

ONLINE APPENDIX

for

**The Paradox of Wellbeing: Do Unfavorable Socioeconomic and Sociocultural Contexts Deepen or Dampen Radical Left and Right Voting Among the Less Well-Off?**

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## Supporting Information A – Descriptive statistics

**Table A.1** Descriptive statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Radical right voting	101,404			0	1
Radical left voting	103,800			0	1
Economic wellbeing	179,118	3.08	0.83	1	4
Education	179,118	3.21	1.32	1	5
Unemployed	179,118			0	1
Age	179,118	48.40	17.29	18	123
Gender	179,118			0	1
Religiosity	179,118	4.58	2.98	0	10
Rural/urban	179,118			0	1
Left/right	179,118	5.09	2.14	0	10
Anti-immigration	179,118	4.79	2.05	0	10
Support for redistribution	179,118	3.80	1.06	1	5
Political trust	179,118	4.20	2.22	0	10
Satisfaction with government	179,118	4.29	2.40	0	10
Satisfaction with economy	179,118	4.66	2.49	0	10
Unemployment rate	179,118	7.79	3.50	2.25	21.39
Gini	179,118	27.97	3.61	22.09	36.33
Social welfare expenditure	179,118	23.86	3.85	15.41	31.95
Net migration	179,118	1.63	1.57	-3.05	6.83

## Supporting Information B – Radical voting versus voting for “others”

In the main analysis our dependent variables are voting for a radical left or right party versus voting for a mainstream party. In this section of our Online Appendix we assess to what extent different categorizations leads to different results.

In Table B.1 we have substituted the dichotomous dependent variable *radical right voting* (0 = mainstream party, 1 = radical right party) with a slightly moderated variable. In this analysis “0” does not refer to voting for a mainstream party, but to voting for *another* party. So, in the case of radical right voting, this might also include voting for a radical left, green, or, for instance, regionalist party. Generally, the results remain the same, but we see one important exception: the interaction between the unemployment rate and wellbeing is not significant anymore. The reason is most likely that in this alternative categorization, the differences between the two categories of parties are less clear-cut. Because the effect is still in the same direction and very close to statistical significance, and because the interaction effects of wellbeing with Gini and social welfare expenditure remain statistically significant, we conclude that the patterns we found in the main analysis generally still hold.

In Table B.2 we have replaced the dichotomous dependent variable *radical left voting* (0 = mainstream party, 1 = radical left party) with a dichotomous variable measuring radical left voting (1) versus voting for other parties (0). This does not lead to substantively different results.

**Table B.1** Radical right voting versus voting for “others” (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.839***	0.944*	0.942*	0.853***	0.526*	1.632**	0.913
Education (reference = less then lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.201*	1.318**	1.317**	1.315**	1.306**	1.328***	1.318**
Upper secondary	0.945	1.191*	1.190*	1.188*	1.178*	1.197*	1.191*
Post-secondary	0.830	1.107	1.103	1.104	1.095	1.107	1.104
Tertiary	0.326***	0.566***	0.565***	0.564***	0.560***	0.569***	0.565***
Unemployed	1.176	1.190	1.189	1.199	1.191	1.186	1.185

Age	0.990***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***
Gender	0.633***	0.643***	0.643***	0.642***	0.642***	0.643***	0.643***
Religiosity	0.954***	0.952***	0.953***	0.953***	0.953***	0.953***	0.953***
Rural/urban	0.877**	0.987	0.989	0.988	0.988	0.986	0.989
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		1.324***	1.325***	1.324***	1.325***	1.325***	1.325***
Anti-immigration		1.379***	1.378***	1.378***	1.378***	1.378***	1.378***
Support for redistribution		1.065***	1.065***	1.064**	1.064**	1.065***	1.065***
Political trust		0.842***	0.842***	0.842***	0.842***	0.842***	0.842***
Satisfaction with the government		0.945*	0.945*	0.945*	0.945*	0.946*	0.945*
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		0.992	0.991	0.991	0.992	0.991	0.991
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			0.974	0.933	0.974	0.977	0.972
Gini			0.917	0.916	0.857**	0.916	0.916
Social welfare expenditure			1.016	1.014	1.015	1.088	1.018
Net migration			1.623***	1.626***	1.621***	1.613***	1.522**
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.015			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.022*		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						0.978**	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.020
Constant	0.412***	0.016***	0.071	0.102	0.429	0.013*	0.077
Country-year variance	3.261***	5.830***	3.295***	3.323***	3.247***	3.279***	3.301***
N	76607	76607	76607	76607	76607	76607	76607

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table B.2** Radical left voting versus voting for “others” (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.703***	0.844***	0.844***	0.828**	0.901	0.765	0.786***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.240	1.221	1.216	1.215	1.219	1.217	1.210
Upper secondary	1.179	1.161	1.154	1.153	1.158	1.156	1.147
Post-secondary	1.178	1.164	1.159	1.158	1.162	1.161	1.154
Tertiary	1.466**	1.400**	1.394**	1.393**	1.398**	1.396**	1.386**
Unemployed	1.309***	1.196	1.199	1.202	1.198	1.199	1.203
Age	0.999	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**
Gender	1.204***	1.035	1.034	1.034	1.034	1.034	1.033
Religiosity	0.840***	0.907***	0.907***	0.907***	0.907***	0.907***	0.907***
Rural/urban	1.165***	1.107*	1.106*	1.106*	1.107*	1.107*	1.107*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		0.572***	0.572***	0.572***	0.572***	0.572***	0.572***
Anti-immigration		0.928***	0.927***	0.927***	0.927***	0.927***	0.927***
Support for redistribution		1.303***	1.303***	1.303***	1.303***	1.303***	1.302***
Political trust		0.955***	0.955***	0.955***	0.955***	0.955***	0.955***
Satisfaction with the government		0.896***	0.897***	0.897***	0.897***	0.897***	0.897***

Satisfaction with the present state of the economy	1.004	1.003	1.003	1.003	1.003	1.003	1.003
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate		0.917**	0.910*	0.918**	0.917**	0.917**	0.917**
Gini		0.991	0.990	0.997	0.991	0.991	0.991
Social welfare expenditure		1.005	1.005	1.005	0.993	1.006	
Net migration		0.946	0.946	0.946	0.947	0.827*	
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing			1.003				
Gini * Economic wellbeing				0.998			
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing					1.004		
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.045**
Constant	0.352***	2.103**	5.263	5.667	4.354	6.993	6.222
Country-year variance	1.428*	1.990***	1.758**	1.759**	1.757**	1.759**	1.770**
N	80847	80847	80847	80847	80847	80847	80847

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

## Supporting Information C – Two types of radical left parties

March (2011) makes a distinction between four categories of radical left parties. The first group consists of the traditional communist parties. At least to a certain extent, these parties hold on to traditional communism. This does not mean, however, that they endorse all aspects of the Soviet model; many of these parties have discarded at least some ‘Soviet elements’. The second group consists of democratic socialists. Ideologically they can be positioned somewhere between traditional communism on the one hand and modern social democracy on the other hand. These parties combine more traditional socioeconomic issues with ‘new politics’ issues such as the environment and multiculturalism. ‘Populist socialist parties’ form the third category. Their ideological core is highly similar to that of the democratic socialists, but they combine their democratic socialist outlook with a strong populist discourse. The fourth category consists of ‘social populist parties’. This is a more marginal group of parties with relatively weak organizations and incoherent ideologies. Because of the marginality of this fourth category and the similarities between the democratic socialist and populist socialist parties, we leave out this fourth category and distinguish between only two types of radical left parties: (1) more conservative communist parties (March’s first group); and (2) more progressive socialist parties (March’s second and third group). The first type more strictly holds on to the traditional communist agenda, focused on the defense of the working class against neo-liberal threats. The second type has incorporated a culturally liberal, progressive agenda, and thereby appeals to voter groups beyond the traditional lower class constituency – mainly the progressive higher educated (see also Gomez et al. 2016). To the extent that progressive socialist parties have become more common than conservative communist parties, we may see different results with respect to these different subgroups. See Table C.1 for an overview.

**Table C.1** Two types of radical left parties (odds ratios)

Country	Radical right party	Radical left party <i>Conservative</i>	<i>Progressive</i>
Austria	FPÖ, BZÖ		
Belgium	VB, FNb		
Czech Republic	KSCM		
Denmark	DF		EL, SF
Finland	PS		VAS
France	FN, MNR	PCF, LO, LCR	
Germany	Republikaner, NPD		Linke
Greece	LAOS	KKE	SYN
Hungary	Jobbik, MIÉP	MP	
Ireland			SF
Italy	LN, AN	PRC, Comunisti	
Netherlands	LPF, PVV		SP
Norway		Rodt	SV
Poland	LPR, KNP		

Portugal		PCP	BE
Slovenia	SNS, LIPA		
Slovakia	SNS	KSS	
Spain			IU
Sweden	SD		V
Switzerland	SVP		
United Kingdom	BNP, UKIP		

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The Tables C.2 and C.3 below consider alternative specifications of the radical left, taking account of the heterogeneity of the radical left party family. Consistent with our discussion above, we consider whether the results in our main analysis regarding voting for radical left parties apply to the two sub-families of the radical left: traditional radical left parties (1) relative to mainstream parties (0) in Table C.2; and progressive radical left parties (1) relative to mainstream parties(0) in Table C.3.

Table C.2 shows that there are some interesting differences between radical left voting in general and voting for more traditional radical left parties (compare with Table 3 in the main analysis). First, the positive effect of education has disappeared. When it comes to voting for traditional radical left parties, the effect of education is even negative instead of positive (but not statistically significant). Another striking difference is that men instead of women are more likely to vote for the traditional sub-family of the radical left. Similarly remarkable: the effect of the anti-immigration attitude is in the opposite direction, but not statistically significant. Also, the effect of the unemployment rate is not statistically significant anymore. Most importantly for the main argument in this paper: the interaction between net migration and wellbeing is not significant when it comes to voting for traditional radical left parties – although the effect is still in the same direction. We expect the reason to be that traditional radical left parties hold less multicultural positions vis-à-vis the immigration issue than progressive ones. An important consequence might be that someone who is less well-off, and faces high levels of immigration in his or her country, considers a vote for a traditional radical left party, which is not multiculturalist, less risky than a vote for a more progressive radical left party with multicultural stances. Another reason why the effect is not statistically significant might have to do with the lower  $n$  for the sample of traditional radical left parties.

Table C.3 shows the effects regarding voting for progressive radical left parties. The table shows that, most likely (and as expected), the positive effect of education in the main analysis is due to progressive radical left voting only. Because of the more progressive stances of these parties the higher educated feel attracted to these parties (see Hainmueller and Hiscox 2007; March 2011). Another interesting difference with the main analysis is that the main effect of the Gini coefficient is statistically significant when it comes to voting for progressive radical left parties: the less inequality, the more likely someone is to vote for a progressive radical left party. The interaction effects are the same as in the main analysis.



**Table C.2** Estimating traditional radical left voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.672***	0.831***	0.831***	0.816	0.540*	0.845	0.794***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.333	1.115	1.121	1.121	1.099	1.121	1.121
Upper secondary	1.016	0.885	0.893	0.893	0.875	0.893	0.894
Post-secondary	0.943	0.784	0.792	0.793	0.781	0.792	0.792
Tertiary	0.807	0.716	0.722	0.722	0.708	0.722	0.722
Unemployed	1.286	1.196	1.196	1.197	1.195	1.196	1.201
Age	1.006	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.998
Gender	0.872**	0.839**	0.841**	0.841**	0.840**	0.841**	0.839**
Religiosity	0.834***	0.909***	0.908***	0.908***	0.908***	0.908***	0.907***
Rural/urban	1.288**	1.281***	1.279***	1.279***	1.277***	1.279***	1.280***
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		0.554***	0.554***	0.554***	0.554***	0.554***	0.554***
Anti-immigration		1.025	1.026	1.026	1.026	1.026	1.025
Support for redistribution		1.102*	1.101*	1.101*	1.099*	1.101*	1.102*
Political trust		0.959*	0.959*	0.959*	0.959*	0.960*	0.959*
Satisfaction with the government		0.887***	0.886***	0.886***	0.886***	0.886***	0.886***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		1.004	1.006	1.006	1.007	1.006	1.006
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			1.068	1.062	1.064	1.068	1.068
Gini			1.061	1.061	1.018	1.061	1.062

Social welfare expenditure			0.944	0.944	0.947	0.947	0.946
Net migration			1.067	1.068	1.069	1.067	0.993
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.002			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.015		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						0.999	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.025
Constant	0.190***	1.383	0.460	0.489	1.550	0.439	0.499
Country-year variance	3.106**	3.245**	2.715*	2.708*	2.703*	2.715*	2.736*
N	30180	30180	30180	30180	30180	30180	30180

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table C.3** Estimating progressive radical left voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.701***	0.852***	0.850***	0.780***	0.745	1.018	0.785***
Education (reference = less then lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.533*	1.605**	1.589**	1.578**	1.580**	1.584**	1.575**
Upper secondary	1.573**	1.663**	1.643**	1.631**	1.632**	1.634**	1.623**
Post-secondary	1.533*	1.645**	1.627**	1.617**	1.616**	1.620**	1.613**

Tertiary	1.937***	2.070***	2.049***	2.036***	2.037***	2.039***	2.027***
Unemployed	1.350***	1.180*	1.183*	1.197*	1.186*	1.179*	1.181*
Age	0.995*	0.991***	0.991***	0.991***	0.991***	0.991***	0.991***
Gender	1.291***	1.061	1.059	1.058	1.059	1.059	1.058
Religiosity	0.837***	0.899***	0.899***	0.899***	0.899***	0.899***	0.900***
Rural/urban	1.095*	1.034	1.034	1.033	1.033	1.034	1.034

*Attitudinal variables*

Left/right		0.616***	0.616***	0.616***	0.616***	0.616***	0.616***
Anti-immigration		0.917***	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***
Support for redistribution		1.382***	1.384***	1.383***	1.383***	1.383***	1.381***
Political trust		0.929***	0.927***	0.927***	0.927***	0.927***	0.928***
Satisfaction with the government		0.886***	0.887***	0.886***	0.886***	0.887***	0.886***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		1.001	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999

*Aggregate-level variables*

Unemployment rate			0.925*	0.891*	0.925*	0.925*	0.927*
Gini			0.931*	0.931*	0.918*	0.932*	0.932*
Social welfare expenditure			0.991	0.990	0.991	1.015	0.992
Net migration			0.946	0.946	0.946	0.946	0.800*

*Interactions*

Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.013			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.005		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						0.993	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.054**

Constant	0.393***	1.706	30.368*	42.006**	45.572*	16.644*	38.544**
Country-year variance	1.286***	1.806***	1.424***	1.427***	1.421***	1.424***	1.424***
N	60216	60216	60216	60216	60216	60216	60216

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\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## Supporting Information D – Other measures of wellbeing

We consider here alternative specifications of economic hardship, including a more socio-tropic as opposed to individual-level measure of economic wellbeing (our baseline). First, we consider an alternative ordinal categorization of our baseline measure. Our baseline independent variable, economic wellbeing, is measured on an ordinal scale with four categories (asking how respondents feel about their household income on a scale with the following categories: “finding it very difficult on present income” [1], “finding it difficult on present income” [2], “coping on present income” [3] and “living comfortably on present income” [4]). In our main analysis we have modelled this item as a continuous variable. Because this might affect our results, we have also assessed the effects of this item as an ordinal variable with three categories (we collapsed the first two categories because the first category contains less than 5% of the respondents in the sample), and a dichotomous variable (combining the first two and the second two categories). Table D.1 presents the results for the analysis with the ordinal variable of economic wellbeing regarding radical right voting and Table D.2 looks at radical left voting. The results do not change substantively.

Second, what happens if we replace the original variable by a dichotomous variable, which distinguishes between “difficult on present income” (0) and “not difficult on present income” (1). In Table D.3 we assess radical right voting and in Table D.4 radical left voting. Regarding radical right voting, the most important difference between the main analysis (wellbeing as an ordinal variable) and our supplementary analysis (wellbeing as a dichotomous measure) is that the interaction effect between social welfare expenditure and wellbeing is not statistically significant anymore (see Model M7 in Table D.3). The effect is still in the same direction though. This difference with the main analysis is most likely due to the fact that a dichotomous measure of wellbeing is less precise than an ordinal one, and therefore misses various shades of grey. Regarding radical left voting, there are no substantive differences between the main analysis and the analysis with the dichotomous wellbeing measure (see Table D.4).

Third, Tables D.5 and D.6 consider the possibility that the patterns we explore might extend to an individual’s judgment of aggregate economic hardship. We do so by focusing on the possibility that “satisfaction with the economy” might have implications for RR and RL moderated by aggregate socioeconomic conditions in line with our baseline examination focused on economic wellbeing. Supplemental analysis (Tables D.3 and D.4) suggests that such satisfaction operates very much in line with the baseline results for individual economic wellbeing – but only for radical right voting. We see that satisfaction with the aggregate economy tends to diminish support for radical right parties, but that this effect is dampened by unfavorable macroeconomic conditions (high unemployment and inequality, and low GDP per capita). The patterns for radical left parties are more weakly echoed (e.g. net migration tends not to dampen how satisfaction with the economy lowers chances of voting radical left). Such results provide deeper support (extending to socio-tropic considerations) for H2 and H3 for radical right parties, while Table D.4 suggests that H2 and H4 do not apply to how socio-tropic economic satisfaction affect support for radical left parties.

**Table D.1** Ordinal measure of wellbeing (3 categories) and radical right voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing (reference = difficult)							
Coping	0.815***	1.021	1.020	0.792	0.221**	1.441	0.974
Living comfortably	0.628***	0.863*	0.859*	0.701**	0.232*	2.926**	0.732**
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.195*	1.314**	1.313**	1.314**	1.303**	1.325**	1.315**
Upper secondary	0.934	1.175	1.174	1.174	1.164	1.182*	1.178
Post-secondary	0.820	1.099	1.095	1.096	1.087	1.097	1.097
Tertiary	0.330***	0.565***	0.564***	0.564***	0.560***	0.568***	0.566***
Unemployed	1.221*	1.207	1.206	1.209	1.203	1.202	1.203
Age	0.989***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***
Gender	0.651***	0.645***	0.644***	0.644***	0.644***	0.645***	0.645***
Religiosity	0.943***	0.948***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***
Rural/urban	0.887**	0.991	0.992	0.991	0.991	0.990	0.992
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		1.288***	1.288***	1.288***	1.289***	1.289***	1.288***
Anti-immigration		1.373***	1.372***	1.373***	1.372***	1.372***	1.373***
Support for redistribution		1.079***	1.079***	1.079***	1.078***	1.079***	1.078***
Political trust		0.840***	0.840***	0.840***	0.840***	0.840***	0.840***
Satisfaction with the government		0.938**	0.938**	0.938**	0.938**	0.939**	0.938**
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		0.994	0.993	0.993	0.994	0.993	0.993

*Aggregate-level variables*

Unemployment rate	0.965	0.943	0.965	0.969	0.962
Gini	0.918	0.917	0.880*	0.917	0.917
Social welfare expenditure	1.020	1.018	1.019	1.043	1.022
Net migration	1.602***	1.603***	1.601***	1.591***	1.514***

*Interactions*

Unemployment rate * Coping			1.034*				
Unemployment rate * Living comfortably			1.027				
Gini * Coping				1.058**			
Gini * Living comfortably				1.050			
Social welfare expenditure * Coping					0.986		
Social welfare expenditure * Living comfortably					0.952**		
Net migration * Coping					1.035		
Net migration * Living comfortably					1.101		
Constant	0.361***	0.018***	0.080	0.099	0.254	0.046	0.084
Country-year variance	3.423***	6.113***	3.428***	3.451***	3.390***	3.406***	3.444***
N	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table D.2** Ordinal measure of wellbeing (3 categories) and radical left voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing (reference = difficult)							
Coping	0.674***	0.866***	0.866***	0.807	0.580*	0.798	0.809***
Living comfortably	0.434***	0.681***	0.680***	0.666**	0.946	0.556	0.579***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.261*	1.237	1.232	1.232	1.231	1.232	1.225
Upper secondary	1.166	1.157	1.149	1.149	1.150	1.151	1.141
Post-secondary	1.151	1.156	1.150	1.151	1.151	1.152	1.145
Tertiary	1.358*	1.365**	1.358*	1.358*	1.360*	1.360*	1.349*
Unemployed	1.397***	1.226*	1.229*	1.230*	1.227*	1.230*	1.231*
Age	0.999	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**
Gender	1.172***	1.014	1.013	1.013	1.014	1.013	1.012
Religiosity	0.837***	0.905***	0.906***	0.906***	0.906***	0.906***	0.906***
Rural/urban	1.154***	1.103*	1.103*	1.103*	1.102*	1.103*	1.103*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***
Anti-immigration		0.944***	0.943***	0.943***	0.943***	0.943***	0.943***
Support for redistribution		1.306***	1.307***	1.307***	1.306***	1.307***	1.305***
Political trust		0.943***	0.942***	0.942***	0.942***	0.942***	0.943***
Satisfaction with the government		0.894***	0.894***	0.894***	0.894***	0.894***	0.894***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		1.002	1.001	1.001	1.001	1.001	1.001
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							



Unemployment rate				0.909**	0.905**	0.910**	0.909**	0.909**
Gini				0.985	0.985	0.981	0.985	0.986
Social welfare expenditure				1.015	1.015	1.014	1.011	1.016
Net migration				0.954	0.955	0.954	0.955	0.906
<i>Interactions</i>								
Unemployment rate * Coping					1.009			
Unemployment rate * Living comfortably					1.002			
Gini * Coping						1.014		
Gini * Living comfortably						0.987		
Social welfare expenditure * Coping							1.003	
Social welfare expenditure * Living comfortably							1.008	
Net migration * Coping								1.045
Net migration * Living comfortably								1.104**
Constant	0.221***	1.595	3.920	4.083	4.429	4.294	4.294	4.065
Country-year variance	1.490**	2.123***	1.823**	1.823**	1.824**	1.824**	1.824**	1.834**
N	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table D.3** Dichotomous measure of wellbeing and radical right voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.742***	0.969	0.967	0.726**	0.199**	1.862	0.906
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.179	1.304**	1.303**	1.304**	1.292**	1.307**	1.303**
Upper secondary	0.911	1.159	1.157	1.158	1.146	1.160	1.157
Post-secondary	0.787	1.075	1.070	1.074	1.063	1.073	1.070
Tertiary	0.310***	0.548***	0.547***	0.547***	0.542***	0.548***	0.546***
Unemployed	1.246*	1.220*	1.219*	1.222*	1.216*	1.217*	1.219*
Age	0.988***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***
Gender	0.654***	0.644***	0.644***	0.643***	0.644***	0.643***	0.644***
Religiosity	0.944***	0.949***	0.950***	0.950***	0.950***	0.950***	0.950***
Rural/urban	0.889**	0.992	0.993	0.992	0.992	0.992	0.994
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		1.287***	1.287***	1.287***	1.287***	1.287***	1.287***
Anti-immigration		1.374***	1.373***	1.374***	1.373***	1.373***	1.373***
Support for redistribution		1.087***	1.087***	1.086***	1.086***	1.087***	1.087***
Political trust		0.840***	0.839***	0.840***	0.840***	0.840***	0.839***
Satisfaction with the government		0.938**	0.938**	0.938**	0.937**	0.938**	0.938**
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		0.990	0.990	0.990	0.990	0.989	0.989
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			0.967	0.941	0.967	0.969	0.966
Gini			0.918	0.918	0.877*	0.918	0.918

Social welfare expenditure			1.019	1.017	1.018	1.041	1.020
Net migration			1.594***	1.596***	1.593***	1.590***	1.532***
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.038*			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.060**		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						0.974	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.047
Constant	0.369***	0.018***	0.078	0.103	0.277	0.046	0.081
Country-year variance	3.276***	5.955***	3.402***	3.437***	3.356***	3.399***	3.404***
N	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table D.4** Dichotomous measure of wellbeing and radical left voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.588***	0.811***	0.811***	0.745*	0.561*	0.790	0.739***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.240	1.228	1.222	1.221	1.213	1.222	1.218
Upper secondary	1.128	1.140	1.132	1.131	1.123	1.132	1.128
Post-secondary	1.088	1.130	1.124	1.124	1.116	1.125	1.120
Tertiary	1.240	1.309*	1.302*	1.302*	1.292*	1.303*	1.297*
Unemployed	1.450***	1.248*	1.251*	1.255*	1.251*	1.251*	1.252*
Age	0.998	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**
Gender	1.184***	1.016	1.015	1.015	1.015	1.015	1.014
Religiosity	0.837***	0.906***	0.906***	0.906***	0.906***	0.906***	0.906***
Rural/urban	1.156***	1.105*	1.105*	1.105*	1.105*	1.105*	1.106*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***
Anti-immigration		0.945***	0.945***	0.945***	0.945***	0.945***	0.945***
Support for redistribution		1.314***	1.315***	1.315***	1.314***	1.315***	1.315***
Political trust		0.942***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***
Satisfaction with the government		0.894***	0.894***	0.894***	0.894***	0.894***	0.894***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		0.997	0.996	0.996	0.996	0.996	0.996
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			0.911**	0.904**	0.911**	0.911**	0.911**
Gini			0.986	0.985	0.977	0.986	0.986

Social welfare expenditure			1.012	1.012	1.013	1.011	1.013
Net migration			0.948	0.948	0.948	0.948	0.904
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.011			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.013		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						1.001	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.062*
Constant	0.228***	1.597	4.042	4.414	5.298	4.117	4.249
Country-year variance	1.457**	2.094***	1.808**	1.809**	1.814**	1.808**	1.814**
N	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table D.5** Satisfaction with the present state of the economy and radical right voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>					
Economic wellbeing	0.930*	0.929*	0.932*	0.931*	0.931*
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)					
Lower secondary	1.313**	1.315**	1.310**	1.313**	1.314**
Upper secondary	1.176	1.173	1.172	1.174	1.174
Post-secondary	1.09	1.089	1.085	1.086	1.088
Tertiary	0.561***	0.561***	0.560***	0.558***	0.560***
Unemployed	1.187	1.189	1.186	1.181	1.181
Age	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***
Gender	0.640***	0.639***	0.641***	0.643***	0.642***
Religiosity	0.950***	0.950***	0.949***	0.950***	0.950***
Rural/urban	0.991	0.991	0.992	0.991	0.991
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>					
Left/right	1.287***	1.288***	1.288***	1.288***	1.288***
Anti-immigration	1.372***	1.371***	1.372***	1.371***	1.372***
Support redistribution	1.082***	1.082***	1.082***	1.083***	1.082***
Political trust	0.839***	0.839***	0.840***	0.840***	0.840***
Satisfaction with the government	0.937**	0.936**	0.936**	0.940**	0.938**
Satisfaction with present state of economy	0.947**	1.160***	0.740**	1.147*	1.005
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>					
Unemployment rate	1.031	1.068	1.063	1.059	1.062

GDP	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Gini	0.907	0.908	0.863**	0.905	0.907
Social welfare expenditure	0.982	0.975	0.984	1.011	0.982
Net migration	1.2	1.231	1.193	1.2	1.246
<i>Interactions</i>					
Unemployment rate * Satisf.w/state of econom.	1.007**				
GDP * Satisf.w/economy		0.999***			
Gini * Satisf. w/economy			1.011**		
Social welf. Exp. * Satisf. w/economy				0.994**	
Net migration * Satisf. w/economy					0.993
Constant	0.032*	0.014**	0.093	0.015**	0.024*
Country-year level variance	2.859***	2.730***	2.811***	2.819***	2.827***
N	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table D.6** Satisfaction with the present state of the economy and radical left voting (odds ratios)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>					
Economic wellbeing	0.840***	0.840***	0.840***	0.840***	0.841***
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)					
Lower secondary	1.24	1.238	1.243	1.238	1.238
Upper secondary	1.16	1.16	1.164	1.159	1.16
Post-secondary	1.156	1.156	1.161	1.155	1.159
Tertiary	1.357*	1.359*	1.364*	1.359*	1.360*
Unemployed	1.192	1.197	1.196	1.196	1.196
Age	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**
Gender	1.013	1.012	1.014	1.012	1.011
Religiosity	0.905***	0.905***	0.905***	0.905***	0.905***
Rural/urban	1.105*	1.104*	1.103*	1.104*	1.103*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>					
Left/right	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***
Anti-immigration	0.943***	0.943***	0.943***	0.944***	0.943***
Support redistribution	1.307***	1.307***	1.307***	1.307***	1.306***
Political trust	0.943***	0.942***	0.943***	0.942***	0.942***
Satisfaction with the government	0.896***	0.895***	0.896***	0.895***	0.895***
Satisfaction with present state of economy	1.04	0.989	1.212**	1.03	0.984
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>					
Unemployment rate	0.949*	0.934**	0.934**	0.934**	0.936*



GDP	1.000**	1.000*	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**
Gini	1.017	1.016	1.042	1.015	1.016
Social welfare expenditure	0.993	0.992	0.99	0.996	0.992
Net migration	0.887***	0.888***	0.888***	0.888***	0.848***
<i>Interactions</i>					
Unemployment rate * Satisf.w/state of econom.	0.995				
GDP * Satisf.w/economy		1			
Gini * Satisf. w/economy			0.993**		
Social welf. Exp. * Satisf. w/economy				0.999	
Net migration * Satisf. w/economy					1.011
Constant	0.936	1.167	0.569	1.009	1.17
Country-year level variance	1.670***	1.672***	1.658***	1.672***	1.688***
N	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

## Supporting Information E – Inclusion of other IV’s

Two variables, which might exert an effect on both radical right and radical left voting – class and support for the EU – have not been included in the main analysis, because including them leads to a strong reduction in sample size. However, to assess if these variables affect our main results we include them in this section of the Online Appendix.

Our measurement of class is based on the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) classification scheme (Erikson et al. 1979), which has led to a variable with 6 categories: (1) semi- and unskilled manual workers and agricultural laborers; (2) manual supervisors and skilled manual workers; (3) small self-employed and farmers; (4) routine non-manual workers; (5) lower level professionals and managers; (6) higher level professionals, managers and entrepreneurs. Table E.1 shows the results regarding radical right voting and Table E.2 presents the findings vis-à-vis radical left voting. In general, the findings remain the same when it comes to radical left voting. However, there is one important difference regarding radical right voting: the interaction effect between net migration and economic wellbeing is now statistically significant, which was not the case in the main analysis (Table E.1 Model M7). This means that if we control for class, the negative effect of wellbeing is only significant when net migration is low. This is consistent with our expectations and is only a minor difference with the main analysis, where the effect is in the same direction.

**Table E.1** Inclusion of class for radical right voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.852***	0.962	0.959	0.861**	0.478**	1.668**	0.880**
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.256**	1.369***	1.368***	1.366***	1.352***	1.381***	1.370***
Upper secondary	1.045	1.275**	1.274**	1.272**	1.257**	1.283**	1.277**
Post-secondary	0.994	1.268	1.262	1.265	1.247	1.268	1.264
Tertiary	0.476***	0.746*	0.745*	0.744*	0.735**	0.752*	0.747*

<i>Class (reference = unskilled and farm)</i>							
Manual supervisor	1.070	1.060	1.059	1.059	1.060	1.061	1.060
Self-employed	0.838*	0.757***	0.759***	0.756***	0.759***	0.757***	0.761***
Routine non-manual	0.781***	0.855**	0.855**	0.854**	0.855**	0.855**	0.856**
Lower controllers	0.632***	0.703***	0.704***	0.704***	0.704***	0.704***	0.705***
Higher controllers	0.485***	0.544***	0.545***	0.544***	0.545***	0.544***	0.545***
Unemployed	1.265*	1.319**	1.317**	1.330**	1.323**	1.311**	1.308**
Age	0.989***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***
Gender	0.675***	0.651***	0.650***	0.650***	0.650***	0.650***	0.650***
Religiosity	0.944***	0.946***	0.947***	0.947***	0.947***	0.947***	0.947***
Rural/urban	0.928	1.008	1.010	1.009	1.010	1.008	1.011
 <i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		1.308***	1.308***	1.308***	1.308***	1.308***	1.308***
Anti-immigration		1.363***	1.362***	1.362***	1.362***	1.361***	1.362***
Support for redistribution		1.075***	1.075***	1.074***	1.074***	1.075***	1.075***
Political trust		0.844***	0.843***	0.844***	0.844***	0.843***	0.843***
Satisfaction with the government		0.951*	0.951*	0.951*	0.950*	0.952*	0.951*
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		0.995	0.994	0.994	0.994	0.994	0.994
 <i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			0.960	0.916	0.961	0.963	0.956
Gini			0.929	0.928	0.857**	0.928	0.929
Social welfare expenditure			1.023	1.020	1.022	1.097*	1.026
Net migration			1.591***	1.594***	1.589***	1.582***	1.322*
 <i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.017*			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.027**		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						0.978**	

Net migration * Economic wellbeing								1.058*
Constant	0.450***	0.017***	0.054	0.081	0.469	0.010*	0.068	
Country-year variance	3.587***	6.119***	3.526***	3.562***	3.460***	3.508***	3.543***	
N	56722	56722	56722	56722	56722	56722	56722	

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table E.2** Inclusion of class for radical left voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.702***	0.837***	0.837***	0.786***	0.758	0.820	0.759***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.228	1.203	1.196	1.192	1.190	1.196	1.186
Upper secondary	1.225	1.210	1.200	1.196	1.194	1.200	1.187
Post-secondary	1.230	1.198	1.191	1.187	1.185	1.191	1.184
Tertiary	1.633***	1.533***	1.522**	1.518**	1.514**	1.523**	1.507**
Class (reference = unskilled and farm)							
Manual supervisor	0.900*	0.894	0.895	0.895	0.895	0.895	0.894
Self-employed	0.521***	0.753***	0.756***	0.757***	0.756***	0.756***	0.755***
Routine non-manual	0.786***	0.843**	0.843**	0.844**	0.843**	0.843**	0.843**
Lower controllers	0.728***	0.806***	0.807***	0.807***	0.807***	0.807***	0.808***
Higher controllers	0.603***	0.784***	0.785***	0.786***	0.786***	0.785***	0.786***

Unemployed	1.273**	1.185	1.189	1.200*	1.192	1.190	1.193
Age	1.000	0.993*	0.993**	0.993*	0.993*	0.993*	0.993**
Gender	1.200***	1.075	1.073	1.073	1.073	1.073	1.071
Religiosity	0.834***	0.901***	0.901***	0.901***	0.901***	0.901***	0.901***
Rural/urban	1.141***	1.087*	1.087*	1.086*	1.086*	1.087*	1.087*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		0.568***	0.568***	0.568***	0.568***	0.568***	0.568***
Anti-immigration		0.939***	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***
Support for redistribution		1.300***	1.301***	1.301***	1.301***	1.301***	1.299***
Political trust		0.947***	0.947***	0.947***	0.947***	0.947***	0.947***
Satisfaction with the government		0.891***	0.891***	0.891***	0.891***	0.891***	0.891***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		1.009	1.007	1.007	1.007	1.007	1.008
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			0.921**	0.898*	0.920**	0.921**	0.921**
Gini			0.982	0.981	0.972	0.982	0.983
Social welfare expenditure			1.004	1.003	1.004	1.001	1.006
Net migration			0.941	0.941	0.941	0.941	0.779**
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.009			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.004		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						1.001	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.063***
Constant	0.493***	2.713***	8.729*	11.101*	11.654*	9.279	10.932*
Country-year variance	1.452**	2.033***	1.787***	1.791***	1.791***	1.788***	1.802***
N	61788	61788	61788	61788	61788	61788	61788

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

Our measurement of support for the EU is a variable based on the question “European unification should go further or has gone too far,” where responses range from 0-10 (0 = “European unification has already gone too far” through to 10 = “European unification should go further”). The results of including this variable in our analysis are presented in the Tables E.3 and E.4. The effect of this variable is strongly significant for both radical right and radical left voting. Our main findings do not change regarding radical left voting, but there is an interesting difference with our main analysis when it comes to radical right voting: the effect of the interaction between the Gini coefficient and wellbeing is not statistically significant anymore. However, because the effect is still in the same direction and the interactions with unemployment and social welfare expenditure remain unaltered, we conclude that this alternative result does not challenge our main conclusions.

**Table E.3** Inclusion of support for the EU for radical right voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.808***	0.937	0.936	0.803***	0.564	1.683*	0.868*
Education (reference = less then lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.138	1.203	1.203	1.200	1.192	1.214	1.206
Upper secondary	0.928	1.108	1.107	1.105	1.098	1.115	1.111
Post-secondary	0.716*	0.902	0.898	0.900	0.892	0.903	0.900
Tertiary	0.316***	0.527***	0.526***	0.525***	0.522***	0.531***	0.528***
Unemployed	1.218	1.249	1.247	1.260	1.246	1.246	1.237
Age	0.989***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***
Gender	0.642***	0.644***	0.644***	0.643***	0.644***	0.644***	0.644***

Religiosity	0.943***	0.950***	0.951***	0.951***	0.951***	0.951***	0.951***
Rural/urban	0.851**	0.961	0.963	0.962	0.963	0.960	0.963
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		1.276***	1.277***	1.277***	1.277***	1.277***	1.277***
Anti-immigration		1.315***	1.314***	1.315***	1.314***	1.314***	1.315***
Support for redistribution		1.088***	1.087***	1.087***	1.087***	1.087***	1.087***
Political trust		0.855***	0.855***	0.855***	0.855***	0.855***	0.855***
Satisfaction with the government		0.936*	0.936**	0.936*	0.936**	0.937*	0.936**
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		1.009	1.009	1.008	1.009	1.008	1.009
Support for EU		0.892***	0.892***	0.892***	0.892***	0.893***	0.892***
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			1.017	0.955	1.018	1.022	1.015
Gini			0.891*	0.890*	0.841**	0.891*	0.891*
Social welfare expenditure			1.024	1.021	1.023	1.101	1.027
Net migration			1.718***	1.724***	1.714***	1.703***	1.496*
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.022*			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.019		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						0.977**	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.043
Constant	0.601	0.046***	0.235	0.410	1.150	0.039	0.289
Country-year variance	3.431***	5.623***	2.959***	2.997***	2.931***	2.952***	2.972***
N	50035	50035	50035	50035	50035	50035	50035

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table E.4** Inclusion of support for the EU for radical left voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.675***	0.824***	0.824***	0.818**	0.906	0.766	0.775***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.251	1.228	1.224	1.224	1.229	1.225	1.219
Upper secondary	1.098	1.087	1.082	1.081	1.086	1.083	1.075
Post-secondary	1.118	1.166	1.162	1.161	1.166	1.163	1.154
Tertiary	1.285	1.322*	1.317*	1.317*	1.322*	1.318*	1.309*
Unemployed	1.381***	1.191	1.193	1.194	1.191	1.193	1.194
Age	0.999	0.993*	0.993*	0.993*	0.993*	0.993*	0.993*
Gender	1.146**	0.972	0.971	0.971	0.971	0.971	0.970
Religiosity	0.846***	0.916***	0.916***	0.916***	0.916***	0.916***	0.916***
Rural/urban	1.127*	1.085	1.084	1.084	1.085	1.084	1.084
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		0.595***	0.595***	0.595***	0.595***	0.595***	0.595***
Anti-immigration		0.920***	0.920***	0.920***	0.920***	0.920***	0.920***
Support for redistribution		1.334***	1.335***	1.335***	1.335***	1.335***	1.333***
Political trust		0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***
Satisfaction with the government		0.904***	0.904***	0.904***	0.904***	0.904***	0.904***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		1.003	1.002	1.002	1.002	1.002	1.002
Support for EU		0.935***	0.935***	0.935***	0.935***	0.935***	0.935***



*Aggregate-level variables*

Unemployment rate	0.904*	0.902*	0.904*	0.904**	0.904*
Gini	1.005	1.005	1.016	1.006	1.006
Social welfare expenditure	1.013	1.012	1.012	1.003	1.014
Net migration	0.923	0.923	0.923	0.924	0.820*

*Interactions*

Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.001			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					0.997		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						1.003	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.040*

Constant	0.492**	3.078***	4.978	5.115	3.769	6.154	5.687
Country-year variance	1.498*	2.099**	1.807*	1.807*	1.805*	1.808*	1.818*
N	52796	52796	52796	52796	52796	52796	52796

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

## Supporting Information F – Country- and year-fixed effects

We are interested in the effects of variables that are measured at the individual level and the country-year level. Therefore, we estimated multilevel regression models in which individuals (level 1) are nested in country-years (level 2). It might also be the case, however, that voting for radical parties is affected by country-level or year-level (i.e., wave-level) variables. To take this into account we have included country and year dummies in the Tables F.1 (for radical right voting) and F.2 (for radical left voting). The tables show that including these dummies does not change the results.

**Table F.1** Country- and year-fixed effects for radical right voting (effects of country and year dummies not displayed) (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.808***	0.929*	0.929*	0.823***	0.528*	1.625**	0.888*
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.197*	1.313**	1.315**	1.312**	1.304**	1.326**	1.316**
Upper secondary	0.942	1.181	1.180	1.178	1.170	1.187*	1.183*
Post-secondary	0.826	1.097	1.098	1.099	1.089	1.101	1.099
Tertiary	0.330***	0.563***	0.563***	0.562***	0.558***	0.567***	0.564***
Unemployed	1.193	1.180	1.178	1.190	1.180	1.176	1.173
Age	0.989***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***	0.986***
Gender	0.650***	0.643***	0.643***	0.642***	0.642***	0.642***	0.643***
Religiosity	0.943***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***
Rural/urban	0.889**	0.992	0.992	0.991	0.991	0.989	0.992
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							

Left/right	1.288***	1.288***	1.288***	1.288***	1.288***	1.288***	
Anti-immigration	1.372***	1.372***	1.373***	1.372***	1.372***	1.372***	
Support for redistribution	1.084***	1.084***	1.084***	1.084***	1.084***	1.084***	
Political trust	0.839***	0.839***	0.839***	0.839***	0.839***	0.839***	
Satisfaction with the government	0.938**	0.938**	0.939**	0.938**	0.939**	0.938**	
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy	0.992	0.992	0.991	0.992	0.992	0.992	
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate		1.153*	1.098	1.152*	1.154*	1.151*	
Gini		0.923	0.920	0.861	0.928	0.924	
Social welfare expenditure		0.979	0.976	0.978	1.049	0.980	
Net migration		0.931	0.935	0.935	0.930	0.851	
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing			1.018*				
Gini * Economic wellbeing				1.022*			
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing					0.978**		
Net migration * Economic wellbeing						1.028	
Constant	0.680	0.028***	0.232	0.388	1.493	0.037	0.255
Country-year variance	1.395***	1.485***	1.421***	1.429***	1.421***	1.419***	1.423***
N	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table F.2** Country- and year-fixed effects for radical left voting (effects of country and dummies not displayed) (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.687***	0.839***	0.839***	0.798***	0.790	0.779	0.780***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)							
Lower secondary	1.287*	1.246	1.245	1.242	1.241	1.245	1.238
Upper secondary	1.196	1.169	1.167	1.164	1.164	1.169	1.160
Post-secondary	1.181	1.170	1.170	1.168	1.167	1.172	1.165
Tertiary	1.378*	1.369**	1.367*	1.365*	1.363*	1.369*	1.359*
Unemployed	1.333***	1.190	1.188	1.195	1.189	1.188	1.193
Age	0.998	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**
Gender	1.169***	1.011	1.012	1.011	1.012	1.011	1.010
Religiosity	0.836***	0.904***	0.904***	0.904***	0.904***	0.904***	0.904***
Rural/urban	1.153***	1.101*	1.102*	1.101*	1.101*	1.102*	1.102*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right		0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***	0.578***
Anti-immigration		0.943***	0.944***	0.944***	0.944***	0.944***	0.943***
Support for redistribution		1.308***	1.310***	1.309***	1.310***	1.310***	1.308***
Political trust		0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***	0.941***
Satisfaction with the government		0.898***	0.899***	0.899***	0.899***	0.899***	0.899***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy		0.998	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate			0.967	0.948	0.967	0.967	0.967

Gini			1.100***	1.099***	1.092**	1.100***	1.101***
Social welfare expenditure			1.067**	1.067**	1.067**	1.056	1.073**
Net migration			0.918**	0.918**	0.918**	0.918**	0.802***
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing				1.007			
Gini * Economic wellbeing					1.002		
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing						1.003	
Net migration * Economic wellbeing							1.046**
Constant	0.397***	2.469**	0.096**	0.114**	0.116*	0.121*	0.105**
Country-year variance	1.065***	1.074***	1.049***	1.049***	1.049***	1.049***	1.050***
N	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

## Supporting Information G – Inclusion of other macro variables

Other macro variables might well exert an effect on radical left and radical right voting. In this section we include the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), GDP growth (annual) and the At-risk-of-poverty rate (the share of people with an income below the threshold of 60% of the national median). The data come from the OECD and Eurostat databases. We expected these variables to have similar effects as the unemployment rate and the Gini coefficient because they measure the (un)favorability of economic circumstances. Table G.1 and Table G.2 show that this is indeed the case. Regarding radical right voting, the interactions of wellbeing with GDP and the At-risk-of-poverty rate turn out to be significant and in the expected direction (the interaction of GDP with wellbeing is 0.9999913 and thus negative). GDP growth is in the same direction as well, but not statistically significant. Although including these three macro variables renders the effect of the Gini coefficient insignificant, the general picture remains the same: the negative effect of an individual's wellbeing on his or her likelihood to vote for a radical right compared to a mainstream party is more pronounced if the economic circumstances are unfavorable. When it comes to radical left voting, the interactions between wellbeing and GDP, GDP growth and the At-risk-of-poverty rate are not statistically significant – just like the interaction between wellbeing and the unemployment rate. This confirms our main findings as well.

**Table G.1** Inclusion of (interactions with) GDP, GDP growth and At-risk-of-poverty rate for radical right voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.796***	0.645	1.755**	0.886*	1.314*	0.910*	0.473***
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Lower secondary	1.183	1.181	1.201	1.190	1.187	1.189	1.184
Upper secondary	1.097	1.095	1.109	1.104	1.094	1.101	1.089
Post-secondary	1.012	1.007	1.017	1.014	1.012	1.012	1.011
Tertiary	0.514***	0.513***	0.521***	0.518***	0.514***	0.516***	0.512***
Unemployed	1.195	1.182	1.183	1.178	1.201	1.182	1.203
Age	0.985***	0.985***	0.985***	0.985***	0.985***	0.985***	0.985***
Gender	0.624***	0.624***	0.625***	0.625***	0.623***	0.624***	0.623***

Religiosity	0.951***	0.951***	0.952***	0.951***	0.951***	0.951***	0.951***
Rural/urban	0.961	0.962	0.959	0.963	0.960	0.962	0.958
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right	1.267***	1.268***	1.267***	1.267***	1.268***	1.267***	1.268***
Anti-immigration	1.385***	1.385***	1.385***	1.385***	1.385***	1.385***	1.386***
Support for redistribution	1.099***	1.100***	1.100***	1.099***	1.099***	1.100***	1.097***
Political trust	0.838***	0.838***	0.839***	0.838***	0.839***	0.838***	0.838***
Satisfaction with the government	0.923**	0.922***	0.923**	0.922***	0.923**	0.922**	0.924**
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy	0.999	1.000	0.999	0.999	0.998	0.999	0.999
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate	1.076	1.149	1.155	1.148	1.153	1.151	1.144
Gini	0.895	0.860*	0.896*	0.897*	0.896	0.896*	0.892*
Social welfare expenditure	0.976	0.980	1.059	0.982	0.975	0.980	0.977
Net migration	1.186	1.186	1.182	1.086	1.193	1.189	1.185
GDP	1.000***	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	1.000***	1.000**	1.000***
GDP growth	1.028	1.027	1.028	1.029	1.027	1.005	1.026
At-risk-of-poverty rate	0.927	0.926	0.925	0.924	0.930	0.925	0.843***
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing	1.023*						
Gini * Economic wellbeing		1.014					
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing			0.975***				
Net migration * Economic wellbeing				1.029			
GDP * Economic wellbeing					1.000***		
GDP growth * Economic wellbeing						1.007	
At-risk-of-poverty rate * Economic wellbeing							1.036***
Constant	0.209	0.373	0.018**	0.142	0.042*	0.134	0.944

Country-year variance	2.356***	2.314***	2.333***	2.331***	2.325***	2.328***	2.353***
N	57296	57296	57296	57296	57296	57296	57296

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table G.2** Inclusion of (interactions with) GDP, GDP growth and At-risk-of-poverty rate for radical left voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>							
Economic wellbeing	0.804***	0.765	0.795	0.782***	0.945	0.861***	0.810
Education (reference = less than lower secondary)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Lower secondary	1.225	1.224	1.229	1.228	1.223	1.230	1.225
Upper secondary	1.079	1.077	1.083	1.080	1.077	1.084	1.079
Post-secondary	1.094	1.093	1.098	1.097	1.092	1.098	1.094
Tertiary	1.279	1.277	1.283	1.281	1.277	1.284	1.279
Unemployed	1.227	1.221	1.219	1.226	1.221	1.221	1.221
Age	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**	0.992**
Gender	0.966	0.966	0.966	0.964	0.967	0.966	0.966
Religiosity	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***	0.917***
Rural/urban	1.106*	1.105*	1.106*	1.106*	1.105*	1.106*	1.105*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>							
Left/right	0.586***	0.586***	0.586***	0.585***	0.586***	0.586***	0.586***
Anti-immigration	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***	0.948***	0.949***	0.949***	0.949***



Support for redistribution	1.298***	1.298***	1.299***	1.297***	1.298***	1.299***	1.298***
Political trust	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***	0.939***
Satisfaction with the government	0.892***	0.892***	0.893***	0.893***	0.892***	0.893***	0.892***
Satisfaction with the present state of the economy	0.999	0.999	0.998	0.999	0.999	0.998	0.998
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>							
Unemployment rate	0.913*	0.931*	0.931*	0.934	0.931*	0.932*	0.931*
Gini	1.040	1.030	1.041	1.041	1.041	1.042	1.040
Social welfare expenditure	0.978	0.979	0.971	0.979	0.977	0.978	0.979
Net migration	0.867***	0.867***	0.867***	0.751***	0.867***	0.867***	0.867***
GDP	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
GDP growth	0.982	0.982	0.982	0.982	0.981	1.001	0.982
At-risk-of-poverty rate	0.981	0.980	0.980	0.978	0.980	0.979	0.975
<i>Interactions</i>							
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing	1.007						
Gini * Economic wellbeing		1.004					
Social welfare expenditure * Economic wellbeing			1.003				
Net migration * Economic wellbeing				1.048**			
GDP * Economic wellbeing					1.000		
GDP growth * Economic wellbeing						0.994	
At-risk-of-poverty rate * Economic wellbeing							1.002
Constant	1.837	2.107	1.881	2.076	1.167	1.448	1.787
Country-year variance	1.533**	1.534**	1.531**	1.545**	1.526**	1.532**	1.532**
N	57283	57283	57283	57283	57283	57283	57283

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

## Supporting Information H – Focusing on within variation with fixed-effects and change specifications

One possibility of how macro-level socioeconomic conditions affect radical vote choice is not in terms of developments with respect to the level of a given set of conditions, but instead over-time changes in such conditions. In the baseline models, over time developments are of course captured by the differences in conditions obtaining across the seven waves of the ESS survey (between 2002 and 2014). But other specifications can do more to focus on over-time dynamics within a country. We consider here two approaches. Tables H1 and H2 add country dummies to the baseline specification, yielding models that put the emphasis on the within country variation by controlling away country specific conditions beyond the other country-year substantive controls. Such specifications corroborate the results of our baseline models. A second approach focuses on the possibility that voters focused on actual changes in conditions in a given year. To explore this possibility, our specification, captured in Tables H3 and H4, focuses on year-on-year differences in the aggregate variables. Here we do not generally get significant results, except for the role of Social Welfare Expenditure, which performs in line with the baseline models. The other macro-conditions are no longer significant. We take this to mean that if one puts the emphasis on the over-time dynamics, washing away the between-country variation as much as possible, then we see substantively and significantly less support for our “dampening” hypotheses.

**Table H.1** Including country fixed effects to focus on within-variation and effects on radical right voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>					
	0.824**				
Economic wellbeing	*	1.292**	0.526*	1.624**	0.889*
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)	1	1	1	1	1
Lower secondary	1.312**	1.315**	1.303**	1.326**	1.316**
Upper secondary	1.178	1.175	1.17	1.187*	1.183*
Post-secondary	1.099	1.098	1.089	1.101	1.098
Tertiary	0.562**	0.562**	0.558**	0.567**	0.564**
	*	*	*	*	*

Unemployed	1.19 0.986**	1.195 0.986**	1.18 0.986**	1.176 0.986**	1.173 0.986**
Age	*	*	*	*	*
Gender	0.642** *	0.641** *	0.642** *	0.642** *	0.643** *
Religiosity	0.949** *	0.949** *	0.949** *	0.949** *	0.949** *
Rural/urban	0.99	0.989	0.991	0.989	0.992
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>					
Left/right	1.288** *	1.289** *	1.288** *	1.288** *	1.288** *
Anti-immigration	1.373** *	1.372** *	1.372** *	1.372** *	1.372** *
Support for redistribution	1.084** *	1.083** *	1.084** *	1.084** *	1.084** *
Political trust	0.839** *	0.840** *	0.839** *	0.839** *	0.839** *
Satisfaction with government	0.939**	0.939**	0.938**	0.939**	0.938**
Satisfaction with present state of economy	0.991	0.991	0.992	0.991	0.992
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>					
Unemp. Rate	1.062	1.123**	1.115*	1.117*	1.115*
Gini	0.933	0.937 1.000**	0.874	0.942	0.938
GDP	1.000*	*	1.000*	1.000*	1.000*
Social welfare expenditure	1.036	1.034	1.038	1.113	1.039
Net migration	0.93	0.933	0.931	0.927	0.849

<i>Interactions</i>					
Unemp.Rate * Economic wellbeing	1.018*				
		0.999**			
GDP * Economic wellbeing		*			
Gini * Economic wellbeing			1.022*		
Soc.Welf.Exp. * Economic wellbeing				0.978**	
Net Migration * Economic wellbeing					1.028
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	0.021	0.005*	0.08	0.002*	0.014
	1.445**	1.433**	1.436**	1.434**	1.438**
Country-year variance	*	*	*	*	*
N	70816	70816	70816	70816	70816

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table H.2** Including country fixed effects to focus on within variation and effects on radical left voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>					
Economic wellbeing	0.798**				0.780**
	*	0.892	0.793	0.777	*
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)	1	1	1	1	1

Lower secondary	1.242	1.241	1.242	1.246	1.239
Upper secondary	1.165	1.164	1.165	1.17	1.161
Post-secondary	1.166	1.165	1.165	1.17	1.164
Tertiary	1.365*	1.364*	1.364*	1.369**	1.360*
Unemployed	1.196	1.19	1.19	1.189	1.193
Age	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**	0.993**
Gender	1.011	1.012	1.011	1.011	1.01
Religiosity	0.904**	0.904**	0.904**	0.904**	0.904**
Rural/urban	*	*	*	*	*
	1.102*	1.102*	1.102*	1.102*	1.102*
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>					
Left/right	0.578**	0.578**	0.578**	0.578**	0.578**
	*	*	*	*	*
Anti-immigration	0.944**	0.943**	0.944**	0.944**	0.943**
	*	*	*	*	*
Support for redistribution	1.309**	1.309**	1.309**	1.309**	1.308**
	*	*	*	*	*
Political trust	0.942**	0.942**	0.941**	0.941**	0.942**
	*	*	*	*	*
Satisfaction with government	0.899**	0.899**	0.899**	0.899**	0.899**
Satisfaction with present state of economy	*	*	*	*	*
	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.999
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>					
Unemp. Rate	0.95	0.969	0.968	0.968	0.969
		1.102**		1.100**	1.101**
Gini	1.099**	*	1.093**	*	*
GDP	1	1	1	1	1

Social welfare expenditure	1.034 0.910**	1.034 0.910**	1.034 0.910**	1.024 0.910**	1.038 0.796**
Net migration	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Interactions</i>					
Unemp.Rate * Economic wellbeing	1.007				
GDP * Economic wellbeing		1			
Gini * Economic wellbeing			1.002		
Soc.Welf.Exp. * Economic wellbeing				1.003	
Net Migration * Economic wellbeing					1.046**
Constant	0.225* 1.053**	0.155* 1.053**	0.227 1.053**	0.24 1.052**	0.226* 1.053**
Country-level variance	*	*	*	*	*
N	76661	76661	76661	76661	76661

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table H.3** Specifications focusing on changes in socioeconomic conditions and effects on radical right voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>					
Economic wellbeing	0.938	0.932	0.965	0.955	0.927

Education (reference=less than lower secondary)					
Lower secondary	1.283**	1.286**	1.286**	1.281**	1.284**
Upper secondary	1.188	1.19	1.189	1.185	1.188
Post-secondary	1.09	1.09	1.085	1.085	1.088
Tertiary	0.563**	0.564**	0.564**	0.562**	0.563**
Unemployed	*	*	*	*	*
	1.176	1.178	1.175	1.178	1.175
	0.986**	0.985**	0.985**	0.985**	0.985**
Age	*	*	*	*	*
	0.629**	0.628**	0.629**	0.628**	0.629**
Gender	*	*	*	*	*
	0.953**	0.953**	0.953**	0.953**	0.953**
Religiosity	*	*	*	*	*
Rural/urban	0.974	0.975	0.975	0.975	0.975
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>					
	1.269**	1.269**	1.269**	1.269**	1.269**
Left/right	*	*	*	*	*
	1.362**	1.362**	1.362**	1.362**	1.362**
Anti-immigration	*	*	*	*	*
Support for redistribution	1.106**	1.107**	1.107**	1.106**	1.107**
	0.847**	0.847**	0.847**	0.847**	0.847**
Political trust	*	*	*	*	*
Satisfaction with government	0.939*	0.940*	0.939*	0.939*	0.939*
Satisfaction with present state of economy	0.992	0.992	0.992	0.992	0.992
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>					
Δ Unemp. Rate	3.005**	1.982*	1.983*	1.987*	1.973*

	*				
Δ Gini	0.444*	0.82	0.439*	0.438*	0.438*
Δ GDP	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Δ Social welfare expenditure	1.153	1.139	1.727	1.134	1.138
Δ Net migration	0.998	0.995	0.986	1.005	0.891
<i>Interactions</i>					
Δ Unemp.Rate * Economic wellbeing	0.870				
Δ Gini * Economic wellbeing		0.824			
Δ Soc.Welf.Exp. * Economic wellbeing			0.874*		
Δ GDP * Economic wellbeing				0.999	
Δ Net Migration * Economic wellbeing					1.034
	0.020**	0.021**	0.019**	0.019**	0.021**
Constant	*	*	*	*	*
	4.505**	4.452**	4.504**	4.486**	4.484**
Country-level variance	*	*	*	*	*
N	61900	61900	61900	61900	61900

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001



**Table H.4** Specifications focusing on changes in socioeconomic conditions and effects on radical left voting (odds ratios reported)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Economic wellbeing	0.838** *	0.843** *	0.822** *	0.802** *	0.840** *
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)					
Lower secondary	1.284	1.281	1.282	1.288	1.287
Upper secondary	1.143	1.142	1.14	1.147	1.146
Post-secondary	1.145	1.148	1.146	1.146	1.146
Tertiary	1.317	1.318	1.314	1.321	1.32
Unemployed	1.189	1.188	1.191	1.184	1.185
Age	0.993	0.993	0.993	0.993	0.993
Gender	0.98	0.98	0.979	0.98	0.98
Religiosity	0.909** *	0.909** *	0.909** *	0.909** *	0.909** *
Rural/urban	1.093	1.094	1.092	1.092	1.092
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>					
Left/right	0.586** *	0.586** *	0.586** *	0.586** *	0.586** *
Anti-immigration	0.949	0.949	0.949	0.949	0.949
Support for redistribution	1.307** *	1.308** *	1.307** *	1.307** *	1.307** *
Political trust	0.936**	0.936**	0.936**	0.936**	0.936**

	0.915**	0.915**	0.914**	0.915**	0.915**
Satisfaction with government	*	*	*	*	*
Satisfaction with present state of economy	0.992	0.992	0.993	0.992	0.992
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>					
Δ Unemp. Rate	1.005	1.056	1.057	1.049	1.053
Δ Gini	1.04	1.876	1.037	1.04	1.046
Δ GDP	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Δ Social welfare expenditure	0.983	0.993	0.807	0.986	0.986
Δ Net migration	0.979	0.974	0.984	0.973	0.856
<i>Interactions</i>					
Δ Unemp.Rate * Economic wellbeing	1.017				
Δ Gini * Economic wellbeing		0.828			
Δ Soc.Welf.Exp. * Economic wellbeing			1.068		
Δ GDP * Economic wellbeing				1.000	
Δ Net Migration * Economic wellbeing					1.044
Constant	1.642	1.598	1.735	1.888	1.631
Country-level variance	2.905	2.918	2.927	2.939	2.907
N	65796	65796	65796	65796	65796

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

## Supporting Information I – Multi-level Multinomial Logit specifications

Our baseline multi-level logit models in separate estimates of radical right relative to mainstream parties and of radical left parties relative to mainstream parties. An alternative specification is a multi-level multinomial logit estimator, taking all voting responses in the same model and various baselines, modeling how a given vote for radical left or radical right compares to such a baseline. Doing so requires multi-level modeling still, given our focus on the role of aggregate country-year parameters in interaction with individual-level information. This means, in turn, that the models are very computationally intensive, in the various computers at our disposal taking for any single model no less than 23 hours and up to 28 hours per model (estimated in Stata 14, using the generalized structural equation modeling (GSEM) estimator). We considered, nonetheless, a range of such models. The specification most directly comparable to our baseline takes mainstream voting as the baseline and models how radical left, radical right and non-voting performs relative to that baseline with respect to all the parameters in our baseline estimations. We also considered, however, whether the patterns are sensitive to changing this baseline, for instance considering how radical right, mainstream and non-voting perform relative to radical left. The patterns are consistently in line with the results presented with respect to our baseline. The Tables I1-I5 show the results for five models, one for each of the interactions on which our discussion in the paper focuses. There are interesting results for the category of “non-voting,” though such results are peripheral to the discussion in this paper. The key point is that the results for this multinomial logit specification the main parameters of interest (as well as for the various controls) are virtually identical to those presented in Tables 2 and 3 in the body of the paper, with one important exception: we see in Table I5 that the tendency of economic insecurity to spur support for radical right parties relative to mainstream parties is significantly diminished by exposure to more net migration. This dampening effect is comparable to that obtaining for the way economic insecurity’s tendency to spur support for radical left parties is dampened by net migration, contrary to our expectations. On the other hand, the dampening effect is statistically weaker for radical right than for radical left. In all, we take this as evidence corroborating particularly Hypothesis 3 and somewhat Hypothesis 4 – though with respect to the latter we do not see as distinctly strong dampening with respect to radical left voting as we have seen in our baseline models.

**Table I1:** Multi-level multinomial logit with interaction with Unemployment Rate (Model 1, M1 (odds ratios reported))

(Baseline=Mainstream parties)	M1: Radical Left	M1: Radical Right	M1: No Vote
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>			
Economic wellbeing	0.803***	0.821***	0.716***
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)			
Lower secondary	1.177**	1.380***	0.941*

Upper secondary	1.127*	1.269***	0.641***
Post-secondary	1.139	1.206*	0.481***
Tertiary	1.297***	0.630***	0.397***
Unemployed	1.190**	1.192*	1.433***
Age	0.994***	0.988***	0.968***
Gender/sex	1.0233	0.661***	1.002
Religiosity	0.908***	0.955***	0.964***
Rural/urban	1.114***	0.996	1.150***
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>			
Left/right	0.576***	1.290***	0.943***
Anti-immigration	0.946***	1.351***	1.039***
Support for redistribution	1.322***	1.077***	1.037***
Political trust	0.963***	0.257***	0.845***
Satisfaction with the government	0.895***	0.937***	0.989**
Satisfaction with present state of economy	1.004	0.995	1.012**
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>			
Unemployment rate	0.907	0.958	1.024
Gini	1.035	0.749***	0.986
GDP	1**	1***	1**
Social welfare expenditure	1.085	1.120*	0.934**
Net migration	0.959	0.463***	0.862*
<i>Interactions</i>			
Unemployment rate * Economic wellbeing	1.007	1.016**	1.010***
Constant	-6.699**	-3.217	3.056**

	(3.023)	(2.617)	(0.912)
Log likelihood	-97632	-97632	-97632
Observations	139,276	139,276	139,276

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table I2:** Multi-level multinomial logit with interaction with Gini Index of inequality (Model 2, M2) (odds ratios reported)

(Baseline=Mainstream Parties)	M2: Radical Left	M2: Radical Right	M2: No vote
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>			
Economic wellbeing	0.822	0.441***	0.569***
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)			
Lower secondary	1.179**	1.365***	0.932*
Upper secondary	1.130*	1.255***	0.63***
Post-secondary	1.140	1.190	0.477***
Tertiary	1.298***	0.623***	0.393***
Unemployed	1.183**	1.189*	1.428***
Age	0.993***	0.988***	0.968***
Gender/sex	1.023	0.661***	1.002
Religiosity	0.908***	0.955***	0.964***
Rural/urban	1.115***	0.996	1.151***
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>			
Left/right	0.576***	1.290***	0.943***
Anti-immigration	0.946***	1.35***	1.039***
Support for redistribution	1.322***	1.077***	1.037***

Political trust	0.963***	0.852***	0.845***
Satisfaction with the government	0.895***	0.936***	0.988**
Satisfaction with present state of economy	1.004	0.996	1.012**
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>			
Unemployment rate	0.927	1.004	1.051*
Gini	1.031	0.690***	0.962
GDP	1**	1***	1
Social welfare expenditure	1.087	1.123	0.936**
Net migration	0.959	0.465***	0.863**
<i>Interactions</i>			
Gini * Economic wellbeing	1.001	1.028***	1.011***
Constant	-6.790** (3.046)	-1.378 (2.675)	3.713*** (0.933)
Log likelihood	-97633	-97633	-97633
Observations	139,276	139,276	139,276

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table I3:** Multi-level multinomial logit with interaction with GDP per capita (Model 3, M3) (odds ratios reported)

(Baseline=Mainstream parties)	M3: Radical Left	M3: Radical Right	M3: No vote
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>			
Economic wellbeing	0.908	1.206***	0.901***

Education (reference=less than lower secondary)			
Lower secondary	1.178**	1.381***	0.943*
Upper secondary	1.127*	1.267***	0.641***
Post-secondary	1.138	1.203	0.480***
Tertiary	1.296***	0.630***	0.397***
Unemployed	1.184**	1.191*	1.426***
Age	0.994***	0.988***	0.966***
Gender/sex	1.023	0.660***	1.002
Religiosity	0.908***	0.955***	0.964***
Rural/urban	1.114***	0.995	1.148***
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>			
Left/right	0.576***	1.290***	0.943***
Anti-immigration	0.946***	1.350***	1.039***
Support for redistribution	1.322***	1.077***	1.038***
Political trust	0.963***	0.852***	0.845***
Satisfaction with the government	0.895***	0.937***	0.989**
Satisfaction with present state of economy	1.004	0.995	1.012**
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>			
Unemployment rate	0.926	1.006	1.052*
Gini	1.035	0.750***	0.993
GDP	1**	1***	1**
Social welfare expenditure	1.085	1.119	0.934***
Net migration	0.959	0.464***	0.863**
<i>Interactions</i>			
GDP * Economic wellbeing	0.999	0.999***	0.999***

Constant	9.628*** (1.846)	5.794*** (1.052)	0.751*** (0.113)
Log likelihood	-97633	-97633	-97633
Observations	139,276	139,276	139,276

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table I4:** Multi-level multinomial logit with interaction with Social welfare expenditures (Model 4, M4) (odds ratios reported)

(Baseline=Mainstream parties)	M4: Radical Left	M4: Radical Right	M4: No vote
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>			
Economic wellbeing	0.795*	1.687***	1.088
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)			
Lower secondary	1.181**	1.391***	0.944*
Upper secondary	1.133***	1.276***	0.641***
Post-secondary	1.142	1.206*	0.481***
Tertiary	1.301***	0.63***	0.398***
Unemployed	1.184**	1.176*	1.420***
Age	0.993***	0.988***	0.968***
Gender/sex	1.023	0.661***	1.002
Religiosity	0.908***	0.95***	0.964***
Rural/urban	1.115***	0.995	1.149***
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>			
Left/right	0.576***	1.290***	0.943***
Anti-immigration	0.946***	1.350***	1.039***



Support for redistribution	1.322***	1.077***	1.038***
Political trust	0.963***	0.852***	0.845***
Satisfaction with the government	0.895***	0.937***	0.988**
Satisfaction with present state of economy	1.004	0.995	1.012**
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>			
Unemployment rate	0.926	1.006	1.052*
Gini	1.036	0.749***	0.992
GDP	1**	1***	1**
Social welfare expenditure	1.079	1.212***	0.978
Net migration	0.960	0.464***	0.862**
<i>Interactions</i>			
Social welf. Exp. * Economic wellbeing	1.003	0.975***	0.985***
Constant	-2.713*** (0.821)	-0.520 (0.372)	-0.002 (0.250)
Log likelihood	-97633	-97633	-97633
Observations	139,276	139,276	139,276

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table I5:** Multi-level multinomial logit with interaction with Net Migration (Model 5, M5) (odds ratios reported)

(Baseline=Mainstream parties)	M5:	M5:	M5: No
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	Radical Left	Radical Right	vote
<i>Sociodemographic variables</i>			
Economic wellbeing	0.795***	0.852***	0.739***
Education (reference=less than lower secondary)			
Lower secondary	1.174**	1.381***	0.937*
Upper secondary	1.123*	1.271***	0.638***
Post-secondary	1.135	1.204*	0.479***
Tertiary	1.292***	0.631***	0.395***
Unemployed	1.184**	1.175*	1.426***
Age	0.993***	0.988***	0.968***
Gender/sex	1.022	0.661***	1.001
Religiosity	0.908***	0.955***	0.964***
Rural/urban	1.115***	0.998	1.153***
<i>Attitudinal variables</i>			
Left/right	0.576***	1.290***	0.94***
Anti-immigration	0.946***	1.351***	1.039***
Support for redistribution	1.322***	1.077***	1.037***
Political trust	0.963***	0.852***	0.845***
Satisfaction with the government	0.895***	0.936***	0.989***
Satisfaction with present state of economy	1.005	0.996	1.012**
<i>Aggregate-level variables</i>			
Unemployment rate	0.926	1.001	1.05*
Gini	1.036	0.751***	0.994
GDP	1**	1***	1**
Social welfare expenditure	1.089	1.125	0.937***
Net migration	0.845	0.404***	0.793***

*Interactions*

Net migration * Economic wellbeing	1.042***	1.046**	1.028***
Constant	-7.077** (3.023)	-4.360* (2.620)	2.387*** (0.913)
Log likelihood	-97631	-97631	-97631
Observations	139,276	139,276	139,276

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\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001