

Appendix A Descriptive statistics of core variables

Table 1 Summary statistics

Level	Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Individual	Male	0.48	0.50	0	1
	Left-Right position	5.23	2.35	0	10
	Left-Right distance	2.80	2.39	0	10
Party	Stigma (%)	12.42	10.08	0.49	63.78
	Extremity	1.95	1.26	0.00	4.75
	Size (%)	13.64	10.25	3.08	79.79

Table 2 Average support for party families (across all elections) according to CSES classification (in %)

Country Name	Ecology	Communist	Socialist	Social Democratic	Liberal	Christian	Conservative	Nationalist	Agrarian	Ethnic	Regional
Australia	12.1	0.0	0.0	25.0	37.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0
Austria	20.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Belgium	14.4	0.0	0.0	23.8	14.4	14.4	0.0	33.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bulgaria	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Canada	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.6	19.6	0.0	41.3	19.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Switzerland	4.9	0.0	12.1	11.7	23.8	23.8	0.0	23.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Czech Republic	8.9	20.6	0.0	20.6	6.8	15.7	20.6	6.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Germany	17.9	0.0	17.9	22.9	17.9	23.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Denmark	0.0	0.0	15.6	15.6	34.4	0.0	15.6	15.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Spain	0.0	23.3	30.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.1
Estonia	0.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Finland	14.3	0.0	14.3	14.3	6.6	14.3	14.3	0.0	7.7	14.3	0.0
Great Britain	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.3	21.8	0.0	21.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.3
Greece	0.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Croatia	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hungary	0.0	0.0	31.6	0.0	31.6	18.4	0.0	0.0	18.4	0.0	0.0
Ireland	23.3	0.0	0.0	23.3	7.0	39.5	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Iceland	10.2	0.0	9.8	20.0	15.4	0.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0
Italy	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Netherlands	15.0	0.0	15.0	15.0	24.0	15.0	0.0	9.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Norway	0.0	0.0	15.0	15.0	14.8	15.0	15.0	1.6	15.0	0.0	0.0
New Zealand	4.2	0.0	0.0	29.2	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Poland	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.2	20.2	5.6	4.7	19.6	29.9	0.0	0.0
Portugal	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.1	35.5	0.0	29.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Romania	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0
Slovakia	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0
Slovenia	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.9	19.1	14.5	4.4	9.0	14.5	0.0	0.0
Sweden	5.5	0.0	15.8	15.8	15.8	20.8	10.7	0.0	10.2	5.5	0.0
Total	6.7	1.91	9.31	19.11	19.35	12.69	11.08	9.14	6.12	1.25	1.87

Note: a full list of all parties included in the CSES data can be found at http://www.cses.org/datacenter/trendfile/CSES1-3_AppendixA_PartiesAndCandidates.xlsx

Appendix B Individual level regressions

	H1		H2		H3		Full model		Full model (standardized)	
	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p
Male	-0.12	0.00	-0.11	0.00	0.04	0.19	-0.08	0.02	-0.01	0.27
Stigma	-0.03	0.00					0.45	0.01	0.05	0.01
M X Stigma	0.01	0.00					0.61	0.00	0.06	0.00
Extremity			-0.01	0.80			0.12	0.00	0.15	0.00
M X Extremity			0.05	0.00			0.02	0.05	0.02	0.05
Party size					10.85	0.00	10.78	0.00	0.92	0.00
M X Party size					-0.65	0.00	-0.36	0.10	-0.02	0.08
Party size ²					-7.06	0.00	-6.71	0.00	-0.07	0.00
M X Party size ²					0.75	0.06	0.49	0.22	0.01	0.22
<i>controlled for income, education and left-right distance</i>										
Intercept	-1.52	0.00	-1.74	0.00	-2.24	0.00	-2.53	0.00	-0.89	0.00
N	392906		392906		392906		392906		392906	

Source: CSES

Note: *b* is the regression coefficient; *p* the p-value

Appendix C Analysis of survey measures in Sweden

Two separate indicators were designed, measuring stigma both in the immediate environment of the respondent and at the societal level. The measures are described in Table B.1.

Table C1 Acceptability of Vote Choices

Question wording

(1) How acceptable or unacceptable would a vote for [party name] be to most people in your close surroundings (such as family, friends, or colleagues)?

(2) How acceptable or unacceptable would a vote for [party name] be to most people in general?

Parties

S, M, FP, MP, PP, C, V, KD, SD

Answer scale

Not at all acceptable (0) to Totally acceptable (10)

To assess the effect of perceived acceptability on voting behavior, we also measure respondents' vote choice by means of a *propensity to vote* (PTV) for all parties. Respondents were asked to indicate how likely they would be – on a scale from 0 to 10 – to ever vote for that party. These items are strongly correlated with party sympathy scores (thermometer scores), but the propensity to vote questions are more closely linked to the actual vote (Van der Eijk et al., 2006). As most respondents answered this question, this measure allowed us to make more reliable inferences on the basis of a large number of voters, instead of on the basis of the sometimes small number of respondents who actually voted for parties. We reshaped the dataset to a long format with respondents' evaluations of each party as the unit of analysis. This created $N_{\text{respondents}} \times N_{\text{parties}}$ rows. In a multilevel regression analysis, we subsequently predicted the propensity to vote by gender, perceived acceptability of the party, and the interaction between the two. As control variables, we used education and age, added by means of a y-hat procedure. We added party dummies and clustered standard errors within respondents.

Table C2 Regression coefficients

	In general		Friends and family	
	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>
Perceived acceptability (general)	0.10	0.00	0.09	0.00
Perceived acceptability (friends)	0.39	0.00	0.37	0.00
Female	-0.32	0.03	-0.81	0.00
F X Perceived acceptability (general)	0.03	0.08		
F X Perceived acceptability (friends)			0.09	0.00
	(controls by <i>y-hat</i>)			
	(country dummies)			
Intercept	-4.08	0.00	-3.96	0.00
<i>N_{dyads}</i>	20468		20468	
<i>N_{respondents}</i>	2301		2301	

Appendix D Party level regressions

Our dependent variable in the party-level analysis is the share of male voters as a percentage of all voters for each party. We correct for any overrepresentation of either men or women in the sample.¹ This yields a dependent variable which ranges from just over 30% male voters for the Green *SF* in Denmark to almost 80% male voters for Christian-conservative *New Slovenia* and the radical right *Greater Romania Party*. Interestingly, the mean of this measure is 50,7%, indicating that on average parties are somewhat male-dominated. This already shows that men are more likely to vote for small parties: a concentration of women in larger parties is accompanied by an overrepresentation of men in a larger number of small parties.

Because our dependent variable is a percentage, theoretically OLS regression can be problematic. Predicting proportions in OLS carries the risk of non-linearity, heteroscedasticity and impossible predictions due to the truncated nature (Smithson & Verkuilen 2006). However, if most or all of the proportions are between .2 and .8, the bias of OLS regression is minor (Judd & McClelland 1989: 525–526). Because all our observations are within this range (and a vast majority lies within the even narrower range of .4–.6), we report OLS

¹ Assuming the electorate to be half male, half female, the precise calculation is as follows: % support among men+ % support among women+ % support among women*100. In reality, electorates are not completely equally divided into males and females, as women are slightly overrepresented in the population and turnout rates differ between the genders. However, the former hardly affects the ratio and the latter cannot be quantified in a general way. Our results turned out to be insensitive to alternative calculations of the gender gap.

estimates. As a robustness check, we re-analyzed our models on the basis of beta distributions (Buis 2010), which yielded the same substantive conclusions.

Table D1 reports all models; Figure D1 shows the bivariate relationships between the variables. The vertical axis reflects the percentage of a party's electorate that is male. A regression line has been added indicating the best fitting line between the points (with a squared term in the case of size). The correlation (in terms of Pearson's r) is added to the graphs of hypothesized linear relationships. A dotted line indicates the average percentage of male voters, which is somewhat over 50% (as discussed in the methodology section).

Figure D1 Bivariate relations

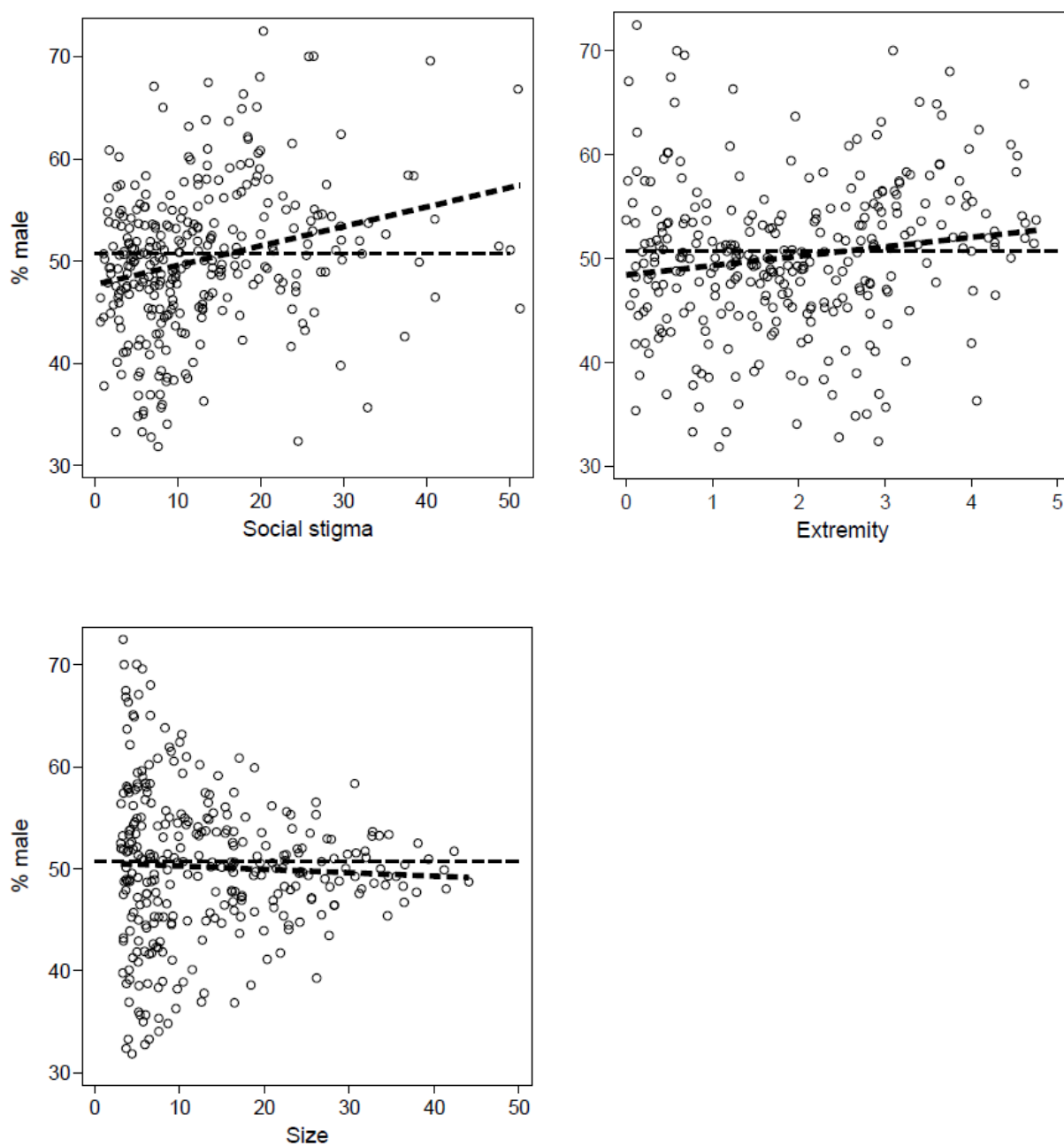


Table D1 Regression tables (party level)

	H1		H2		H3		Full model	
	b	p	b	p	b	p	b	p
Social stigma	0.23	0.00					0.24	0.00
Extremity			0.90	0.01			0.12	0.73
Party size					-0.03	0.76	0.11	0.50
Party size ²					0.00	0.92	0.00	0.65
Intercept	47.72	0.00	48.85	0.00	50.18	0.00	46.47	0.00
(adjusted) R ²	9.4%		2.3%		0.0%		8.7%	
N	340		340		340		340	

Source: CSES

Note: *b* is the regression coefficient; *p* the p-value

Appendix E Interactions

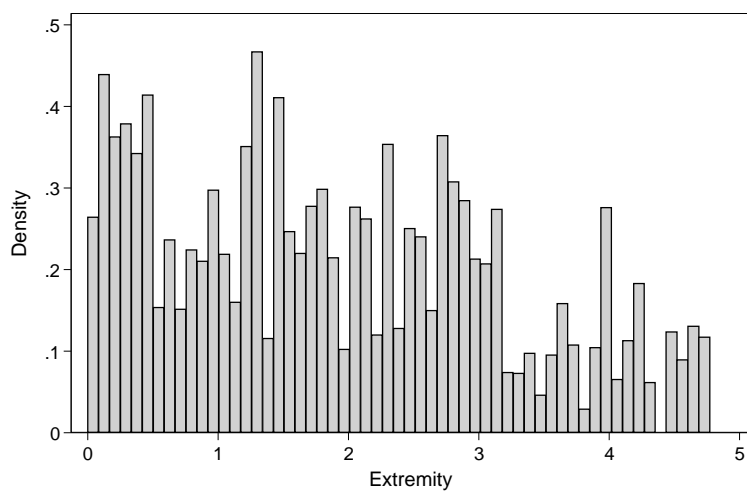
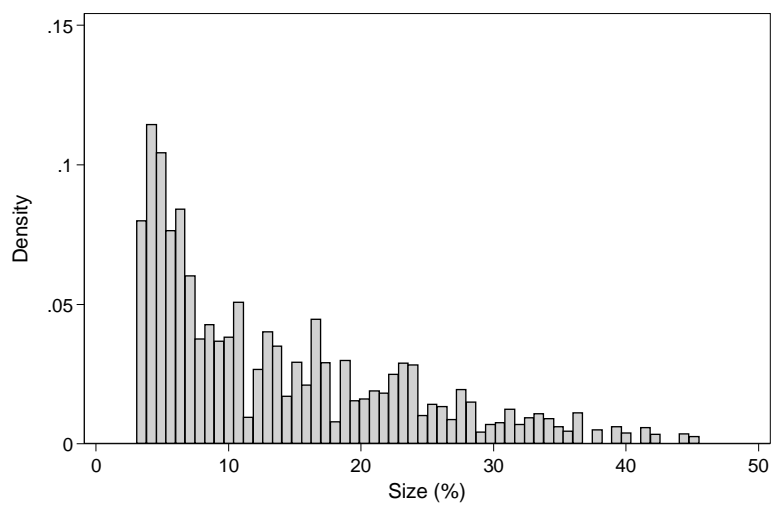
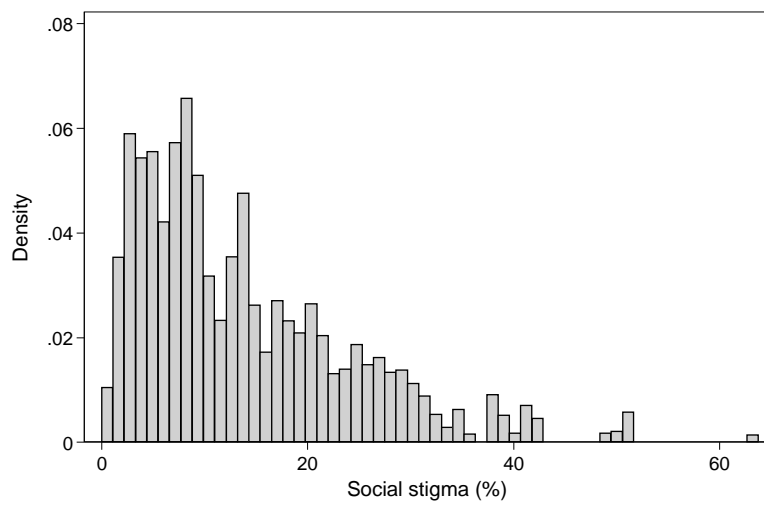
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	b	p	b	p	b	p
Male	-0.12	0.00	-0.08	0.12	-0.15	0.00
Social stigma	-2.94	0.00			-2.26	0.00
M X Social stigma	0.41	0.18			1.35	0.00
Extremity	0.09	0.14	0.00	0.97		
M X Extremity	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.21		
Party size			7.30	0.00	6.13	0.00
M X Party size			-0.17	0.58	0.49	0.07
M X Stigma X Extremity	0.00	0.99				
M X Extremity X Size			0.14	0.36		
M X Stigma X Size					-3.79	0.10
<i>controlled for income, education and left-right distance</i>						
Intercept	-1.57	0.00	-2.96	0.00	-2.87	0.00
N	392906		392906		392906	

Source: CSES

Note: two-way interactions that are constituent parts of a three-way interaction but not relevant for the analysis are not shown in the table for reasons of space

Appendix F Distribution of party characteristics

Distributions



Pairwise correlations

	Social stigma	Extremity	Size
SocialStigma	1.0000		
PartySize	-0.3068	1.0000	
Extremity3	0.3886	-0.0217	1.0000

Appendix G Separate regressions for Left- and Right-wing parties

	Left-wing parties		Right-wing parties	
	b	p	b	p
Male	-0.101	0.04	-0.021	0.70
Stigma	0.006	0.02	0.006	0.06
M X Stigma	0.005	0.00	0.004	0.00
Extremity	0.097	0.00	0.085	0.00
M X Extremity	0.006	0.66	0.027	0.02
Party size	0.104	0.00	0.150	0.00
M X Party size	-0.002	0.43	-0.007	0.19
Party size ²	-0.001	0.00	-0.002	0.00
M X Party size ²	0.000	0.37	0.000	0.47
<i>(controlled for left-right distance and y-hat)</i>				
Intercept	-2.546	0.00	-2.863	0.00
N	193891		220785	

Appendix H Stigma measured among only men or women

	Stigma among men only		Stigma among men only	
	b	p	b	p
Male	-0.105	0.00	-0.093	0.00
Stigma	-0.883	0.03	-1.308	0.00
M X Stigma	0.633	0.00	0.554	0.00
Intercept	-0.934	0.00	0.854	0.00
N	392906		392906	