

Supplementary material

Table A.1.: Variables, survey questions and coding.

Variable	Source	Coding
Partisan responsiveness (ideology)	ESS: 1) 'Is there a particular political party you feel closer to than all the other parties?' 2) Which one? ParlGov: left-right placement of parties	1 = right-leaning partisan 0 = no affiliation -1 = left-leaning partisan
Partisan responsiveness (incumbency)	ESS: 1) 'Is there a particular political party you feel closer to than all the other parties?' 2) Which one? ParlGov: parties in cabinet	1 = incumbent partisan 0 = no affiliation -1 = opposition partisan
Left-right self-placement	ESS: 'In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Using this card, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?'	0 (left) – 10 (right)
Economic evaluations	ESS: 'On the whole how satisfied are you with the present state of the economy in [country]?'	0 (extremely dissatisfied) – 10 (extremely satisfied)
Unemployment rate	Eurostat: official country-level unemployment rates	2.5 – 30.9
Leadership evaluations	ESS: 'Using this card, please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. Firstly... ... politicians?'	0 (no trust at all) – 10 (complete trust)
Trust in parliament	ESS: 'Using this card, please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. Firstly...	0 (no trust at all) – 10 (complete trust)

	... [country]'s parliament?	
Social class	ESS: Oesch's (2006a, 2006b) measure	1 (low-skilled working class) – 5 (upper and upper-middle class)
Age	ESS: age of respondent	13 – 123
Years in education	ESS: 'About how many years of education have you completed, whether full-time or part-time? Please report these in full-time equivalents and include compulsory years of schooling.'	1 – 56
Unemployed	ESS: 'Using this card, which of these descriptions applies to what you have been doing for the last 7 days? Unemployed and actively looking for a job'	1 = yes 0 = no
Minority	ESS: 'Do you belong to a minority ethnic group in [country]?'	1 = yes 0 = no
Female	ESS: respondent's gender	1 = female 0 = male
GDP growth rate	World Bank: Gross Domestic Product in constant 2010 U.S. dollars	-5.33 – 12.10
Wave	ESS: survey wave	1 (2002) – 6 (2012)
Postcrash	Time dummy	Wave 5-6 = 1 Wave 1-4 = 0

Figure A.1. Share of partisans over time, ESS 2002-2012; design and population weights applied.

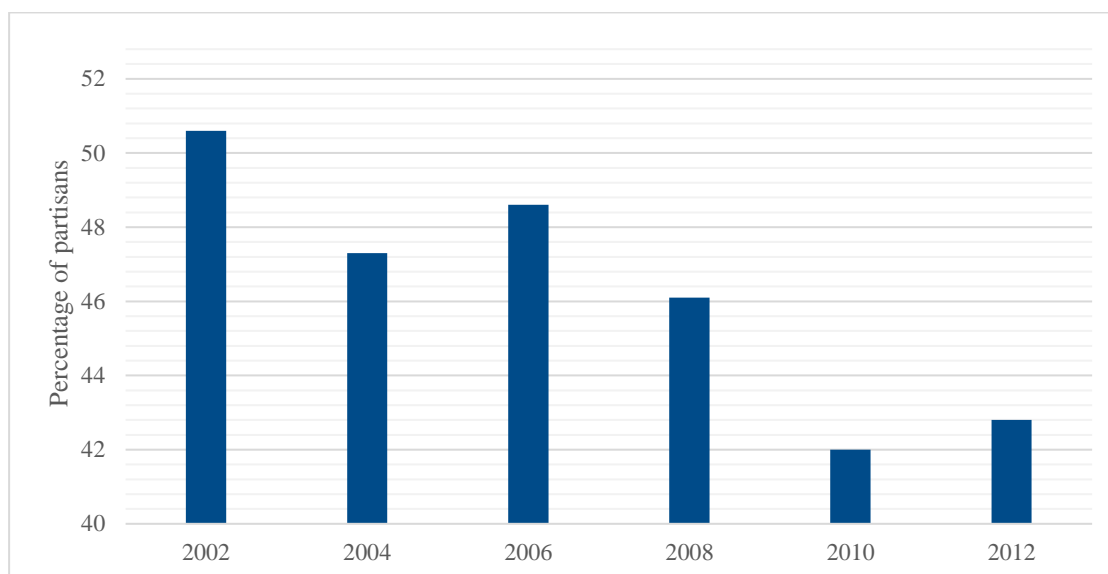


Table A.1. Share of left- and right- leaning incumbent partisans over time; design and population weights applied.

	partisans	
	<i>left-leaning incumbent</i>	<i>right-leaning incumbent</i>
2002	10.6% (4482)	11.3% (4765)
2004	7.9% (3712)	11.7 (5518)
2006	11.2% (4820)	11.5% (4914)
2008	8.5% (4835)	11.4% (6483)
2010	4.5% (2259)	13.4% (6806)
2012	6.7% (3658)	12.3% (6702)
Total	8.1% (23766)	12.0% (35180)