185,0.845]	0.507** [0.208,0.806]	0.051** [0.020,0.083]	0.048** [0.019,0.077]
EU position extremity[P]	0.089 [-0.076,0.253]	0.080 [-0.084,0.244]	0.008 [-0.008,0.023]	0.006 [-0.010,0.022]
incumbency [P]	0.304*** [0.147,0.461]	0.261*** [0.114,0.409]	0.030*** [0.015,0.046]	0.025*** [0.011,0.040]
Negativity of election [E]	-0.011 [-0.283,0.260]		-0.013 [-0.041,0.015]	
Incivility of election [E]		0.063 [-0.233,0.359]		-0.010 [-0.041,0.021]
region North (ref = East) [E]	0.327 [-0.410,1.063]	0.628 [-0.190,1.445]	0.016 [-0.056,0.087]	0.021 [-0.063,0.104]
region South (ref = East) [E]	0.481+ [-0.074,1.036]	0.610* [0.078,1.143]	0.029 [-0.026,0.085]	0.036 [-0.019,0.091]
region West (ref = East) [E]	0.452 [-0.234,1.139]	0.697+ [-0.038,1.433]	0.033 [-0.035,0.100]	0.037 [-0.039,0.112]
experts' L-R scale [E]	0.059 [-0.181,0.299]	0.116 [-0.130,0.363]	0.001 [-0.023,0.024]	0.001 [-0.024,0.026]
experts' perception of EU [E]	-0.165 [-0.363,0.034]	-0.158 [-0.350,0.034]	-0.006 [-0.027,0.015]	-0.008 [-0.029,0.012]
experts' familiarity [E]	0.080 [-0.101,0.261]	0.087 [-0.091,0.265]	0.003 [-0.015,0.021]	0.004 [-0.014,0.022]
experts' easiness [E]	0.118 [-0.130,0.365]	0.163 [-0.083,0.410]	0.002 [-0.023,0.027]	0.004 [-0.022,0.030]
experts' citizen [E]	0.046 [-0.108,0.200]	0.086 [-0.073,0.245]	0.004 [-0.011,0.019]	0.003 [-0.012,0.019]
experts' % female [E]	-0.033 [-0.235,0.170]	-0.041 [-0.240,0.158]	-0.002 [-0.021,0.018]	0.000 [-0.020,0.019]
System-level	correlation (ran. intercepts and neg. slopes)		-1.000	
	correlation (ran. intercepts and inc. slopes)			-1.000

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	Parties (neg)	Parties (inc)	Systems (neg)	Systems (inc)
variation of country-level random intercepts	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
variation of negativity slope (cntry)			0.000	
variation of incivility slope (cntry)				0.000
Party (residual) variation of level 1 residual	0.928	0.914	0.091	0.090
N	172	172	172	172
R2 Marg.	0.196	0.219	0.228	0.239
AIC	544.5	539.9	-156.4	-158.8
BIC	613.8	609.1	-80.9	-83.2

D. Party List and Country Experts

Table 7. Overview of matched parties

Ind.	Country	EPEES name	EES name
1	AT	Austrian People's Party (ÖVP)	ÖVP
2	AT	Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ)	SPÖ
3	AT	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)	FPÖ
4	AT	Die Grünen	Die Grünen
5	AT	NEOS	NEOS
6	BE	New Flemish Alliance (N-VA)	Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (N-VA)
7	BE	Humanist Democratic Centre (cdH)	Centre Démocrate Humaniste (cdH)
8	BE	Socialist Party (PS)	Parti Socialiste (PS)
9	BE	Ecolo / Groen	Groen
10	BE	Ecolo / Groen	Ecologistes Confédérés pour l'Organisation de Luttes Originales (ECOLO)
11	BE	Christian Democratic and Flemish (CD&V)	Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams (CD&V)
12	BE	Reformist Movement (MR)	Mouvement Réformateur (MR)
13	BE	Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats (Open-VLD)	Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten (Open VLD)
14	BE	Workers' Party (PVDA/PTB)	Partij van de Arbeid – Parti du Travail de Belgique (PVDA/PTB)
15	BE	Workers' Party (PVDA/PTB)	Parti du Travail de Belgique (PTB)
16	BE	Socialist Party Different (sp.a)	Socialistische Partij – Anders (sp.a)
17	BE	Vlaams Belang	Vlaams Belang (VB)
18	BG	Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)	ГЕРБ, Граждани за европейско развитие на България (ГЕРБ)
19	BG	Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)	Коалиция за България (КБ)
20	BG	United Patriots	ВМРО – Българско национално движение (ВМРО)
21	BG	United Patriots	Национален съюз Атака (АТАКА)
22	BG	Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS)	Движение за права и свободи (ДПС)
23	BG	Volya	Воля
24	CY	Democratic Rally (DISY)	ΔΗΣΥ (Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός)
25	CY	Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)	ΑΚΕΛ (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού – Αριστερά, Νέες Δυνάμεις)
26	CY	Democratic Party (DIKO)	ΔΗΚΟ (Δημοκρατικό Κόμμα)
27	CY	Movement for Social Democracy (EDEK)	ΕΔΕΚ (Κίνημα Σοσιαλδημοκρατών ΕΔΕΚ)
28	CY	National Popular Front (ELAM)	ΕΛΑΜ

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29	CZ	ANO 2011	ANO2011 (ANO)
30	CZ	Civic Democratic Party (ODS)	Občanská demokratická strana (ODS)
31	CZ	Czech Pirate Party	Pirátská strana (Piráti)
32	CZ	Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD)	Strana přímé demokracie Tomio Okamura (SPD)
33	CZ	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)	Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy (KSČM)
34	CZ	Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)	Česká strana sociálně demokratická (ČSSD)
35	CZ	Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU–ČSL)	Křesťanská a demokratická unie - Československá strana lidová (KDU/ČSL)
36	CZ	TOP 09	Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09 (TOP 09)
37	DE	CDU/CSU	1 CDU/CSU
38	DE	SPD	2 SPD
39	DE	FDP	3 FDP
40	DE	Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	4 Die Grünen
41	DE	Die Linke	5 Die Linke
42	DE	AfD	6 AFD
43	DK	Socialdemokratiet (A)	Socialdemokraterne
44	DK	Venstre (V)	Venstre
45	DK	Dansk Folkeparti (O)	Dansk Folkeparti
46	DK	Enhedslisten - De Rød-Grønne (Ø)	Enhedslisten
47	DK	Radikale Venstre (B)	Radikale Venstre
48	DK	Socialistisk Folkeparti (F)	Socialistisk Folkeparti
49	DK	Det Konservative Folkeparti (KF)	Det Konservative Folkeparti
50	EE	Estonian Reform Party	Eesti Reformierakond (Reform)
51	EE	Estonian Centre Party	Eesti Keskerakond (Kesk)
52	EE	Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE)	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond (EKRE)
53	EE	Pro Patria (Isamaa)	Isamaa Erakond (Isamaa)
54	EE	Social Democratic Party (SDE)	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond (SDE)
55	EE	Estonia 200	Erakond Eesti 200 (Eesti 200)
56	ES	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)
57	ES	Partido Popular (PP)	Partido Popular (PP)
58	ES	Ciudadanos (Cs)	Ciudadanos
59	ES	Unidas Podemos	Unidas Podemos (UP)
60	ES	VOX	VOX
61	ES	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)	Ahora Repúblicas (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya y otros)
62	FI	Social Democratic Party of Finland (SDP)	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (SDP)
63	FI	Finns Party	Perussuomalaiset (Perus/PS)

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64	FI	National Coalition Party (NCP)	Kansallinen Kokoomus (KOK)
65	FI	Centre Party (KESK)	Suomen Keskusta (KESK)
66	FI	Green League (VIHR)	Vihreä Liitto (VIHR)
67	FI	Left Alliance (V)	Vasemmistoliitto (VAS)
68	FI	Swedish People's Party of Finland (SFP)	Suomen ruotsalainen kansanpuolue (RKP)
69	FR	La République En Marche (REM)	La République en Marche (LRM)
70	FR	Les Républicains (LR)	Les Républicains (LR)
71	FR	Rassemblement National (RN)	Rassemblement national (RN)
72	FR	Europe Écologie Les Verts (EELV)	Europe Ecologie - Les Verts (EELV)
73	FR	La France insoumise (FI)	France insoumise (LFI)
74	FR	Parti socialiste (PS)	Parti socialiste (PS)
75	GR	New Democracy (ND)	Νέα Δημοκρατία (ΝΔ)
76	GR	Syriza	Συνασπισμός Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς (ΣΥΡΙΖΑ)
77	GR	Golden Dawn	Χρυσή Αυγή (ΧΑ)
78	GR	Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας (ΚΚΕ)
79	GR	Movement for Change (KINAL)	Κίνημα Αλλαγής (ΚΙΝΑΛ)
80	HR	Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ)
81	HR	Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDP)	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske (SDP)
82	HR	Human Shield (Živi zid)	Živi zid
83	HR	Bridge of Independent Lists (Most)	MOST
84	HR	START	START
85	HR	Croatian Peasant Party (HSS)	Amsterdamska koalicija
86	HU	Fidesz–KDNP Party Alliance	Fidesz -Magyar Polgári Szövetség - Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (FIDESZ-KDNP)
87	HU	Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (JOBBIK)
88	HU	Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)	Magyar Szocialista Párt (MSZP)
89	HU	Politics Can Be Different (LMP)	Lehet Más a Politika (LMP)
90	HU	Democratic Coalition (DK)	Demokratikus Koalíció (DK)
91	HU	Our Homeland Movement (Mi Hazánk)	Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (MH)
92	IE	Fine Gael	Fine Gael
93	IE	Fianna Fáil	Fianna Fáil
94	IE	Páirtí an Lucht Oibre (Labour)	Labour Party
95	IE	Sinn Féin	Sinn Féin
96	IT	Partito Democratico (PD)	Partito Democratico (PD)
97	IT	Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S)	Movimento 5 Stelle (MCS)
98	IT	Forza Italia (FI)	Forza Italia (Fi)
99	IT	Lega	Lega Salvini Premier

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100	IT	Fratelli d'Italia (FdI)	Fratelli d'Italia - Centrodestra Nazionale
101	IT	Più Europa (+E)	+Europa
102	IT	La Sinistra (LS)	Sinistra
103	LT	Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrats (TS-LKD)	Tėvynės sąjunga – Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai (TS- LKD)
104	LT	Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union (LVŽS)	Lietuvos valstiečių ir žaliųjų sąjunga (LVŽS)
105	LT	Social Democratic Party of Lithuania (LSDP)	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija (LSDP)
106	LT	Party Order and Justice (PTT)	Partija “Tvarka ir teisingumas” (TT)
107	LT	Labour Party (DP)	Darbo partija (DP)
108	LT	Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania – Christian Families Alliance (LLRA–KŠS)	Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija - Krikščioniškų šeimų sąjunga (LLRA)
109	LU	Christian Social People's Party (CSV)	Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei (CSV)
110	LU	Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP)	Lëtzebuenger Sozialistesche Aarbechterpartei (LSAP)
111	LU	Democratic Party (DP)	Demokratesch Partei (DP)
112	LU	The Greens	Déi Gréng
113	LU	Alternative Democratic Reform Party (ADR)	Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei (ADR)
114	LU	Pirate Party Luxembourg	Piratepartei (PPL)
115	LU	Déi Lénk	Déi Lénk (DL)
116	LV	Social Democratic Party 'Harmony'	“Saskaņa” sociāldemokrātiskā partija
117	LV	New Conservative Party (JKP)	Jaunā konservatīvā partija
118	LV	National Alliance (NA)	Nacionālā apvienība “Visu Latvijai!”- “Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK”
119	LV	Union of Greens and Farmers (ZZS)	Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība
120	LV	Unity (V)	Jaunā Vienotība
121	LV	Development/For! (AP!)	Attīstībai/Par!
122	LV	Who owns the state? (KPV)	Politiskā partija KPV LV
123	MT	Labour Party (PL)	Partit Laburista
124	MT	Nationalist Party (PN)	Partit Nazzjonalista
125	MT	Democratic Party (PD)	Partit Demokratiku
126	NL	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)	VVD
127	NL	Christian Union (CU)	Christen Unie-SGP
128	NL	Forum for Democracy (FvD)	Forum voor Democratie
129	NL	GreenLeft (GL)	GroenLinks
130	NL	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	CDA
131	NL	Labour Party (PvdA)	PvdA
132	NL	D66	D66
133	NL	Party for Freedom (PVV)	PVV
134	NL	Socialist Party (SP)	SP

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135	PL	Law and Justice (PiS)	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PIS)
136	PL	Civic Platform (PO)	Platforma Obywatelska (PO)
137	PL	Kukiz'15	Kukiz'15
138	PL	Spring (Wiosna)	Wiosna Roberta Biedronia
139	PL	Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)
140	PL	Polish People's Party (PSL)	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)
141	PT	Partido Socialista (PS)	Partido Socialista (PS)
142	PT	Partido Social Democrata (PPD/PSD)	Partido Social Democrata (PSD)
143	PT	Partido Popular (CDS-PP)	Centro Democrático e Social - Partido Popular (CDS-PP)
144	PT	Bloco de Esquerda (BE)	Bloco de Esquerda (BE)
145	PT	Partido Comunista Português (PCP)	Coligação Democrática Unitária (CDU)
146	RO	National Liberal Party (PNL)	Partidul Național Liberal (PNL)
147	RO	Social Democratic Party (PSD)	Partidul Social Democrat (PSD)
148	RO	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats (ALDE)	Partidul Alianța Liberalilor și Democraților (ALDE)
149	RO	PRO Romania	Partidul Pro România (PPR)
150	RO	Save Romania Union (USR)	Uniunea Salvați România (USR)
151	RO	Freedom, Unity and Solidarity Party (PLUS)	+PLUS
152	RO	Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ)	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România (UDMR)
153	RO	People's Movement Party (PMP)	Partidul Mișcarea Populară (PMP)
154	SE	Swedish Social Democratic Party (S)	Socialdemokraterna (S)
155	SE	Sweden Democrats (SD)	Sverigedemokraterna (SD)
156	SE	Moderate Party (M)	Moderaterna (M)
157	SE	Christian Democrats (KD)	Kristdemokraterna (KD)
158	SE	Green Party (MP)	Miljöpartiet de gröna (MP)
159	SE	Left Party (V)	Vänsterpartiet (VP)
160	SE	Centre Party (C)	Centerpartiet (C)
161	SI	List of Marjan Šarec (LMSŠ)	Lista Marjana Šarca (LMSŠ)
162	SI	Social Democrats (SD)	Socialni demokrati (SD)
163	SI	Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS)	Slovenska demokratska stranka in Slovenska ljudska stranka (SDS in SLS)
164	SI	New Slovenia – Christian Democrats (NSi)	Nova Slovenija - krščanski demokrati (NSi)
165	SI	The Left (Levica)	Levica
166	SI	Slovenian National Party (SNS)	Slovenska nacionalna stranka (SNS)
167	SI	Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia (DeSUS)	Demokratska stranka upokojencev Slovenije (DESUS)
168	SK	Direction – Social Democracy (SD)	Smer–sociálna demokracia (Smer-SD)

Going negative amidst better alternatives | **Fout! Gebruik het tabblad Start om Heading 1 toe te passen op de tekst die u hier wilt weergeven.**

169	SK	Progressive Slovakia (PS)	Progresívne Slovensko a SPOLU
170	SK	Freedom and Solidarity (SaS)	Sloboda a Solidarita (SaS)
171	SK	Kotleba – People's Party Our Slovakia	Ludová strana- Naše Slovensko (PSNS)
172	SK	We Are Family	Sme rodina
173	SK	Ordinary People (OĽaNO)	Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti (OĽaNO)
174	SK	Slovak National Party (SNS)	Slovenská národná strana (SNS)
175	SK	Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie (KDH)
176	SK	Most–Híd	Most–Híd
177	UK	Conservative Party	Conservative (Con)
178	UK	Labour Party	Labour Party (Lab)
179	UK	Liberal Democrats (Lib Dems)	Liberal Democrats (LD)
180	UK	Brexit Party	The Brexit Party
181	UK	UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
182	UK	Scottish National Party (SNP)	Scottish National Party (SNP)

Table 8. Expert sample profiles by country

Country	N	% female	% citizen	average L-R	average familiarity	average ease
Austria	14	0.15	0.92	3.08	8.14	3.71
Belgium	12	0.25	1.00	2.67	7.83	3.82
Bulgaria	19	0.53	0.89	5.11	7.67	6.33
Croatia	16	0.33	0.94	3.69	7.67	5.69
Cyprus	6	0.83	0.83	4.00	7.67	6.67
Czech Republic	10	0.10	1.00	5.60	6.70	4.50
Denmark	8	0.29	0.86	4.29	7.00	4.33
Estonia	8	0.13	1.00	5.38	7.38	3.75
Finland	9	0.00	0.89	3.38	8.44	4.33
France	10	0.40	1.00	3.20	7.89	5.10
Germany	47	0.23	1.00	3.95	6.89	4.63
Greece	11	0.27	0.91	4.18	9.09	5.82
Hungary	13	0.23	1.00	4.83	6.77	4.92
Ireland	7	0.43	0.86	4.57	8.43	5.17
Italy	20	0.25	0.90	3.11	8.37	5.80
Latvia	8	0.75	0.88	5.00	7.50	5.75
Lithuania	10	0.60	1.00	5.90	7.70	5.40
Malta	10	0.20	1.00	3.90	9.10	6.70
Netherlands	34	0.15	0.91	3.06	6.53	3.52
Poland	11	0.45	0.91	3.91	8.27	6.00
Portugal	20	0.35	0.89	3.60	7.25	5.60
Romania	11	0.40	1.00	5.60	8.10	6.10
Slovakia	7	0.14	0.71	4.86	6.29	5.14
Slovenia	5	0.20	1.00	4.00	6.80	6.80
Spain	10	0.30	0.80	5.00	7.80	5.30
Sweden	16	0.19	1.00	3.44	7.00	3.75
United Kingdom	27	0.20	0.58	3.54	8.15	4.68