## Önnudóttir and Harðarson – Appendix

Table A1. Party identification and individual and election-level impacts: a multilevel model

Observations: 109,912 Elections: 76 Countries: 16 Null model Model 1 Model 2 Model 3 Model 4 Coef. Coef. Coef. Coef. (Std.err.) (Std.err.) (Std.err.) (Std.err.) (Std.err.) .51\*\*\* .48\*\*\* .52\*\*\* Constant (.029)(.031)(.032)(.046)(.046)Individual level variables: .001\*\* .001\*\* .001\*\* -.001+(.0002)(.001)(.0002)(.001)Generations, reference group: born 1907--.08\*\*\* -.08\*\*\* -.07\*\*\* -.08\*\*\* Born 1946-1965 (.004)(.004)(.004)(.004)-.14\*\*\* -.15\*\*\* -.15\*\*\* -.16\*\*\* Born 1966-1989 (.005)(.005)(.005)(.005)Education, reference group: primary education .03\*\*\* .03\*\*\* .06\*\*\* Secondary education (.004)(.004)(.007).07\*\*\* .07\*\*\* .12\*\*\* University education (.004)(.004)(800.)Election level variables: -.22 -.23 Polarisation (.178)(.175).04+ .04+ Effective number of parliamentary parties (.023)(.023)-.003+ -.002\* Level of education (% of 24 to 64 years old with university degree - TEV variable) (.001)(.001)-.0002 -.001 Age of democracy (.001)(.001).01\*\*\* .48\*\*\* .01\*\*\* .01\*\*\* (.002)(.032)(.002)(.002)Cross level interactions: .0001\*\*\* Age\*year (.0001)-.004\*\*\* Secondary education\*year -.01\*\*\* University education\*year (.001)Intraclass correlation (ICC) Countries 4.0% 8.4% Election AIC 151178.7 150310.1 150044.7 150046.3 149970.1 150133.4 150386.9 150180.8 151217.1 150140.8 Random effects parameters, estimate (Std.err): .01 (.005) .01 (.004) .01 (.004) .01 (.004) .01 (.004) Countries (constant) Elections (constant) .01 (.002) .01 (.001) .01 (.001) .01 (.001) .01 (.001)

Response variable is whether respondents identify with a party or not. Significance levels are: p<.01 (+), p<.001 (\*\*\*), p<.01 (\*\*\*), p<.05 (\*) and p<.1 (+).

Figure A1. Party identification, age and election year

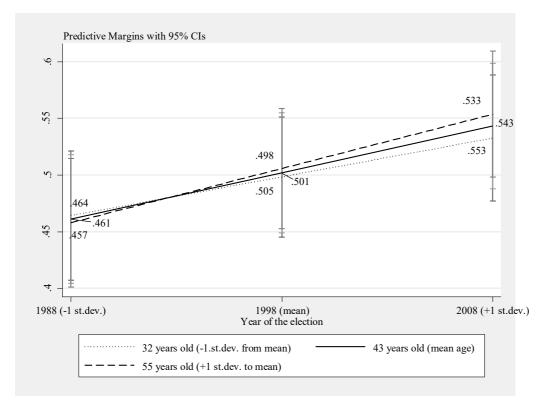


Figure A2. Party identification, age and respondents' education

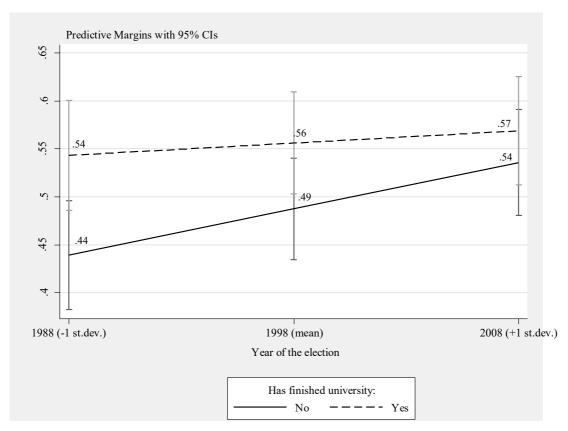


Table A2. Countries, election years and the question format for party identification

C 4	3.7	O 1: C 1	0/ 0 / 1 / 0
Country	Year	Question format	% of party identifiers
Austria	2008	Closeness	49.1
Estonia	2011	Closeness	40.2
Finland	2003	Closeness	47.6
	2007	Closeness	55.7
	2011	Closeness	55.1
Germany	1976	Closeness	86.6
	1983	Closeness	81.8
	1987	Closeness	79.3
	1990	Closeness	80.8
	1998	Closeness	37.2
	2002	Closeness	68.4
	2005	Closeness	75.8
	2009	Closeness	64.2
	2013	Closeness	72.6
Greece	2009	Closeness	61.3
	2012	Closeness	56.9
Hungary	1998	Information missing	35.8
	2002	Closeness	52.6
	2006	Closeness	56.6
Iceland	1983	Supporter	50.2
	1987	Supporter	45.7
	1991	Supporter	40.6
	1995	Supporter	39.2
	1999	Closeness	51.6
	2003	Closeness	54.2
	2007	Closeness	50.0
	2009	Closeness	50.9
	2013	Closeness	45.7
Ireland	2002	Closeness	28.3
	2007	Closeness	31.4
	2011	Closeness	21.5
Italy	1972	Closeness	97.3
italy	1996	Closeness	80.6
	2001	Closeness	56.8
	2006	Closeness	62.4
	2008	Closeness	52.8
	2013	Closeness	73.5
Netherlands	1982	Supporter	47.8
1 Tomer famus	1982	* *	40.7
		Supporter	
	1994	Supporter	34.0
	1998	Supporter	27.9
	2002	Supporter	39.6
Norway	1977	Supporter	69.8

	1981	Supporter	71.1
	1985	Supporter	68.8
	1989	Supporter	61.5
	1993	Supporter	56.8
	1997	Closeness	52.6
	2001	Supporter	41.0
	2005	Supporter	47.7
Poland	1997	Closeness	53.7
	2001	Closeness	41.8
	2005	Closeness	50.8
	2007	Closeness	52.8
	2011	Closeness	36.8
Portugal	2002	Closeness	51.8
	2005	Closeness	44.9
	2009	Closeness	45.3
Spain	1979	Information missing	41.6
	1993	Closeness	38.3
	2004	Closeness	54.9
	2008	Closeness	52.3
Sweden	1979	Supporter	60.0
	1982	Supporter	60.4
	1985	Supporter	53.2
	1988	Supporter	51.4
	1991	Supporter	48.5
	1994	Supporter	47.0
	1998	Supporter	42.5
	2002	Supporter	40.5
	2010	Supporter	28.4
Switzerland	1971	Closeness	59.6
	1995	Closeness	44.7
	1999	Closeness	40.3
	2003	Closeness	41.4
	2007	Closeness	42.8

<sup>\*</sup>The format of the questions were of two general types: Closeness (whether voters considered themselves to be close to party) and Supporter (whether voters considered themselves to support a party