

Online Appendix to:

# Affluence and congruence: unequal representation around the world

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## A.1 Supporting information for results in the main text

**Table A1:** Mass-elite congruence by affluence (Figure 1, main text)

Affluence quintile	Model		
	IWLS	Bootstrapping	EMD
0 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup>	0.03* (0.00)	0.02* (0.01)	0.03* (0.01)
20 <sup>th</sup> – 40 <sup>th</sup>	0.02* (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)
40 <sup>th</sup> – 60 <sup>th</sup>	0.01* (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
60 <sup>th</sup> – 80 <sup>th</sup>	0.00* (0.00)	–0.00 (0.01)	–0.00 (0.01)
Unit of analysis	Mass-elite dyad	Mass-elite dyad	Country-year
Observations	99m	250 × 50,000	1,413
Mass and elite RE?	No	Yes	No
Country and year FE?	No	No	Yes
Question scale FE?	Yes	Yes	Yes

\* $p < .05$ . “99m” indicates 99 million. The baseline category is the most affluent quintile. Standard deviations given for bootstrapped estimates.

**Table A2:** Mass-elite congruence by affluence: 25% of country-years where preferences of the most and least affluent are least similar

Affluence quintile	Model		
	IWLS	Bootstrapping	EMD
0 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup>	0.05* (0.00)	0.03* (0.01)	0.06* (0.01)
20 <sup>th</sup> – 40 <sup>th</sup>	0.03* (0.00)	0.01* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
40 <sup>th</sup> – 60 <sup>th</sup>	0.02* (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
60 <sup>th</sup> – 80 <sup>th</sup>	0.00* (0.00)	–0.00 (0.01)	–0.01 (0.01)
Unit of analysis	Mass-elite dyad	Mass-elite dyad	Country-year
Observations	27m	250 × 10,000	347
Mass and elite RE?	No	Yes	No
Country and year FE?	No	No	Yes
Question scale FE?	Yes	Yes	Yes

\* $p < .05$ . “27m” indicates 27 million. The baseline category is the most affluent quintile. Standard deviations given for bootstrapped estimates.

**Table A3:** Mass-elite congruence by affluence and issue in Latin America  
(Figure 3, main text)

Affluence quintile	Left-right	Economy	Marriage
0 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup>	0.02* (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	–0.06* (0.01)
20 <sup>th</sup> – 40 <sup>th</sup>	0.01* (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	–0.04* (0.01)
40 <sup>th</sup> – 60 <sup>th</sup>	0.01 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	–0.04* (0.01)
60 <sup>th</sup> – 80 <sup>th</sup>	–0.00 (0.00)	–0.00 (0.00)	–0.02* (0.01)
Observations	3.11	3.38	3.35
Mass and elite RE?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Question scale FE?	No	No	No

\* $p < .05$ . Observations are in millions. The baseline category is the most affluent quintile. Note question scale FE are excluded because the question scales were harmonized across mass and elite surveys.

Note that economic preferences are an index constructed by factoring four questions on the role of the state in the economy (with both citizens and legislators included). These questions asked respondents the extent to which they agreed with the following statements:

- The (country) government, more than the private sector, should own the most important enterprises and industries of the country.
- The (country) government, more than the private sector, should be primarily responsible for providing health services.
- The (country) government, more than the private sector, should be primarily responsible for creating jobs.
- The (country) government, more than the private sector, should be primarily responsible for ensuring the wellbeing of the people.

All responses were on 1-7 scales, from disagree completely to agree completely. Each country-year was factored separately.

## A.2 Robustness checks and alternative analyses

**Table A4:** Mass-elite congruence by affluence: alternatives to post-stratifying

Affluence quintile	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
0 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup>	0.03*	0.03*	0.06*	0.03*	0.04*	0.04*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
20 <sup>th</sup> – 40 <sup>th</sup>	0.01*	0.01*	0.05*	0.02	0.02*	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
40 <sup>th</sup> – 60 <sup>th</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
60 <sup>th</sup> – 80 <sup>th</sup>	0.00	–0.00	0.00	–0.01	–0.01	–0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Country and year FE?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Question scale FE?	Yes	Yes	Mass	Yes	Yes	Yes

\* $p < .05$ . See notes below on how models differ.

The models in the foregoing table are identical to the main result using the EMD (column three, table A1), except that here we construct the EMD using:

1. stratified elite samples, dropping observations with no partisanship or gender data;
2. unweighted elite samples (i.e., without stratifying);
3. unweighted elite samples with a response rate of 80% or greater;
4. unweighted elite samples with a response rate of 70% or greater;
5. unweighted elite samples with a response rate of 60% or greater; or
6. unweighted elite samples with a response rate of 50% or greater.

Note that model (3), with 80% or higher response rates, does not include legislator question scale fixed effects since all surveys in this subset used a 1–10 scale.

**Table A5:** Mass-elite congruence by affluence: Other alternative coding rules

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
0 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup> quintile	0.03*	0.03*	0.03*	0.02*	0.04*	0.05*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
20 <sup>th</sup> – 40 <sup>th</sup> quintile	0.01*	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02*	0.03*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
40 <sup>th</sup> – 60 <sup>th</sup> quintile	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
60 <sup>th</sup> – 80 <sup>th</sup> quintile	–0.00	–0.00	0.00	0.00	–0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Scales different	–0.07*	–0.04*	–0.07*	–0.11*	–0.12*	–0.08*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Scales diff. × 0 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup>			0.02			
			(0.01)			
Scales diff. × 20 <sup>th</sup> – 40 <sup>th</sup>			0.01			
			(0.01)			
Scales diff. × 40 <sup>th</sup> – 60 <sup>th</sup>			0.00			
			(0.01)			
Scales diff. × 60 <sup>th</sup> – 80 <sup>th</sup>			–0.00			
			(0.01)			
Country and year FE?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Question scale FE?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

\* $p < .05$ . See notes below on how models differ.

The models in the foregoing table are identical to the main result using the EMD (column three, table A1), except that here we:

1. construct the EMD without dropping any elite surveys due to multiple sampling concerns;
2. construct the EMD using all elite data, including MEPs;
3. construct the EMD only using country-years in which we are able to construct a factored index of material wealth for mass respondents (i.e., not using occupation or self-reported income);

4. interact the affluence quintile indicators with the indicator for whether question scales differ across mass and legislator surveys within a country-year;
5. construct the EMD only for country-years with more than 50 legislator respondents;  
or
6. construct the EMD only for country-years with more than 100 legislator respondents.



### A.3 Beyond left-right in Sweden

These data are provided by the Swedish National Election Study. Survey waves conducted in 1985, 1988, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010 (all electoral cycles over that period except that of 1991). Across all waves, respondents were given a series of policy suggestions and asked to respond on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates they think it is a “very good proposal” and 5 indicates it is a “very bad proposal.” Prompts vary slightly across waves. An example of the specific prompt, from 1998, is as follows.

“What is your opinion about the proposal to:

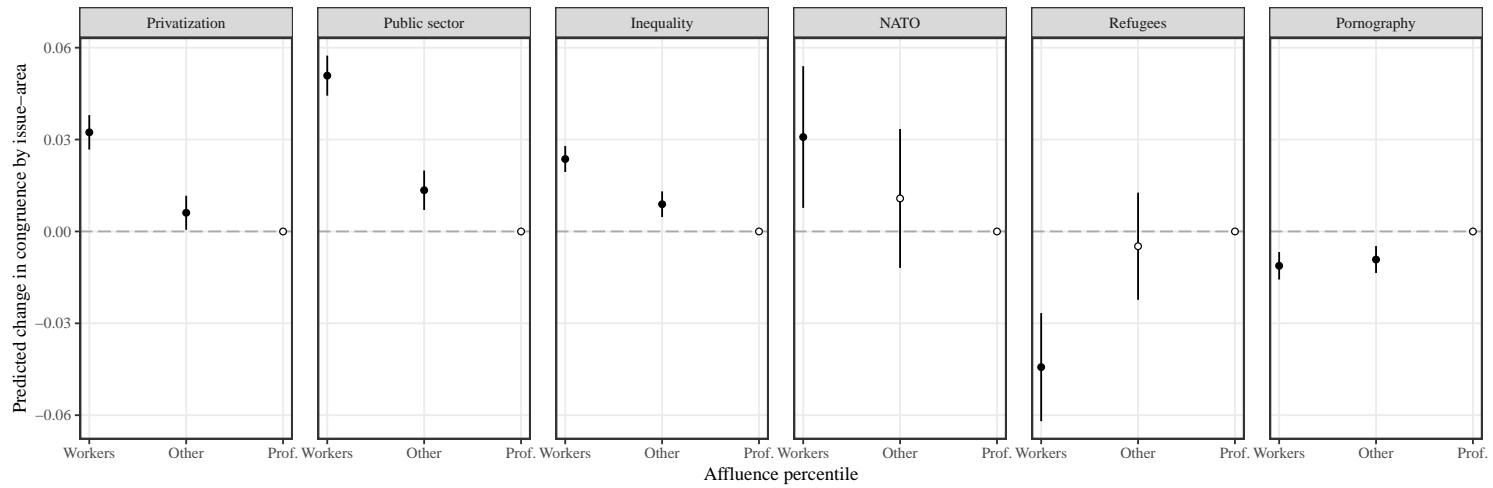
- Increase the proportion of health care run by private interests?
- Reduce the public sector?
- Reduce income differences in society?
- Sweden should apply for membership of NATO?
- Accept fewer refugees into Sweden?
- Prohibit all forms of pornography?”

As in the main analysis, we construct mass-elite dyads from all citizen-legislator pairs within a wave, and then compute the absolute distance between their stated preferences on each issue area. Here the dependent variable ranges from 0 to 5. We post-stratify the elite samples using data on partisanship and gender. We then estimate our preferred specification described in the main text. Results are presented in Table [A6](#) and Figure [A1](#).

**Table A6:** Mass-elite congruence by affluence and issue in Sweden

Occupation	Privatization	Public sector	Inequality	NATO	Refugees	Pornography
Worker	0.16* (0.01)	0.25* (0.02)	0.12* (0.01)	0.15* (0.06)	-0.22* (0.05)	-0.06* (0.01)
Other	0.03* (0.01)	0.07* (0.02)	0.04* (0.01)	0.05* (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.05* (0.01)
Observations	4.26	4.17	3.36	0.49	1.21	4.46
Mass and elite RE?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Question scale FE?	No	No	No	No	No	No

\* $p < .05$ . Observations are in millions. The baseline category is white-collar professionals. Note question scale FE are excluded because the question scales were harmonized across mass and elite surveys. The number of observations varies because some questions were not available across all waves.



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**Figure A1: Affluence bias by issue-area in Sweden.** Dots represent estimates of the relationship between mass occupation and congruence on privatization, the size of the public sector, inequality, NATO, refugees, and banning pornography. The baseline is white-collar professionals. Lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

## A.4 Beyond left-right in Africa

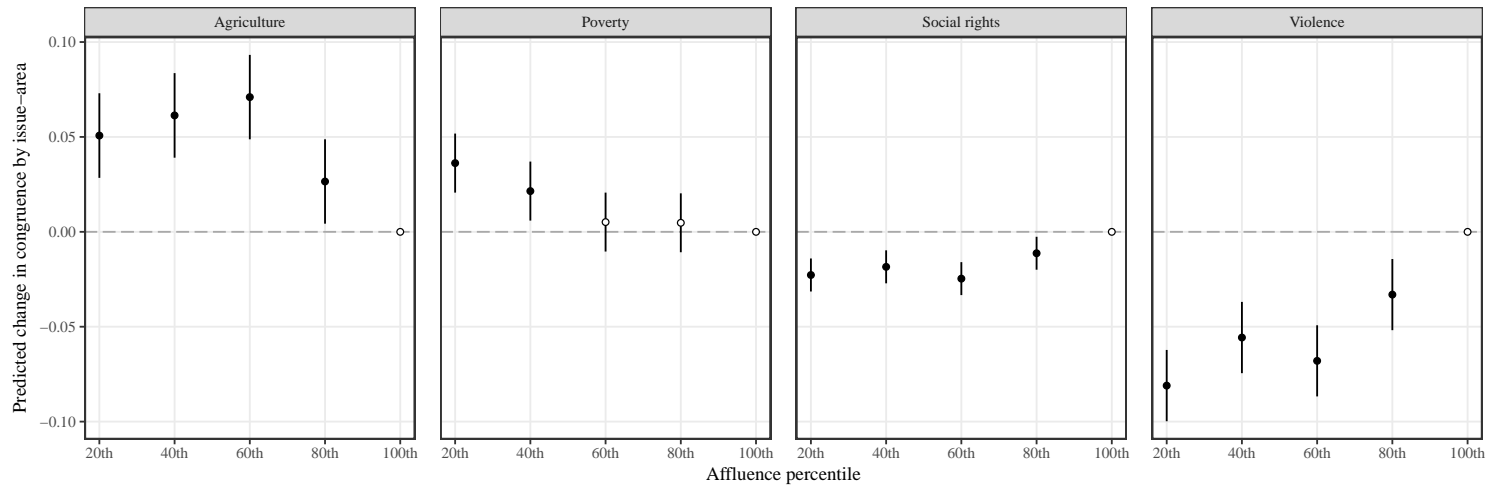
Mass data in Africa are provided by the Afrobarometer. We used the merged Round 4 surveys, conducted in 2008 and 2009. We match these data to elite surveys conducted by the African Legislatures Project between 2008 and 2012 (Mattes and Mozaffar 2016). The resulting sample includes 24,000 citizens and 800 legislators across seventeen countries: Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Although no comparable policy questions were asked, both sets of surveys asked respondents to name the most important problems facing their countries. We follow Clayton et al. (2019) in coding these responses into categories. We examine four such issue categories: poverty, agriculture, social rights (e.g., “discrimination”), and violence (e.g., “crime and security” and “civil war”). We code each issue as 1 if the citizen or legislator mentioned it and -1 otherwise (matching the scale used in the main analysis).

Again we construct mass-elite dyads from all citizen-legislator pairs within a country-year, and then compute the absolute distance between their stated (binary) preferences on each issue area. Here the dependent variable ranges from 0 to 2. We post-stratify the elite samples using data on partisanship and gender. We then estimate our preferred specification described in the main text. Results are presented in Table A7 and Figure A2.

**Table A7:** Mass-elite congruence by affluence and issue in Africa

Affluence quintile	Privatization	Public sector	Inequality	NATO
0 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup>	0.04* (0.01)	0.05* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.00)	-0.08* (0.01)
20 <sup>th</sup> – 40 <sup>th</sup>	0.02* (0.01)	0.06* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.00)	-0.06* (0.01)
40 <sup>th</sup> – 60 <sup>th</sup>	0.01 (0.01)	0.07* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.00)	-0.07* (0.01)
60 <sup>th</sup> – 80 <sup>th</sup>	0.00 (0.01)	0.03* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.03* (0.01)
Observations	1.13	1.13	1.13	1.13
Mass and elite RE?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Question scale FE?	No	No	No	No

\* $p < .05$ . Observations are in millions. The baseline category is the most affluent quintile. Note question scale FE are excluded because the questions are all binary across mass and elite surveys.



**Figure A2: Affluence bias by issue-area in Africa.** Dots represent estimates of the relationship between mass socioeconomic status and congruence on poverty, agriculture, social rights, and violence. The baseline is the most affluent quintile. Lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

## A.5 Data sources

The remainder of this appendix provides information about the survey data used to compute congruence. Table [A8](#) provides information on all sources used for each country-year. Table [A10](#) provides specific information about the variables used and major coding decisions made for each mass survey, while Table [A9](#) provides equivalent information for each elite survey. Finally, Table [A11](#) provides information about accessing each data source. Note that throughout, we use variable names as they appear in the original data.

**Table A8:** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Argentina	1995	PELA study 06	World Values Survey
Argentina	1999	PELA study 05	World Values Survey
Argentina	2006	PELA study 51	World Values Survey
Argentina	2008	PELA studies 67 and 73	LAPOP
Argentina	2010	PELA studies 67 and 73	LAPOP
Argentina	2012	PELA study 73	LAPOP
Argentina	2013	Joignant et al. (2017) and <i>PELA study 73</i>	World Values Survey
Argentina	2014	Joignant et al. (2017)	LAPOP and Joignant et al. 2017
Australia	2007	Comparative Candidates Survey	CSES wave 3
Austria	1996	Flash Eurobarometer 1996	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Austria	1999	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Austria	2000	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Austria	2001	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Austria	2002	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Austria	2003	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Austria	2004	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Austria	2005	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.



**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Austria	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Austria	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Austria	2008	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Austria	2009	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Austria	2010	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Austria	2011	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Austria	2012	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Austria	2013	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 4 and Eurobarometer 79.5
Austria	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Austria	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Belgium	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Belgium	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 1 and Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Belgium	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Belgium	2001	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Belgium	2002	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Belgium	2003	EPRG MEP Survey	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Belgium	2004	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Belgium	2005	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Belgium	2006	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Belgium	2007	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Belgium	2008	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Belgium	2009	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Belgium	2010	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Belgium	2011	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Belgium	2012	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Belgium	2013	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 79.5
Belgium	2014	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Belgium	2015	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Bolivia	2004	PELA study 47	LAPOP
Bolivia	2006	PELA study 62	LAPOP
Bolivia	2008	PELA study 62	LAPOP
Bolivia	2010	PELA study 81	LAPOP
Bolivia	2012	PELA study 81	LAPOP
Bolivia	2014	PELA study 81	LAPOP
Brazil	1991	Brazilian Legislator Survey	World Values Survey
Brazil	2002	Brazilian Legislator Survey	CSES wave 2
Brazil	2006	<i>Brazilian Legislator Survey</i> and PELA studies 55 and 75	CSES wave 3 and World Values Survey
Brazil	2007	<i>Brazilian Legislator Survey</i> and PELA studies 55 and 75	LAPOP
Brazil	2008	<i>Brazilian Legislator Survey</i> and PELA study 75	LAPOP
Brazil	2010	<i>Brazilian Legislator Survey</i> and PELA study 75	CSES wave 3 and LAPOP
Brazil	2012	Brazilian Legislator Survey	LAPOP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Brazil	2014	Brazilian Legislator Survey	LAPOP and World Values Survey
Bulgaria	2009	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Bulgaria	2010	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Bulgaria	2011	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Bulgaria	2012	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Bulgaria	2013	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 79.5
Bulgaria	2014	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Bulgaria	2015	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Chile	1996	PELA study 04	World Values Survey
Chile	1999	PELA study 03	CSES wave 1
Chile	2000	PELA study 03	World Values Survey
Chile	2005	PELA study 42	CSES wave 2
Chile	2006	PELA studies 42 and 60	LAPOP and World Values Survey
Chile	2008	PELA study 60	LAPOP
Chile	2009	PELA study 60	CSES wave 3
Chile	2010	PELA studies 60 and 77	LAPOP
Chile	2011	PELA study 77	World Values Survey
Chile	2012	PELA study 77	LAPOP
Chile	2014	PELA study 77	LAPOP
Colombia	1998	PELA study 13	World Values Survey
Colombia	2004	PELA study 46	LAPOP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Colombia	2005	<i>PELA study 46</i>	World Values Survey
Colombia	2006	<i>PELA studies 46 and 59</i>	LAPOP
Colombia	2008	<i>PELA study 59</i>	LAPOP
Colombia	2010	<i>PELA studies 59 and 83</i>	LAPOP
Colombia	2012	<i>PELA study 83</i>	LAPOP and World Values Survey
Colombia	2014	<i>PELA studies 83 and 95</i>	LAPOP
Costa Rica	2004	<i>PELA study 43</i>	LAPOP
Costa Rica	2006	<i>PELA studies 43 and 56</i>	LAPOP
Costa Rica	2008	<i>PELA study 56</i>	LAPOP
Costa Rica	2010	<i>PELA studies 56 and 78</i>	LAPOP
Costa Rica	2012	<i>PELA study 78</i>	LAPOP
Costa Rica	2014	<i>PELA studies 78 and 93</i>	LAPOP
Croatia	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Croatia	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Cyprus	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Cyprus	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Cyprus	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3 and World Values Survey
Cyprus	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Cyprus	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Cyprus	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Cyprus	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Cyprus	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1 and World Values Survey
Cyprus	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Cyprus	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Cyprus	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Cyprus	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Czech Republic	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Czech Republic	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Czech Republic	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Czech Republic	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Czech Republic	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Czech Republic	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Czech Republic	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Czech Republic	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Czech Republic	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Czech Republic	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Czech Republic	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Czech Republic	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Denmark	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Denmark	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Denmark	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Denmark	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Denmark	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Denmark	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Denmark	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Denmark	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Denmark	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Denmark	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Denmark	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 68.2, 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Denmark	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Denmark	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Denmark	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Denmark	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Denmark	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Denmark	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Denmark	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Dominican Republic	1996	<i>PELA study 30</i>	World Values Survey
Dominican Republic	2006	<i>PELA studies 44 and 64</i>	LAPOP
Dominican Republic	2008	<i>PELA study 64</i>	LAPOP
Dominican Republic	2010	<i>PELA studies 64 and 82</i>	LAPOP
Dominican Republic	2012	<i>PELA study 82</i>	LAPOP
Dominican Republic	2014	<i>PELA study 82</i>	LAPOP
Ecuador	2004	<i>PELA study 45</i>	LAPOP
Ecuador	2006	<i>PELA study 45</i>	LAPOP
Ecuador	2008	<i>PELA study 65</i>	LAPOP
Ecuador	2010	<i>PELA study 72</i>	LAPOP
Ecuador	2012	<i>PELA study 72</i>	LAPOP
Ecuador	2013	<i>PELA study 90</i>	World Values Survey
Ecuador	2014	<i>PELA study 90</i>	LAPOP
El Salvador	1999	<i>PELA study 07</i>	World Values Survey
El Salvador	2004	<i>PELA study 48</i>	LAPOP
El Salvador	2006	<i>PELA studies 48 and 58</i>	LAPOP
El Salvador	2008	<i>PELA study 58</i>	LAPOP
El Salvador	2010	<i>PELA study 70</i>	LAPOP
El Salvador	2012	<i>PELA study 88</i>	LAPOP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.



**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
El Salvador	2014	PELA study 88	LAPOP
Estonia	2004	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Estonia	2005	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Estonia	2006	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Estonia	2007	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Estonia	2008	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Estonia	2009	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Estonia	2010	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Estonia	2011	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	CSES wave 3, Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1, and World Values Survey
Estonia	2012	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Estonia	2013	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 79.5
Estonia	2014	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Estonia	2015	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Finland	1996	Flash Eurobarometer 1996	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1 and World Values Survey

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Finland	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Finland	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Finland	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Finland	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Finland	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Finland	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Finland	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4 and World Values Survey
Finland	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Finland	2007	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Finland	2008	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Finland	2009	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Finland	2010	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Finland	2011	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Finland	2012	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Finland	2013	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 79.5
Finland	2014	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Finland	2015	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
France	1967	FNEPS	FNEPS
France	1996	Flash Eurobarometer 1996	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
France	1999	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
France	2000	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
France	2001	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
France	2002	EPRG MEP Survey	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
France	2003	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
France	2004	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
France	2005	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
France	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006</i> and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3 and World Values Survey

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
France	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
France	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
France	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
France	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
France	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
France	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 4 and Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
France	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
France	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
France	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Germany	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Germany	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Germany	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Germany	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Germany	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Germany	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Germany	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Germany	2005	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 63.1, 64.4, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, and 64.3
Germany	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006</i> , Comparative Candidates Survey, and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Germany	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007</i> , Comparative Candidates Survey, and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Germany	2008	Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Germany	2009	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3
Germany	2010	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.1 and 75.1EP
Germany	2011	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Germany	2012	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Germany	2013	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 4 and Eurobarometer 79.5
Germany	2014	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 81.2, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Germany	2015	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.4, and 84.2
Greece	1996	Flash Eurobarometer 1996	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Greece	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Greece	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Greece	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Greece	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Greece	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Greece	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Greece	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Greece	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Greece	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Greece	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Greece	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Greece	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Greece	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Greece	2012	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 4 and Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Greece	2013	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Greece	2014	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Greece	2015	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Guatemala	2004	<i>PELA studies 38 and 52</i>	LAPOP and World Values Survey
Guatemala	2006	<i>PELA study 52</i>	LAPOP
Guatemala	2008	<i>PELA studies 52 and 68</i>	LAPOP
Guatemala	2010	<i>PELA study 68</i>	LAPOP
Guatemala	2012	<i>PELA studies 68 and 85</i>	LAPOP
Guatemala	2014	<i>PELA study 85</i>	LAPOP
Honduras	2004	<i>PELA study 40</i>	LAPOP
Honduras	2006	<i>PELA studies 40 and 57</i>	LAPOP
Honduras	2008	<i>PELA study 57</i>	LAPOP
Honduras	2010	<i>PELA studies 57 and 74</i>	LAPOP
Honduras	2012	<i>PELA study 74</i>	LAPOP
Honduras	2014	<i>PELA studies 74 and 92</i>	LAPOP
Hungary	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Hungary	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Hungary	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Hungary	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Hungary	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Hungary	2009	EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4 and World Values Survey
Hungary	2010	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, <i>Hungarian Election Study</i> , and PARTIREP	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Hungary	2011	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>Hungarian Election Study</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Hungary	2012	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>Hungarian Election Study</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Hungary	2013	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>Hungarian Election Study</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Hungary	2014	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>Hungarian Election Study</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Hungary	2015	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Iceland	2009	Comparative Candidates Survey	CSES wave 3
Iceland	2010	Comparative Candidates Survey	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, and 74.2
Iceland	2011	Comparative Candidates Survey	Eurobarometer 75.3
Iceland	2013	Comparative Candidates Survey	CSES wave 4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.



**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Ireland	1996	Flash Eurobarometer 1996	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Ireland	1999	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Ireland	2000	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Ireland	2001	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Ireland	2002	EPRG MEP Survey	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Ireland	2003	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Ireland	2004	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Ireland	2005	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Ireland	2006	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Ireland	2007	EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Ireland	2008	EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Ireland	2009	EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Ireland	2010	EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Ireland	2011	EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP	CSES wave 4 and Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Ireland	2012	EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Ireland	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Ireland	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Ireland	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Italy	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Italy	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Italy	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Italy	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Italy	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Italy	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Italy	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Italy	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4 and World Values Survey
Italy	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006 and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Italy	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007 and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Italy	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Italy	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Italy	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Italy	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Italy	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Italy	2013	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Italy	2014	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Italy	2015	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Japan	2003	<i>ATES CAN 2003</i>	JGSS
Japan	2005	<i>ATES CAN 2003, ATES HOC 2004, and ATES CAN 2005</i>	JGSS and World Values Survey
Japan	2006	<i>ATES HOC 2004 and ATES CAN 2005</i>	JGSS
Japan	2007	<i>ATES HOC 2004 and ATES CAN 2005</i>	CSES wave 3
Japan	2008	<i>ATES CAN 2005</i>	JGSS
Japan	2013	<i>ATES HOR 2012 and ATES HOC 2013 (NB: candidate surveys from different chambers)</i>	CSES wave 4
Latvia	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Latvia	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Latvia	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Latvia	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Latvia	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Latvia	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Latvia	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Latvia	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Latvia	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Latvia	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Latvia	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Latvia	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Lithuania	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Lithuania	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Lithuania	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Lithuania	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Lithuania	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Lithuania	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Lithuania	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Lithuania	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Lithuania	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Lithuania	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Lithuania	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Lithuania	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Luxembourg	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Luxembourg	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Luxembourg	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Luxembourg	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Luxembourg	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Luxembourg	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Luxembourg	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Luxembourg	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Luxembourg	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Luxembourg	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Luxembourg	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Luxembourg	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Malta	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Malta	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Malta	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Malta	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Malta	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Malta	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Malta	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Malta	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Malta	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Malta	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Malta	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Malta	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Mexico	1995	<i>PELA study 02</i>	World Values Survey
Mexico	1996	<i>PELA study 02</i>	World Values Survey
Mexico	1997	<i>PELA studies 01 and 02</i>	CSES wave 1
Mexico	2000	<i>PELA studies 01 and 37</i>	CSES wave 1 and World Values Survey
Mexico	2003	<i>PELA studies 37 and 50</i>	CSES wave 2
Mexico	2004	<i>PELA study 50</i>	LAPOP
Mexico	2005	<i>PELA study 50</i>	World Values Survey
Mexico	2006	<i>PELA studies 50 and 63</i>	CSES wave 3 and LAPOP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Mexico	2008	PELA study 63	LAPOP
Mexico	2009	PELA studies 63 and 79	CSES wave 3
Mexico	2010	PELA study 79	LAPOP
Netherlands	1996	Flash Eurobarometer 1996	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Netherlands	1999	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Netherlands	2000	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Netherlands	2001	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Netherlands	2002	EPRG MEP Survey	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
39 Netherlands	2003	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Netherlands	2004	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Netherlands	2005	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Netherlands	2006	Comparative Candidates Survey, <i>CIRCaP 2006</i> , EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3, Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3, and World Values Survey
Netherlands	2007	Comparative Candidates Survey, <i>CIRCaP 2007</i> , EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Netherlands	2008	Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Netherlands	2009	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Netherlands	2010	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Netherlands	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Netherlands	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4 and World Values Survey
Netherlands	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Netherlands	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Netherlands	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Nicaragua	2004	<i>PELA study 39</i>	LAPOP
Nicaragua	2006	<i>PELA study 39</i>	LAPOP
Nicaragua	2008	<i>PELA study 66</i>	LAPOP
Nicaragua	2010	<i>PELA study 66</i>	LAPOP
Nicaragua	2012	<i>PELA study 86</i>	LAPOP
Nicaragua	2014	<i>PELA study 86</i>	LAPOP
Norway	2005	<i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 63.1
Norway	2007	<i>PARTIREP</i>	World Values Survey
Norway	2009	<i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3
Panama	2004	<i>PELA studies 41 and 53</i>	LAPOP
Panama	2006	<i>PELA study 53</i>	LAPOP
Panama	2008	<i>PELA study 53</i>	LAPOP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.



**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Panama	2010	PELA study 71	LAPOP
Panama	2012	PELA study 71	LAPOP
Panama	2014	PELA study 94	LAPOP
Paraguay	2008	PELA studies 49 and 69	LAPOP
Paraguay	2010	PELA study 69	LAPOP
Paraguay	2012	PELA study 69	LAPOP
Paraguay	2014	PELA study 91	LAPOP
Peru	1996	PELA study 32	World Values Survey
Peru	2000	PELA study 32	CSES wave 1
Peru	2001	PELA study 31	CSES wave 1 and World Values Survey
Peru	2006	PELA studies 31, 61, and 80	CSES wave 2, LAPOP, and World Values Survey
Peru	2008	PELA studies 61 and 80	LAPOP
Peru	2010	PELA studies 61 and 80	LAPOP
Peru	2011	PELA studies 61, 80, and 84	CSES wave 3
Peru	2012	PELA study 84	LAPOP and World Values Survey
Peru	2014	PELA study 84	LAPOP
Poland	2004	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Poland	2005	EPRG MEP Survey	CSES wave 3, Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 63.5, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4, and World Values Survey
Poland	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006</i> and EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Poland	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Poland	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Poland	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Poland	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Poland	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 4 and Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Poland	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4 and World Values Survey
Poland	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Poland	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Poland	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Portugal	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Portugal	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Portugal	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Portugal	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Portugal	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 1 and wave 2 and Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Portugal	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Portugal	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Portugal	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARENEL 2008</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Portugal	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , and <i>PARENEL 2008</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Portugal	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , and <i>PARENEL 2008</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Portugal	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARENEL 2008</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Portugal	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , <i>PARENEL 2008</i> and <i>2012</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Portugal	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , <i>PARENEL 2012</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Portugal	2011	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , <i>PARENEL 2012</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Portugal	2012	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , <i>PARENEL 2012</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Portugal	2013	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , <i>PARENEL 2012</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Portugal	2014	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARENEL 2012</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Portugal	2015	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARENEL 2012</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Romania	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Romania	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Romania	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Romania	2012	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4 and World Values Survey
Romania	2013	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Romania	2014	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Romania	2015	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Slovakia	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Slovakia	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Slovakia	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006</i> and <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Slovakia	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007</i> and <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Slovakia	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Slovakia	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Slovakia	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Slovakia	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
Slovakia	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Slovakia	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Slovakia	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Slovakia	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Slovenia	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Slovenia	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.3, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4 and World Values Survey
Slovenia	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Slovenia	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Slovenia	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Slovenia	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Slovenia	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Slovenia	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1 and World Values Survey
Slovenia	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Slovenia	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Slovenia	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Slovenia	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Spain	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	CSES wave 1 and Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
Spain	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Spain	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 1, Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1, and World Values Survey
Spain	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Spain	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Spain	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Spain	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Spain	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Spain	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006 and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
Spain	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007 and EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2 and World Values Survey
Spain	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Spain	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Spain	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
Spain	2011	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1 and World Values Survey
Spain	2012	<i>EPRG MEP Survey and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Spain	2013	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
Spain	2014	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Spain	2015	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Sweden	1985	SNES	SNES
Sweden	1988	SNES	SNES
Sweden	1991	SNES	SNES
Sweden	1994	SNES	SNES
Sweden	1995	SNES	SNES

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Sweden	1996	<i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1 and World Values Survey
Sweden	1997	SNES	SNES
Sweden	1998	SNES	SNES
Sweden	1999	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
Sweden	2000	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
Sweden	2001	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
Sweden	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 2 and Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
Sweden	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
Sweden	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
Sweden	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4
Sweden	2006	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	CSES wave 3, Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3, and World Values Survey
Sweden	2007	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
Sweden	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
Sweden	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4
Sweden	2010	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.



**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
Sweden	2011	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1 and World Values Survey
Sweden	2012	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
Sweden	2013	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 79.5
Sweden	2014	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
Sweden	2015	EPRG MEP Survey	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Switzerland	1975	Swiss CLRC	Swiss CLRC
Switzerland	1975	Swiss CLRC	Swiss CLRC
Switzerland	2007	Comparative Candidates Survey and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 3 and World Values Survey
Switzerland	2010	Comparative Candidates Survey and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1
Switzerland	2011	Comparative Candidates Survey	CSES wave 4
Ukraine	1998	Wilson and Birch (1999)	Wilson and Birch (1999) and CSES wave 1
United Kingdom	1987	BCS 1992	Eurobarometer 27.0 and 28.0
United Kingdom	1988	BCS 1992	Eurobarometer 29.0 and 30.0
United Kingdom	1989	BCS 1992	Eurobarometer 31.0, 31.A, 32.A, and 32.B
United Kingdom	1990	BCS 1992	Eurobarometer 33.0, 34.0, and 34.1
United Kingdom	1991	BCS 1992	Eurobarometer 35.0, 35.1, and 36.0
United Kingdom	1992	BCS 1992 and <i>BRS 1997</i>	Eurobarometer 37.0, 37.1, 38.0, and 38.1
United Kingdom	1993	<i>BRS 1997</i>	Eurobarometer 39.0, 39.1, and 40.0
United Kingdom	1994	<i>BRS 1997</i>	Eurobarometer 41.0, 41.1, and 42.0

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
United Kingdom	1995	BRS 1997	Eurobarometer 43.0, 43.1, 43.1B, 44.0, and 44.1
United Kingdom	1996	BRS 1997 and <i>Flash Eurobarometer 1996</i>	Eurobarometer 45.1, 46.0, and 46.1
United Kingdom	1997	BRS 1997 and <i>BRS 2001</i>	CSES wave 1 and Eurobarometer 47.0, 47.1, 47.2, and 48.0
United Kingdom	1998	<i>BRS 2001</i>	Eurobarometer 49.0, 50.0, and 50.1 and World Values Survey
United Kingdom	1999	<i>BRS 2001</i> and <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 51.0, 51.1, 52.0, and 52.1
United Kingdom	2000	<i>BRS 2001</i> and <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 53.0, 54.0, and 54.1
United Kingdom	2001	<i>BRS 2001</i> and <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 54.2, 55.0, 55.1, 55.2, 56.0, 56.1, and 56.2
United Kingdom	2002	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 56.3, 57.0, 57.1, 57.2, 58.0, 58.1, 58.2
United Kingdom	2003	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 59.0, 59.1, 59.2, 60.0, 60.1, 60.2, and 60.3
United Kingdom	2004	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i>	Eurobarometer 61.0, 62.0, 62.1, and 62.2
United Kingdom	2005	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	CSES wave 2, Eurobarometer 63.1, 63.2, 63.4, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, and 64.4, and World Values Survey
United Kingdom	2006	<i>CIRCaP 2006</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 64.4, 65.1, 65.2, 65.3, 65.4, 66.1, 66.2, and 66.3
United Kingdom	2007	<i>CIRCaP 2007</i> , <i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> , and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.1, and 68.2
United Kingdom	2008	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 69.1, 69.2, and 70.1
United Kingdom	2009	<i>EPRG MEP Survey</i> and <i>PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 71.1, 71.2, 71.3, and 72.4

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

**Table A8 (continued):** Data sources by country-year

Country	Year	Elite survey	Mass survey
United Kingdom	2010	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 73.1, 73.4, 74.1, 74.2, 74.3, 75.1, and 75.1EP
United Kingdom	2011	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 75.2, 75.3, and 76.1
United Kingdom	2012	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 77.2 and 77.4
United Kingdom	2013	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 79.5
United Kingdom	2014	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 81.2, 81.4, 82.1, 82.2, 82.3, and 82.4
51 United Kingdom	2015	<i>Comparative Candidates Survey, EPRG MEP Survey, and PARTIREP</i>	Eurobarometer 83.1, 83.2, 83.3, 83.4, 84.1, 84.2, 84.3, and 84.4
Uruguay	1996	<i>PELA study 34</i>	World Values Survey
Uruguay	2006	<i>PELA study 54</i>	World Values Survey
Uruguay	2007	<i>PELA study 54</i>	LAPOP
Uruguay	2008	<i>PELA study 54</i>	LAPOP
Uruguay	2009	<i>PELA study 54</i>	CSES wave 3
Uruguay	2010	<i>PELA studies 54 and 76</i>	LAPOP
Uruguay	2011	<i>PELA study 76</i>	World Values Survey
Uruguay	2012	<i>PELA study 76</i>	LAPOP
Uruguay	2014	<i>PELA study 76</i>	LAPOP
Venezuela	1996	<i>PELA study 36</i>	World Values Survey
Venezuela	2000	<i>PELA study 35</i>	World Values Survey

Elite surveys in italics are dropped in the main analysis due to multiple-sampling concerns. See text for details.

## **A.6 Elite survey data sources**

Below is a list of elite surveys that our data are drawn from. Our criteria for inclusion are:

1. Respondents are elected legislators, or (in the case of candidate surveys) the survey contains a question that allows us to establish whether the respondent was elected.
2. The population from which the sample was drawn is not restricted to a specific issue-area, party, or other subset of national legislators. For instance, surveys of US foreign policy elites or backbench MPs are excluded.
3. Respondents represent the country, at a national or supra-national level, and not a state, region, or other sub-national unit.
4. The survey contains a question which asks respondents to place themselves on a left-right scale.

**Table A9:** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">ATES CAN 2003</a>	ideology	0-10	This is a candidate survey, so we used won to restrict the sample to candidates who won election (dropping those coded as 4). We hand-coded the legislative session of all respondents as 2003-2005 and matched them to mass samples in that window. The anchors for this question are not available directly, but have been described as “left” and “right” in the secondary literature (e.g., Catalinac 2018). No partisanship or gender data were available.
53 <a href="#">ATES HOC 2004</a>	ideology	0-10	This is a candidate survey, so we used won to restrict the sample to candidates who won election (keeping only those coded as 1). We hand-coded the legislative session of all respondents as 2004-2007 and matched them to mass samples in that window. The anchors for this question are not available directly, but have been described as “left” and “right” in the secondary literature (e.g., Catalinac 2018). No partisanship data were available. For gender we used sex.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">ATES CAN 2005</a>	ideology	0-10	This is a candidate survey, so we used <code>won</code> to restrict the sample to candidates who won election (dropping those coded as 4). We hand-coded the legislative session of all respondents as 2005-2009 and matched them to mass samples in that window. The anchors for this question are not available directly, but have been described as “left” and “right” in the secondary literature (e.g., Catalinac 2018). No partisanship data were available. For gender we used <code>sex</code> .
<a href="#">ATES HOR 2012</a>	q7	0-10	This is a candidate survey, so we used <code>result</code> to restrict the sample to candidates who won election (dropping those coded as 0). We hand-coded the legislative session of all respondents as 2012-2014 and matched them to mass samples in that window. The anchors for this question are not available directly, but have been described as “left” and “right” in the secondary literature (e.g., Catalinac 2018). For partisanship we used <code>party</code> and for gender we used <code>sex</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">ATES HOC 2013</a>	q12	0-10	This is a candidate survey, so we used <code>result</code> to restrict the sample to candidates who won election (dropping those coded as 0). We hand-coded the legislative session of all respondents as 2013-2016 and matched them to mass samples in that window. The anchors for this question are not available directly, but have been described as “left” and “right” in the secondary literature (e.g., Catalinac 2018). For partisanship we used <code>party</code> and for gender we used <code>sex</code> .
<a href="#">BCS 1992</a>	g39	1-7	This is a survey of candidates running for parliament in the United Kingdom ahead of the 1992 general election. Since we do not have data on whether respondents were elected, we use <code>g2</code> to drop all non-incumbents (keeping those coded as 1), giving us a sample of legislators who served the term 1987-1992. We then match these data to any mass samples from this window. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used <code>g1</code> and for gender we used <code>g56</code> .
<a href="#">Brazilian Legislator Surveys</a>	lrclass	1-10	This merge file includes all waves up through 2014. We hand-coded legislative sessions according to each wave, <code>yearcase</code> . The anchors for the left-right question are “esquerda” (left) and “direita” (right). For partisanship we used <code>party_elected</code> . No gender data were available.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
BRS 1997	q23a	0-10	This is a survey of candidates running for parliament in the United Kingdom ahead of the 1997 general election. Since we do not have data on whether respondents were elected, we use mp_92 to drop all non-incumbents (keeping those coded as 1), giving us a sample of legislators who served the term 1992-1997. We then match these data to any mass samples from this window. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used q1 and for gender we used q38b.
BRS 2001	q28a	0-10	This is a survey of candidates running for parliament in the United Kingdom ahead of the 2001 general election. Since we do not have data on whether respondents were elected, we use q2a1 to drop all non-incumbents (keeping those coded as 1), giving us a sample of legislators who served the term 1997-2001. We then match these data to any mass samples from this window. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used q1 and for gender we used q45.



**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
CIRCaP 2006	v54	1-7	This is the 2006 wave of the European Elites Survey. Since subjects are “Members of the European Parliament and top Commission officials,” we cannot hand-code legislative terms. Thus we only match mass samples from 2006 to these responses. The anchors for the left-right question are “extreme left” and “extreme right.” For partisanship we used v76-v83 (each partisanship variable is country-specific), and for gender we used v56.
CIRCaP 2007	v66	1-7	This is the 2007 wave of the European Elites Survey. Since subjects are “Members of the European Parliament and top Commission officials,” we cannot hand-code legislative terms. Thus we only match mass samples from 2007 to these responses. The anchors for the left-right question are “extreme left” and “extreme right.” For partisanship we used v98-v106 (each partisanship variable is country-specific), and for gender we used v5.
Comparative Candidates Survey	c3	0-10	This merge file includes all waves up through 2016. We used variable t8 to trim the sample to candidates who were elected, dropping all 0 and NA values. We used t3 for the legislative session begin date, and hand-coded legislative end dates using secondary and tertiary sources. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used a1 and for gender we used e1.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">EPRG MEP Surveys</a>	q3_1_1	1-10	This merge file contains the 2000, 2006, 2010, and 2015 waves of surveys conducted by the European Parliament Research Group. We hand-coded legislative sessions and matched any mass surveys in this window to these responses. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used q1_3 and for gender we used q1_7.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Flash Eurobarometer 1996</a>	q12	1-10	This is a one-off survey of top European decision-makers. We used variable group to drop all respondents who were not coded as political. This is the finest group-level data available, though the documentation explains that this group includes heads of state and government, parliamentarians, elected officials at local, regional, intermediate, and national assemblies, political party elites, and European Deputies. We cannot rule out bias that may arise from including respondents who are unelected (or elected at sub-national levels), though anecdotal evidence suggests both that (1) most respondents are elected to the national assembly and (2) this bias is minimal. Note also that these data do not appear in any of the main results. Legislative term information is not available, so we matched these responses to mass data only from 1996. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” No partisanship data were available. For gender we used <code>sex</code> .
<a href="#">FNEPS</a>	<code>ideology67</code>	1-95	This is the elite sample from the French National Election Panel Study, 1967-1969 (Converse, Dupeux, and Pierce 2005). We used <code>won67</code> to drop all candidates who were not elected (keeping those coded as 1 and 3). Since another election was called in 1968, we match these responses to mass samples only from 1967. The anchors for the left-right question are “extreme left” and “extreme right.” For partisanship we used <code>v579</code> and for gender we used <code>v589</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Hungarian Election Study</a>	k34	0-10	This is the 2010 wave of the Hungarian Election Study (earlier waves could not be located). Since the survey was conducted after the 2010 parliamentary election, all respondents serve the same 2010-2014 term, and so these responses were matched to any mass sample in that window. The anchors for the left-right question are “left-wing” and “right-wing.” For partisanship we used k1. No gender data were available.
<a href="#">Joignant et al. (2017)</a>	P67	0-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “más de izquierda” (more to the left) and “más de derecha” (more to the right). This is the elite sample, paired with a mass survey conducted for the same volume. Using cargo, we dropped all elites who did not name their position as deputy, senator, or legislator. Although we have no data on terms served, all legislators surveyed in 2014 served during at least 2013-2015, so we matched these data to mass samples from this window. No partisanship data were available. For gender we used sexo. See Lupu and Warner (2017) for further discussion of these data.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PARENEL 2008</a>	V_G21	0-10	We hand-coded the legislative session begin and end dates as 2005-2009 and matched these responses to any mass sample in this period. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used v_A4_1a and for gender we used v_R54.
<a href="#">PARENEL 2012</a>	V_G25	0-10	We hand-coded the legislative session begin and end dates as 2009-2015 and matched these responses to any mass sample in this period. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used v_CCS_A4_1 and for gender we used v_R63.
<a href="#">PARTIREP</a>	V037_1	0-10	This merge file includes all waves up through 2015. We used the variables Start_term and End_term to match responses to mass data that falls into each individual legislator’s term. We use Parliament to drop respondents who serve in sub-national assemblies, by dropping all except those coded as 00. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For partisanship we used Party and for gender we used Sex.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 01</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Mexico. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1997-2000 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.
<a href="#">PELA study 02</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Mexico. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1994-1997 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.
<a href="#">PELA study 03</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Chile. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1997-2001 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 04</a>	P67	0-10	This survey was administered in Chile. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1993-1997 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used PARTIDO and for gender we used P71.
<a href="#">PELA study 05</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Argentina. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1997-2001 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used partido and for gender we used p71.
<a href="#">PELA study 06</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Argentina. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1995-1997 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used partido and for gender we used p71.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 07</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in El Salvador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1997-2000 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>p71</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 13</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Colombia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1998-2002 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>p71</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 30</a>	P67	0-10	This survey was administered in Dominican Republic. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1994-1998 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>PARTIDO</code> and for gender we used <code>P71</code> .



**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 31</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Peru. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2001-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.
<a href="#">PELA study 32</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Peru. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1995-2000 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.
<a href="#">PELA study 34</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Uruguay. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1995-2000 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 35</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Venezuela. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2000-2005 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.
<a href="#">PELA study 36</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Venezuela. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1993-1998 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.
<a href="#">PELA study 37</a>	p67	0-10	This survey was administered in Mexico. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2000-2003 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p71.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 38</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Guatemala. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2000-2004 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>p62</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 39</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Nicaragua. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>p62</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 40</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Honduras. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>p62</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 41</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Panama. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 1999-2004 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 42</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Chile. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 43</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Costa Rica. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 44</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Dominican Republic. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 45</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Ecuador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 46</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Colombia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 47</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Bolivia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2002-2005 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 48</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in El Salvador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2003-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 49</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Paraguay. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2003-2008 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 50</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Mexico. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2003-2006 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 51</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Argentina. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2003-2007 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 52</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Guatemala. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2004-2008 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 53</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Panama. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2004-2009 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 54</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Uruguay. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2005-2010 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.
<a href="#">PELA study 55</a>	p58	0-10	This survey was administered in Brazil. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2003-2007 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p62.



**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 56</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Costa Rica. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2010 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 57</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Honduras. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2010 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 58</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in El Salvador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2009 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 59</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Colombia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2010 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 60</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Chile. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2010 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 61</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Peru. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2011 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 62</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Bolivia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2009 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 63</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Mexico. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2009 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 64</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Dominican Republic. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2010 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 65</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Ecuador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2007-2008 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 66</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Nicaragua. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2007-2011 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 67</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Argentina. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2007-2011 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 68</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Guatemala. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2008-2012 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 69</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Paraguay. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2008-2013 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used p67.
<a href="#">PELA study 70</a>	id1	0-10	This survey was administered in El Salvador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2009-2011 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>socd4</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 71</a>	id1	0-10	This survey was administered in Panama. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2009-2013 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>socd4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 72</a>	p64	0-10	This survey was administered in Ecuador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2009-2012 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>p67</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 73</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Argentina. Respondents in this sample included representatives elected for both the 2007-2011 and 2009-2013 legislative terms, so we matched responses to mass data that falls into each individual legislator’s term. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 74</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Honduras. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2010-2014 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 75</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Brazil. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2007-2010 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>Partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 76</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Uruguay. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2010-2015 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 77</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Chile. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2010-2014 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 78</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Costa Rica. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2010-2014 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 79</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Mexico. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2009-2011 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .



**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 80</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Peru. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2006-2011 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 81</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Bolivia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2010-2014 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 82</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Dominican Republic. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2010-2016 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 83</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Colombia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2010-2014 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 84</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Peru. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2011-2011 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 85</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Guatemala. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2012-2016 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>PP</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 86</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Nicaragua. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2012-2017 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 88</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in El Salvador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2012-2015 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 90</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Ecuador. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2013-2017 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>Partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 91</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Paraguay. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2013-2018 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 92</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Honduras. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2014-2018 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 93</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Costa Rica. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2014-2018 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">PELA study 94</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Panama. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2014-2019 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">PELA study 95</a>	ID1	0-10	This survey was administered in Colombia. Responses were matched to mass data from any year in the 2014-2018 legislative session. The anchors for the left-right question are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For partisanship we used <code>partido</code> and for gender we used <code>SOCD4</code> .
<a href="#">SNES</a>	CC10	0-10	This is the elite sample from Holmberg and Oscarsson (2017). The anchors for the left-right question are “långt till vänster” (far to the left) and “långt till höger” (far to the right). For partisanship we used <code>Partybloc</code> and for gender we used <code>ZG10</code> .

**Table A9 (continued):** Elite survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
Swiss CLRC	v374	1-21	This is the elite sample from the “Role of European Parliaments in Managing Social Conflict” undertaken by the Comparative Legislative Research Center at the University of Iowa in 1974. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” Legislative term information were available for 1971-1975 and 1975-1979. For partisanship we used v2 and for gender we used v353.
Wilson and Birch (1999)	p32	1-5	This is the elite sample from the “Project on the Quality of Democracy in Ukraine in and after the March 1998 Ukrainian Elections.” All legislators were elected to a 1998-2002 term so we match these responses to mass data from any of those years. The anchors for the left-right question are “leftist” and “(right wing) Ukrainian-nationalist.” No partisanship or gender data were available.

## **A.7 Mass survey data sources**

Below is a list of mass surveys used to calculate congruence. Our criteria for inclusion are:

1. Respondents are voting-age citizens.
2. The population from which the sample was drawn is not restricted to a specific state, region, or other sub-national unit.
3. The survey contains a question which asks respondents to place themselves on a left-right scale.

**Table A10:** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
CSES wave 1	A3031	0-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used A2012 for income and A2008 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of A2023, A2024, and A2025 and used A2003 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
CSES wave 2	B3045	0-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used B2020 for income and B2011 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of B3047_1, B3047_2, and B3047_3 and used B2003 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
CSES wave 3	C3013	0-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used C2020 for income and C2011 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of C3036_1, C3036_2, and C3036_3 and used C2003 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.



**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
CSES wave 4	D3014	0-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used D2020 for income and D2011 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of D3025_1_A, D3025_2_A, D3025_3_A, and D3025_4_A and used D2003 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
68 Eurobarometer (1970-2002 merge)	LRS	1-10	This trend file contains all Eurobarometer surveys up through EB58.0 in 2002. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used INCOME for income and OCCUP for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used EDUC for education.
Eurobarometer 58.0	V695	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V728 for income and V440 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V699 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 58.1</a>	V413	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V447 for income and V423 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index from V296-V300 and used V417 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 58.2</a>	V349	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V383 for income and V359 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V353 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 59.0</a>	V496	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V517 for income and V514 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V501 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 59.1</a>	V501	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V529 for income and V452 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V505 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 59.2</a>	V486	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V520 for income and V496 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V490 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 60.0</a>	V515	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V549 for income and V525 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V519 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 60.1</a>	V591	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V625 for income and V601 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V595 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 60.2</a>	V494	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V528 for income and V504 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V498 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 60.3</a>	V324	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V352 for income and V37 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V327 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 61.0</a>	V307	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V358 for income and V334 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge, we constructed a factored index of variables V151-V160 and used V328 for education, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 62.0</a>	V422	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V432 for occupation. For political knowledge, we constructed a factored index of variables V211-V216 and used V426 for education, according to availability by country-year.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 62.1</a>	V579	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V61 for occupation. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V96-V101 and used V583 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 62.2</a>	V464	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V64 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V468 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 63.1</a>	V664	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V674 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V668 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 63.2</a>	V361	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V371 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V365 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 63.3</a>	V330	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V36 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V334 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 63.4</a>	V404	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V431, V432, V433, V434, V435, V436, V437, and V438 for material wealth and V414 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V173-V176 and V327-V332, and used V408 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
94 <a href="#">Eurobarometer 63.5</a>	V118	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V128 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V122 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 64.1</a>	V529	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V58 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V533 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 64.2</a>	V433	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V71 for occupation. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V221-V224 and used V437 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 64.3</a>	V1053	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V1062 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V1057 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 64.4</a>	V1918	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V1928 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V1922 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 65.1</a>	V627	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V649, V650, V651, V652, V653, V654, V655, and V656 for material wealth and V633 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V204-V206 and used V631 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 65.2</a>	V3304	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V3332, V3333, V3334, V3335, V3336, V3337, V3338, and V3339 for material wealth and V3314 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used constructed a factored index of variables V3023-V3025 and used V3308 for education, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 65.3</a>	V652	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V674, V675, V676, V677, V678, V679, V680, and V681 for material wealth and V343 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V656 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 65.4</a>	V346	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V356 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V350 for education.



**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 66.1</a>	V456	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V481, V482, V483, V484, V485, V486, V487, and V488 for material wealth and V466 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used constructed a factored index of variables V143-V145 and used V460 for education, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 66.2</a>	V326	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V346, V347, V348, V349, V350, V351, V352, and V353 for material wealth and V127 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V330 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 66.3</a>	V2007	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V2029, V2030, V2031, V2032, V2033, V2034, V2035, and V2036 for material wealth and V97 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V2010 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 67.1</a>	V720	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V745, V746, V747, V748, V749, V750, V751, and V752 for material wealth and V730 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V724 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 67.2</a>	V542	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V569, V570, V571, V572, V573, V574, V575, and V576 for material wealth and V552 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V165-V168 and used V546 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 67.3</a>	V577	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V600, V601, V602, V603, V604, V605, V606, and V607 for material wealth and V77 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V581 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 68.1</a>	V414	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V441, V442, V443, V444, V445, V446, V447, and V448 for material wealth and V424 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V206-V209 and 290-292, and used V418 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
96 <a href="#">Eurobarometer 68.2</a>	V612	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V635, V636, V637, V638, V639, V640, V641, and V642 for material wealth and V622 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V616 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 69.1</a>	V383	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V430, V431, V432, V433, V434, V435, V436, and V437 for material wealth and V393 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V387 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 69.2</a>	V761	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V788, V789, V790, V791, V792, V793, V794, and V795 for material wealth and V771 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V359-V362 and used V765 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 70.1</a>	V664	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V689, V690, V691, V692, V693, V694, V695, and V696 for material wealth and V477 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V284-V287 and used V668 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 71.1</a>	V638	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V665, V666, V667, V668, V669, V670, V671, and V672 for material wealth and V648 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V368-V371 and used V642 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 71.2</a>	V421	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V444, V445, V446, V447, V448, V449, V450, and V451 for material wealth and V136 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V425 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 71.3</a>	D1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables D46_1, D46_2, D46_3, D46_4, D46_5, D46_6, D46_7, and D46_8 for material wealth and D15A for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used VD8 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 72.4</a>	V577	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V588 for occupation. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V266-V270 and used V582 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 73.1</a>	V382	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V440, V441, V442, V443, V444, V445, V446, and V447 for material wealth and V427 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V92-V93 and used V421 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 73.4</a>	V548	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V559 for occupation. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables V311-V314 and used V553 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 74.1</a>	V498	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V519, V520, V521, V522, V523, V524, V525, and V526 for material wealth and V70 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V504 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 74.2</a>	V594	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used V606 for occupation. For political knowledge we used V600 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 74.3</a>	V488	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V511, V512, V513, V514, V515, V516, V517, and V518 for material wealth and V94 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V494 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 75.1</a>	V514	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V163, V164, V165, V166, V167, V168, V169, and V170 for material wealth and V525 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V520 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 75.1EP</a>	V154	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V181, V182, V183, V184, V185, V186, V187, and V188 for material wealth and V165 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V160 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 75.2</a>	V593	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V358, V359, V360, V361, V362, V363, V364, and V365 for material wealth and V605 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V599 for education.



**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 75.3</a>	V607	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables V635, V636, V637, V638, V639, V640, V641, and V642 for material wealth and V619 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used V613 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 76.1</a>	D1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables D46_1, D46_2, D46_3, D46_4, D46_5, D46_6, D46_7, and D46_8 for material wealth and D15A for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used VD8 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 77.2</a>	D1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables D46_1, D46_2, D46_3, D46_4, D46_5, D46_6, D46_7, and D46_8 for material wealth and D15A for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used VD8 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 77.4</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, and d46_8 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables qp5_1-qp5_4 and used vd8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 79.5</a>	D1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables D46_1, D46_2, D46_3, D46_4, D46_5, D46_6, D46_7, and D46_8 for material wealth and D15A for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables QP7_1-QP7_4 and used D8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 81.2</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used d15a for occupation. For political knowledge we used d8 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 81.4</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables qa16_1-qa16_3 and used d8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 82.1</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used d8 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 82.2</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used d8 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 82.3</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables d46_5-d46_7 and used d8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 82.4</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used d15a for occupation. For political knowledge we used constructed a factored index of variables qp4_1-qp4_4 and used d8 for education, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 83.1</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used d8 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 83.2</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used d15a for occupation. For political knowledge we used d8 for education.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 83.3</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables qa17_1-qa17_3 and used d8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 83.4</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used d8 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 84.1</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables qp11_1-qp11_4 and used d8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 84.2</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables qb2_1-qb2_4 and used d8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
<a href="#">Eurobarometer 84.3</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index of variables qa14_1-qa14_3 and used d8 for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
<sup>iii</sup> <a href="#">Eurobarometer 84.4</a>	d1	1-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our affluence variable we used a factored index constructed from variables d46_1, d46_2, d46_3, d46_4, d46_5, d46_6, d46_7, d46_8, d46_9, d46_10, and d46_11 for material wealth and d15a for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used d8 for education.
<a href="#">FNEPS</a>	v79	1-95	The anchors for the left-right question are “extreme left” and “extreme right.” This is the mass sample from the French National Election Panel Study, 1967-1969 (Converse, Dupeux, and Pierce 2005). For our measure of affluence, we used v333 for occupation and v378 for income, in that order. For political knowledge we used v363 for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
JGSS	OP5RADCA	1-5	This is the Japanese General Social Survey and includes all waves 2000-2010. The anchors for the left-right question are “conservative” and “progressive.” (We flipped the axes so that “progressive” aligns with “left” and “conservative” aligns with “right.”) For our measure of affluence, we used SZINCOMX for income and XXJOB for occupation, in that order, according to availability within a year/wave. For political knowledge we used XXLSTSCH for education.
Joignant et al. (2017)	P41	0-10	The anchors for the left-right question are “más de izquierda” (more to the left) and “más de derecha” (more to the right). This is the mass sample, paired with an elite survey conducted for the same volume. For our measure of affluence, we used P85 for income. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index using P44_1B, P44_2B, P44_3B, and P44_4B, and used P65 for education, in that order. See Lupu and Warner (2017) for further discussion of these data.



**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
LAPOP	l1	1-10	This merge file contains all LAPOP waves through 2014. The left-right question anchors are “izquierda” (left) and “derecha” (right). For our measure of affluence, we used a material wealth index created by factoring as many of the variables r1, r2, r3, r4, r4a, r4b, r5, r6, r7, r8, r9, r11, r12, r13, r14, r15, r16, r16a, r17, r18, r19, r20, r21, r22, r23, r24, r25, and r26 as were available in that country-year. Where none were available, we used q10 for income and ocup1 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we constructed a factored index from gi1, gi2, gi3, gi4, gi5, gi7r, and gix4, and used ed for education, in that order, according to availability by country-year.
SNES	CC10	0-10	This is the mass sample from Holmberg and Oscarsson (2017). The anchors for the left-right question are “långt till vänster” (far to the left) and “långt till höger” (far to the right). For our measure of affluence we used occupation for occupation. For political knowledge we used education for education.

**Table A10 (continued):** Mass survey data

Survey	Left-right variable	Left-right scale	Notes
Swiss CLRC	lr1	0-10	This is the mass sample from the “Role of European Parliaments in Managing Social Conflict” undertaken by the Comparative Legislative Research Center at the University of Iowa in 1974. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our measure of affluence we used income for income and sch7 for occupation, in that order. For political knowledge we used educ for education.
Wilson and Birch (1999)	p173	1-5	This is the mass sample from the “Project on the Quality of Democracy in Ukraine in and after the March 1998 Ukrainian Elections.” The anchors for the left-right question are “leftist” and “Ukrainian nationalist.” For our measure of affluence we used p202 for income and p207 for occupation, in that order. For political knowledge we used p193 for education.
World Values Survey	E033	1-10	This merge file contains all WVS waves through 2014. The anchors for the left-right question are “left” and “right.” For our measure of affluence, we used X047 for income and X036 for occupation, in that order, according to availability by country-year. For political knowledge we used or X025 for education.

## A.8 Survey data access information

Table A11: Access information

Survey	Notes
ATES	Freely available at <a href="http://www.masaki.j.u-tokyo.ac.jp/utas/utasp.html">http://www.masaki.j.u-tokyo.ac.jp/utas/utasp.html</a> . No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019. Japanese only.
BCS 1992	Freely available at <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/research/data">https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/research/data</a> . No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
Brazilian Legislator Surveys	Freely available at <a href="https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/bls">https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/bls</a> . Version 1.0, dated 1-AUG-2014. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
BRS 1997	Freely available at <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/research/data">https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/research/data</a> . No version information available but file dated 1-MAY-1997. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
BRS 2001	Freely available at <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/research/data">https://sites.google.com/site/pippanorris3/research/data</a> . No version information available but file dated 9-MAR-2004. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
CIRCaP 2006	Available via the Roper Center ( <a href="https://ropercenter.cornell.edu">https://ropercenter.cornell.edu</a> ) by paid subscription only. No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
CIRCaP 2007	Available via the Roper Center ( <a href="https://ropercenter.cornell.edu">https://ropercenter.cornell.edu</a> ) by paid subscription only. No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.

**Table A11 (continued):** Access information

Survey	Notes
Comparative Candidates Survey	Available via FORS ( <a href="https://forsbase.unil.ch">https://forsbase.unil.ch</a> ) for free after registration (ref. 11249). Wave 1, Version 4, dated 2016. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
CSES	Available at <a href="http://www.cses.org">http://www.cses.org</a> for free after registration. No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
EPRG MEP Surveys	Available at <a href="https://mepsurvey.eu/data-objects/data/">https://mepsurvey.eu/data-objects/data/</a> for free after registration. No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
Eurobarometer	Available via ICPSR ( <a href="https://www.icpsr.umich.edu">https://www.icpsr.umich.edu</a> ) by paid subscription only. The Mannheim merge file is study number 4357. The other waves up through 83.4 are available as part of the Eurobarometer series (ref: 00026). Waves 84.1-84.4 are available via GESIS for free after registration (studies ZA6596, ZA6642, ZA6643, and ZA6644). Mannheim merge version 2.0.0, dated 20-JAN-2005; other version information is available on request. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
Flash Eurobarometer 1996	Available via GESIS ( <a href="https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/">https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/</a> ) for free after registration (study ZA2896). Version 1.0.0, dated 13-APR-2010. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
FNEPS	Available via ICPSR ( <a href="https://www.icpsr.umich.edu">https://www.icpsr.umich.edu</a> ) by paid subscription only (study 2978). Version 1. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
Hungarian Election Study	Freely available at <a href="http://old.tarki.hu/en/index.html">http://old.tarki.hu/en/index.html</a> after registration (study TDATA-H46). No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.

**Table A11 (continued):** Access information

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Survey	Notes
JGSS	Available via ICPSR ( <a href="https://www.icpsr.umich.edu">https://www.icpsr.umich.edu</a> ) by paid subscription only (series 209). We used the Cumulative 2000-2003 data file (study 4472) and each wave from 2005 onwards (studies 4703, 25181, 30661, and 34623). All files version 1 except for 2008 and 2010, which are version 3. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
Joignant, Fuentes, and Morales (2017)	Made available to authors by the editors. No version information available.
LAPOP	Available via <a href="http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/">http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/</a> , partial access for free. We used the paid subscription version of the 2004-2014 merge file. Version 3.0, dated 31-OCT-2015. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
PARENEL	Freely available at <a href="http://er.cies.iscte-iul.pt/node/34">http://er.cies.iscte-iul.pt/node/34</a> . No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
PARTIREP	Available via PARTIREP ( <a href="http://www.partirep.eu">http://www.partirep.eu</a> ) for free after registration. No version information available but dated JAN-2015. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019. (Website now expired.)
PELA	Available at <a href="http://americo.usal.es/oir/elites/bases_de_datos.htm">http://americo.usal.es/oir/elites/bases_de_datos.htm</a> for free after registration. No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019. Spanish only.
SNES	Available via the Swedish National Data Service at <a href="https://snd.gu.se/en">https://snd.gu.se/en</a> for free after registration. No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.

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**Table A11 (continued):** Access information

Survey	Notes
Swiss CLRC	Available via ICPSR ( <a href="https://www.icpsr.umich.edu">https://www.icpsr.umich.edu</a> ) by paid subscription only. No version information available. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
Wilson and Birch (1999)	Available via the UK Data Archive ( <a href="http://data-archive.ac.uk">http://data-archive.ac.uk</a> ) by paid subscription only (study 4079). No version information available, but file last updated 4-JAN-2012. Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.
World Values Survey	Freely available at <a href="http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/">http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/</a> . First release (18-APR-2015). Last accessed 3-FEB-2019.

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